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COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE AND VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

INTERESTING AND ENTERTAINING SUBJECTS:

BUT CHIEFLY SUCH AS RELATE TO THE

HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION

OF

THESE KINGDOMS.

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SELECTED FROM AN INFINITE NUMBER IN PRINT AND MANUSCRIPT, IN THE ROYAL, COTTON, SION, AND OTHER PUBLIC, AS WELL AS PRIVATE, LIBRARIES;

PARTICULARLY

THAT OF THE LATE LORD SOMERS.

THE SECOND EDITION,

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND ARRANGED,

BY

WALTER SCOTT, Esq.

VOLUME THIRTEENTH.

ɔent and genius of the age is best known, in a free country, by the pamphlets and papers that come daily out, the sense of parties, and sometimes the voice of the nation. PREFACE TO KENNET'S REGISTER.

ꝑ *qui aliquid statuit, una parte audita tantum et inaudita altera, licet æquum statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.*

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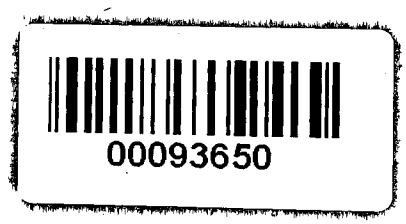
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DURING

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

CLASS THIRD.

CONTINUATION OF

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THE

SOMERS

COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

QUEEN ANNE.

CLASS THIRD.

CONTINUATION OF

CIVIL TRACTS.

A Vindication of The Faults on both Sides, from the Reflections of the Medley, the Specimen-Maker, and a Pamphlet entitled Most Faults on one Side. With a Dissertation on the Nature and Use of Money and Paper-Credit in Trade, and the true Value of Joint-Stocks, maintaining the Assertions of the Author, in Relation to those Matters. By the Author of The Faults on both Sides. 1710.

——— Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.

It is well known that Harley's plan of mediating between the two great political parties in the state was acceptable to neither. The Whigs attacked the Tract entitled Faults on both Sides, through their organ, The Medley, from which we have already made a quotation. The high flying Tories, who had already formed an association called The October Club, for the purpose of driving on violent measures against the members of the last administration, were little satisfied with a treatise which imputed to their own zeal any part whatever of the national calamities or dissensions. Accordingly a very angry answer to "Faults upon both Sides" was published under the title of "Most Faults upon one Side." The author of the original work does his best to defend it in the following vindication against the objections of both parties.

I CANNOT but acknowledge my great satisfaction, to observe that my endeavours in the above-mentioned essay have met with so general an acceptance; and the more since it may be discovered from such a disposition in the people to entertain a discourse of that nature, with a more general liking than the partial writings of either side, that there is not indeed so great a bigotry and adherence to the factions among us, but that the great disturbances and agitations which appear at this time to be wrought up to a formidable height through the nation, will be appeased, and the angry people on both sides will return to their duty, and acquiesce in the wisdom of their superiors, when they shall see (what good men confidently hope, whatever less confiding men may fear) that those great men, to whom her majesty has committed the conduct of her affairs, will apply their utmost care and diligence to promote the publick good in every part of their administration, and to carry so even an hand between the opposite parties, as not to gratify the expectations of the violent men on one side, nor to abridge the other of any rights, privileges, or favours which they now enjoy: Nor is it a less happy presage, that so popular a book has past hitherto without any thing that bears the appearance of a fair answer to it. 'Tis true, indeed, that a party-paper called The Medley has been meddling with it, and another gentleman has been pleased to employ himself to find faults in the Fault-finder.

But the first is, indeed, more a meddler than a maker, he is not a fair antagonist, he trafficks all in quotations without argument or conclusion; one knows not what he would be at, the spirit of his paper is all high whig, and yet when I say what is commendable of the whigs, and censure the tories, he still cites both with an air of dislike; he is a dab at the understanding of our business and credit, but I believe I shall shew that he knows nothing of the matter, when I come to speak of those things to more worthy enquirers; he is admirable at his short turns of sheer wit, and has all manner of misrepresentation at command; in short, 'tis worth no serious man's while to trace him in his mazes; he abounds in stories, and tells them pretty enough to tickle such as can't distinguish in his allusions to persons and things, between a faint resemblance in some circumstances, and no manner of similitude in the original motives and consequence of the action; for the same fact may be highly commendable in one, which is wicked in another, according to their different design in the end; but general characters may be made to fit any body in some particulars, and perhaps his story of Galigai,[1] in the worst instances, may be more agreeably applied to another (*quondam*) great favourite lady than to the person he means, all people won't hold pace with him in all his strained applications either of malice or flattery: But I am gone out of my way to touch at these things, and I must take care of engaging myself too far with a person of this gentleman's great accomplishments, for though he mistakes me for some great man,[2] yet the world may know him to be a man of the belles lettres, a wit, a

[1] The story of Galigai, the Italian favourite of Mary de Medicis, is in the sixth number of The Medley applied to Lady Masham and Queen Anne. Our vindicator asserts, it might be more justly placed in parallel with the favour of the Duchess of Marlborough, which was accordingly done in The Examiner.

[2] In a No. of the Medley, the following passage occurs, in which the idea that Robert Harley was author of "Faults on both Sides" seems to be retracted.—"I should not have had a word more to say to the author of Faults on both Sides, had he not, in his witty way, cruelly attacked me in his vindication lately published, wherein he tells the world all at once, The Medley has been meddling, but is more a meddler than a maker; which is so very ingenious, that if I let him go off so, I should give him too much advantage over me. He says I was in a mistake when I took him for some great man: I am very ready to own it, having since had thorough information of him, but truly by the writings his great men publish every day, a man may easily enough be drawn into an error, and mistake a small jobber of New England for a courtier and statesman. Their genius and performances are so much on a level, that a better judge than I may very well be puzzled to tell who is the greater man, the Essayer on Credit or himself. As for their reasonings and arguments, I defy any one to tell me which are best, unless he can prove that one nothing is better than another. The Fault-finder, in his vindication, complains I dislike him, both when he commends the Whigs, and censures the Tories; and the reason is

declaimer, a mythologist, a poet, and a learned historian: I pretend to none of these excellent talents, I see and acknowledge him to be above my match, so I will leave him, and content myself to deal in plain truths and undeniable facts, and treat of such matters as may conduce to the good of my country, which yet may be remembered to posterity when the vapours of hot brains are dissolved into air. However, at my parting with this gentleman, I'll presume to entertain my readers with one story too, which (barring all reflection) may perhaps seem as apposite as some of his. 'Tis not full an hundred years ago, when a certain grave divine, who enjoyed a benefice in Hertfordshire, had bred up a son to the church; the young man coming home from the university had a mind to shew his accomplishments in his father's pulpit, but he was so full of his scholastick conceits, and scattered his flashy wit at such a rate, that the good old man, being no longer able to bear him, called out aloud, "Come down, coxcomb, come down;" and ascending the pulpit himself, preached an edifying sermon to his parishioners.

I shall also have something to say in answer to the other author, but I will beg that gentleman's patience till I have first applied myself to give satisfaction to some worthy persons, men of trade and business, who have in conversation expressed their dislike of my notions concerning money, paper-credit, and stocks; and if those gentlemen will bear with me to observe to them that busy men are more apt to form their judgment of such matters from the immediate use and convenience which they find thereby, than give themselves leisure to examine into the true nature and effect thereof, I hope I shall be able to convince them that they may be no less deceived in their differing sentiments now, than most people were formerly in the opinion that the denomination of the species of our coin ought to have been raised above the old foot. I shall endeavour, therefore, in the following dissertation, to explain those matters in such a way as may rectify their judgments, and reform the erroneous and superficial ideas which people have long entertained thereof. Let it then be considered;

That even money in specie (much less paper-credit) is not the subject of, but an incident and an attendant on trade; for trade may be carried on, if not so conveniently, yet effectually, by barter: And as all trade terminates in the ultimate vent and consumption of commodities, if the expence of a country will be sufficiently supplied where there is no money to be had, 'tis evident that trade is not lessened in respect of that country through the want of money; and we have a notorious instance of this in the trade of our own American colonies and plantations, where formerly in all, and in some to this day, payments are made in the product of the country: And even in countries where money is plenty, all trading is but as it were a general barter for commodities, for he that sells to one is continually buying of another, and if men knew their mutual debts and credits (which, as I have said, are best discovered by the use of banks) it would appear that a far less sum is requisite to circulate the gross of trade than people have generally imagined; and this is evident, beyond contradiction, by the management of the Dutch, who lock up the great bulk of their money in the bank of Amsterdam, and make their payments by transferring from one man's account to another in the bank-books, so that in proportion to their vast dealing, there is nowhere so small an appearance of money in specie, as in the greatest trading country in the world; our own experience also, that the trade of the nation was effectually carried on while the money was in recoining, is a farther confirmation of this notion.

But this argument will yet be set in a clearer light, by observing that the primary design, and proper end of silver and gold, is treasure, and 'tis from thence that they acquire their universal value and esteem, so that men will part with all other commo-

because he does he is awkwardly, that he neither obliges the one nor offends the other."—*The Medleys for the Year 1711, page 205, 6.*

dities in exchange for them, with this view, that besides that they will enable them to purchase whatsoever they stand in need of, what they can save to lay up will always be ready to serve their future occasions. 'Tis true that men soon found out ways of improving and increasing their treasure by purchasing lands, lending at interest, and employing it in trade, but how oft soever these ways of cultivation are iterated, still the acquiring of treasure is proposed as the ultimate end.

Money then is no more than silver and gold, stamped by the publick authority, to warrant the weight and fineness of the several species, and it was because of the universal consent in the worth and esteem of these fine metals, that money became the medium and instrument of commerce through all civilized nations; but its operation is no other but a short way of accounting; the goods delivered, the money paid, the account is ended; and the money takes the same turn in the receiver's hand, he parts with it in the same manner to even his account for the next commodity he buys or stands indebted for; and thus the whole trade of a nation is managed, the merchants buy of the gentlemen, farmers, miners, and manufacturers, all the product of the country which they can find vent for in foreign markets; the gentlemen, farmers, miners, and manufacturers, buy (through the hands of the shopkeepers) and consume the commodities which the merchants import; if then we could suppose that the whole body of merchants should trade in a joint company, and the whole body of shopkeepers should do the same, there would need no more money to move this whole engine of trade than what would suffice to balance the account between them. Nor will it be from our purpose to add this farther observation, That if the commodities which a country sends into foreign parts shall produce a greater value than what will purchase all the foreign commodities which that country requires for its home expence, the over-balance must of consequence be brought home in money or bullion, which will then become so far an increase of the national treasure, distributed into the hands of such of the subjects as have best exerted their skill and industry to gain it; it will then also follow, that those who gain most will be able to gain the largest share of the national trade, though not to increase it, because, as is noted before, nothing but the increase of consumption can truly increase trade; for though men that have money may buy up commodities to keep them for a market, and thereby secure the future profit thereof to themselves, yet those commodities must lie dead in their hands till expence calls them out.

It must yet be acknowledged, that there is a more immediate use and necessity for money in the minute parts of dealing, for though the reason of this argument will hold as to that too, yet the assignment of small payments is not practicable, wherefore people must always keep themselves provided with shillings and pence to pay for daily labour, and for family expences; and it is in this way that what we call plenty or scarcity of money is chiefly perceived, and yet it will easily be admitted that a small portion of the money of a nation will suffice to circulate this sort of dealing.

Furthermore, let it be considered that the trade of a nation is principally acquired and carried on by the industry of the inhabitants, to procure variety and quantities of vendible commodities from the product of the lands, manufactories, fisheries, shipping, and navigable commerce, and whosoever abound in these are enabled to carry on a greater trade than they that abound in money without them; and this will appear plainly by a comparison between the two republicks of Hamburgh and Genoa: The former has a small territory, and not more than a competency of money, and yet enjoys a great trade; the latter has a much larger dominion, is immensely rich in money, and yet it drives but a small trade, because it affords but a few commodities.

It is indeed but too true, that there is a sensible diminution of the trade of this kingdom; but to imagine that this happens through a scarcity of money, or because so much is employed in stocks or in loans to the government, is but a vulgar error; for

our manufacturers have always continued to make as much goods as they could vend, and our merchants have never ceased to export as many commodities as foreign markets could take off; but the true reason is the stop of the Spanish trade, together with the great obstruction of trade in general, through the long continuance of the wars, and other publick calamities, in our own and foreign nations: People are reduced to necessities, whereby the expence of commodities is much lessened; and when the merchant finds a slow vent abroad he stops his hand in buying, and then the manufacturer slackens in his making, and thus the circulation of money among the common people is obstructed, and this causes the complaints of the scarcity of money, when there may be vastly more than enough to carry on trade to the highest pitch, if there were but encouragement to draw it out.

Let us next examine the paper-credit, by which we mean no more than the bills or notes of banks or bankers which they give out to pay at demand, and we shall find these to be no other than attendants upon money, and as they pass from hand to hand, every man takes them upon confidence that the money lies always as ready at his command as if it were in his own chest, and whenever he finds himself disappointed therein, the banker loses his credit, and for the future his bills will signify no more than waste paper. It is plain therefore the banks and bankers are obliged both in prudence and justice to be very cautious in their dealing, and whenever they adventure to lend other men's money, that they do it upon the most valid securities, and with a certain prospect that they can command it at a short warning, and by such a management this kind of business may become beneficial to themselves and a convenience to trade; but whenever they run out and engage themselves beyond the power of their stock, and traders give into it so far as to produce a precarious credit, this is so far from a convenience, that it becomes a mischief; and as in the time of our clipped money, people were less scrupulous to receive it whilst they could as easily pay it away again, and pleased themselves in the opinion that money was very plenty; (though if the government had not been so indulgent to make up the loss at the publick charge, they would have repented their imprudence in not refusing it at first) so paper credit was lately very plenty among us, payments were made easy, and all things went smooth and pleasing, till people entertained suspicions and jealousies, and then the wary men called for their money to secure it in their own chests, and this has caused so much uneasiness among traders: The national stock of money is not lessened, neither is paper-credit, nor ever will be, provided always that it be such as people like; but they are afraid of a precarious credit, and they have reason; it is a vice in trade fit to be discouraged, and it is good to have it shocked sometimes, that bankers may be warned to keep within compass, and traders may have a care of being too credulous, they know business may be done very well without it; Bristol, Exeter, and other considerable trading places in this kingdom know little or nothing of it, and we never hear any such noise of the destroying of credit from them; and if the London traders should think it beneath them to take example from places of so much less figure than themselves, surely they need not think themselves too wise to be instructed by the Dutch in their nicest managements of trade, but among them they will find no such precedent.

I have asserted, That banks and paper-credit add nothing to the increase or diminishing of trade, and that there is neither more or less money employed in it than would be if the same sums had been actually paid from hand to hand. Now against this I have heard it argued that daily experience seems to evince the contrary; "for," said they, "if four men lodge each a thousand pounds in a banker's hand, he is thereby enabled to supply a merchant that has an immediate occasion for one thousand pounds, and hopes to have it repaid him again before the four should draw out three thousand pounds of their money, and for this very loan he only gives out a note of his hand, so that by this means the merchant is enabled to carry on his trade to the value of one

thousand pounds more than his own stock, and this banker's bill, without the payment of one penny, does, in all respects, answer the end of so much money, and consequently this sort of paper-money must certainly conduce much to the increase of trade." I have put the objection as far as I think it can be carried, and yet I believe the argument will appear very slight and superficial when it comes to be considered,—

1. That if the banker has no proper stock of his own in the world to make good the thousand pounds to his principals in case of loss, he is a knave to adventure upon the lending of other men's money.[1]

2. If he takes not what he believes to be valuable and sufficient security from the borrower, he is a fool.

3. I never said that it was not very helpful to trade to borrow money at interest, and this is in reality the same thing, with this difference (if it may be so called) that the persons who lodge the money lose, and the banker gets the interest; and if there were no bankers, this occasion in trade would be supplied as well, for all people who can give undoubted security will find men enough to lend them money for a gainful premium, as we see by experience in such places where there are no banks.

They will perhaps continue to object, "That the bankers give out their bills for more money than is in their possession, and then they have the same operation as an increase of the species." I answer to this, That they must either have it in *specie*, or the money is in being, and they know where to command it (which is the same thing in our argument) or else they run into a precarious credit, which is a cheat in the bottom, and ought to be avoided as much as the passing of clipped money: But further, men seldom or never borrow in this way but for a very short time, and that only to answer some present necessity, but not to depend upon for the carrying on their trade, and so the bulk of trade is not (in their notion) increased by it.

Again, they instance "The government's issuing out exchequer-bills to a much greater value than the provision made to change them, and thus they supply the place of money, and do in effect increase it." Now here it is to be noted, that the dealing of the publick is in a quite different way from the management of trade by buying and selling; theirs is in effect borrowing money of the subjects at interest or other advantageous terms, to support the national charge, and it is true that exchequer-bills have been serviceable to the government; yet neither will their argument hold in this instance, for, with respect to the people, they never did, nor ever will, operate any otherwise, but (like other paper-credit) according to the opinion the world entertains

[1] This very just and sensible axiom is thus wrested in The Medley:—"The Fault-finder will not allow the bank or bankers to make use of a penny, for they give bills for all that's paid; and they must, quoth he, keep enough by them to answer all, which would make their business wonderfully beneficial. If they have any money of their own, they may trade with it, but if they touch a shilling of what they have given notes for, 'tis a cheat. This is the man that is to rectify our judgments, and reform our erroneous and superficial ideas in trade: This is he who is solicitous that ingenious men would investigate his notions with more attention, though I perceive nothing even of the merchant in him but his altumal cant, a mark of his poor traffick and tar-education. What shifts are his great men put to, to hire such hands to do their work for them? He will not admit of bank or bankers depending on the improbability of a general call on them, and on that dependence to make use of part of the cash paid into them, which is answered by paper; and as long as credit is good, creates a new species of great ease and convenience to commerce, as is daily experienced, or traders would not risk their estates so freely as they have done, and may in better times do again. I don't think it extraordinary that these men are so angry at credit, and so industrious to lessen her reputation. They have lately disobliged her so much, that 'tis likely she will have as little to do with 'em as she can; and as they are not such fools as not to see she is not at all in their interest."—*Medleys for the Year* 1711, p. 209.

The above misrepresentation of an adversary's argument, forms no bad specimen of the unfair mode in which political disputes are often carried on. It is plain, that, far from maintaining the ridiculous doctrine imputed to him, the author only meant to say that the stock of a banker ought to correspond to his credit.

of them; they began with difficulty and discount, but when it was found that those which had passed through the Exchequer were exchanged for ready money to all that desired it, every body was satisfied, and they grew into so general an esteem that they came to be circulated with a small proportion of ready money, and it is much fitter to admit of such an advantage, or to give way to an implicit credit that may redound to the benefit of the publick, than to allow the same to the subjects; but though such expedients may with prudent management become helpful for a time, yet it will be a fault for any ministry to depend upon them for the support of the government, for when the people shall come to consider them as precarious, and that they do not certainly command ready money, they will disesteem them, as we see in the present exchequer-bills, which are fallen to a discount of three per cent. so that to explain the matter rightly, it is now no other but that those that buy them know they gain an interest of nine per cent. for lending their money upon the funds appropriated to them. After all, the true way, in my humble opinion, to make them useful to the government, and their credit lasting among the people, would be to issue them to no greater value than the taxes payable within the year, and no more than half a million to bear date on the same day, charging them with daily interest till paid, and when the first half million is brought into the Exchequer from the taxes, to make publication that those who are possessed of the bills of the first date shall fetch their money, the interest ceasing from that day; thus when one or two payments are punctually made, it is not to be doubted but those that bear interest will be esteemed better than money, because of the daily increase, and those that become specie will pass currently through many hands before the money is called for, by which means such a credit will grow up in the Exchequer, as that probably at the year's end a stock may remain in hand sufficient to circulate two or three editions of the next year's bills to be issued in the same manner.

I now hope that the foregoing reasoning may be sufficient to induce judicious men to agree with me in the following conclusions:

That vendible commodities, and not money, are the foundation of trade.

That trade cannot be increased by any other means than industry to procure, and markets to take off vendible commodities.

That a little money well managed will be sufficient to carry on a great trade, and this kingdom has abundantly enough to answer that purpose.

That paper-credit is really useful to trade, and that those banks or bankers who always keep money enough by them, or within command, to answer all their bills, will never lose their credit nor injure their creditors; but those that do not run into a precarious credit, which ought to be looked upon as a common cheat, and to be discouraged to the utmost. And, consequently,

That I have sufficiently maintained my assertion, that neither banks nor paper-credit add any thing to the increase of trade, and that there is not more or less employed in trade by that means, than would be if the money were actually paid from hand to hand.

I am further cavilled at for saying, "That neither bank nor bankers give out their bills till the money is actually lodged in their hands." Unwary I, that had not the foresight to add, or money's worth; that sure had taken away all occasion from such cunning objectors; but let's come to demonstration; if they will tell us where the bank or bankers grow that will lend their bills without any security, I'll send them customers enough. But Mr Medler thinks I mean that the banks of Amsterdam, Venice, Genoa, &c. keep every farthing of money in bank that their bills of credit amount to. Perhaps I may be better informed in the various managements of banks than he is; I know that some neither receive in nor pay out either money or bills. Some receive in money, but pay out none; some do both receive in and pay

out, and also give out bills, as the bank of England and the London bankers, but whether these keep every farthing in readiness to pay off their bills, I shall not take upon me to assure him, but refer him to make the enquiry of themselves; but I am sure they ought always to be provided of the full value of money, or what will command it at a short warning, or else they do not deal fairly by those that trust their money in their hands; and I can assure him that the constitution of the bank of Amsterdam (and divers others) is such as that they can never defraud their creditors in this way; that bank subsists upon a principal stock of money and bullion deposited by the proprietors at its establishment, and no man is permitted to pay in one penny more to it; and this capital is only transferred from one proprietor's account to another in the bank-books, as they have occasion to give order from time to time, and this is what is there called paying money in bank, but they never pay out any money in specie, unless any proprietor demands out his whole stock, but this is not to be expected whilst the money in that bank is always current for more than the specie; thus they can never lend out or make use of one penny of the money entrusted to their keeping, and know no such thing as the giving out bills of credit, and consequently the full value of all that has been deposited there is believed to remain entire to this day. I know that it has been surmised as if the states had made bold with a part of this treasure to supply the publick occasions, but as there has never been the least proof, or real ground for such a suggestion, it ill becomes any man to be the promoter of so vile an aspersion upon a sovereign magistracy.

Again, they urge as a pregnant instance of the mischiefs brought upon trade by the late staggering of paper-credit, "That the want of money immediately appeared so excessive, that people were forced to give at the rate of twelve per cent. per ann. to discount the best accepted bills of exchange." To this I reply, that though men who run their affairs to such an extreme, as to be under a necessity of discounting their bills before they become due, discover themselves to be but in bad circumstances, yet we will admit that sometimes men of the best reputation may have an immediate occasion to discount their bills, when they may see a present opportunity to lay out their ready money to some great advantage, such as lately happened, to buy bank stock at 95 per cent. in such a case then it is no very great matter for a man to give fifteen shillings extraordinary (which is the utmost of this discount, reckoning six weeks before the bill is due) for the loan of an hundred pounds, which he knows how to dispose of so as to gain five pounds by it. If sudden frights run people into extravagancies for the present, yet these are not lasting, they will soon come to themselves, and things will return to their former state; but when through their own imprudence they have suffered such enormities to creep into their negociations, they must be content to bear with the disorder that will first attend the reforming of an evil that was become general, and it will be a sufficient recompence for a short inconvenience, if the present experience teaches all that are concerned to reduce their affairs into a better regulation for the future.

As to the falling of stocks, there is nothing strange nor unreasonable in it; they were run up to an imaginary value much above their real worth; and when the managers themselves had taken an unaccountable course to publish to the world a diffidence of their own affairs, this must naturally induce wary people to reflect upon what was the real and intrinsic value, and they shewed themselves the wisest men who were the forwardest in selling as long as they found they could get much more for it than its true worth; but when bank-stock came to fall to ninety-five, they that parted with it (if they were under no necessity) shewed the greatest imprudence, for I believe I am rightly informed that one hundred pounds has been actually paid into that stock, and whosoever will proclaim a sale of sterling plate for under five shillings per ounce shall never want buyers; the world will quickly fall into the true account of things, and we see how soon it came up to its true standard value again; nor is it to be doubt-

ed but that as men's minds come to be settled, it will go rising higher, for there will always be found people of wealth and abundance, that will be glad to employ their money under so careful and secure a management without trouble to themselves, though they should gain no more than five per cent. by it; so that, if it may not be said that one hundred pounds stock is really worth one hundred and twenty, yet it may not be irrational for such to give so much for it, and this (as long as it can divide no more than six per cent. per ann.) I should think to be the utmost advance that it can, with any appearance of reason, even in times of profound peace, be brought to; considering withal, that their parliamentary privileges are determinable in a few years, and when that shall happen, such purchasers will be sure to lose twenty pounds out of the profits which they shall have received: But if in defiance of such evident demonstration, men should again suffer themselves to be drawn into the cheats of stock-jobbers, and will part with their money to buy stocks at an over-value, when they find themselves bitten again, let them never more lay the blame upon the change of court-ministers (if ever such a thing should happen) but e'en desire the Tatler to build a bigger bedlam for them than any he has yet projected. The same may be said of the other stocks; people ought never to value them by the rates they may go at in Exchange-Alley, but to inform themselves truly of the certain sum that has been paid into the stock, and of the dividend that is constantly made, together with the probable success of the management, and then they may make a rational judgment when to lay out and when to keep their money: But for the loss which the dealers in this tricking trade have lately suffered, it ought not to bear any more regard than we had for such who formerly bought guineas at thirty shillings, and kept them up in hopes that they would yet rise to a higher price; it is plain they have lost no more but what they had imprudently given above the real worth (reckoning according to the present price) for now they continue to be sold for more than the money paid in: How little then do such deserve the name of honest men? Or rather, what punishment do they merit who have published to the world in an insolent manner so vile a falsehood, as that her majesty's late change of her ministers had occasioned the loss of many millions to the subjects?

I have been the larger in this dissertation, because I think the nature and use of money, credit, and stocks, have been treated in too superficial a way by others, and therefore I was willing to publish my thoughts thereof, for an inducement to ingenious men to investigate these notions with more attention, and if they will give themselves the trouble to read a book entitled "A Vindication of the Bank of England," they will find therein essays upon banks, upon credit, and upon the plenty and scarcity of money, which perhaps may give them some further satisfaction in those matters, and shew them also that the large credit that is practised among us in the buying and selling of goods, tends not to the promotion, but to the detriment of trade: And I could wish, that those who have of late written so much about these things would either take the pains to maintain their different sentiments with more reason (in which case they shall find no man more ready than myself to yield to the conviction) or that they would for the future forbear to disturb people's minds with needless fears and jealousies, that the national affairs are in a much worse condition than really they are.

I turn me now to the gentleman who busies himself in the spying out errors where none are; not that I would assume the confidence to say, that I have committed none (though I am sure none knowingly) but I mean that I am not convinced that he has detected any: And, therefore, pray, good sir, if you think, p. 4, that "our sea armament was not neglected" when we were so shamefully beaten, first at Bantry-Bay, and afterwards off the coast of Sussex; that we were sufficiently provided against the attempts of our enemies by sea, when Monsieur Tourville came up our channel, and we had

no fleet to hinder him from landing an army upon us, had not Providence saved us by a strong easterly wind continuing for several weeks till our ships could be gotten ready; *ibid.* that "it was impossible for us to do more by sea than was done; that the French privateers were so numerous and powerful as that we should not have been able to protect our merchant ships any better than we did, though we had kept out as numerous a fleet as the nation was able to maintain:" Again, if it be your opinion that it is better for this island to wage war in foreign parts (and where the enemy's greatest strength lies) with great land armies, than to keep up a superior naval strength wherewith to infest our enemies coasts, and perplex and divert their forces by powerful invasions, which has been usually practised with good success by all nations that have found themselves strongest by sea, and if ourselves have miscarried in ill-concerted, ill-provided, and ill-managed attempts of this kind in King William's time, we have yet an ample specimen (to use his own word) of what great things might have been done in that way if we had heartily set about it in that glorious expedition of the Earl of Peterborough: I say, sir, if you hold these opinions, so contrary to the general sense of the nation, I think the error may with much more justice be reflected on yourself, for applying your weak endeavours to excuse, than upon me for blaming a ministry that had given into a course of management which has proved so ruinous to this kingdom.

P. 5. You next take upon you to become an advocate for a certain admiral, but I believe he has more reason to thank you for your good-will than for your performance. Would you have the world believe that if a great man has interest enough with his party to get himself thanked by a House of Commons, and to save him from being censured by the House of Lords, that he is therefore fairly acquitted of all that has been charged against him? Have you never known in such a case that some suspicion might yet remain? I have referred to an authentic record, and said, that those who will examine it will find reason to suspect; I have seen a copy of those minutes of the House of Lords, but I presume you have not; how do you know then but all impartial people would be as ready to suspect as I was? I still believe it was no error in me to think so. Nor do you mend the matter when you undertake to vindicate the article of the victualling, by persuading us that a man bred up in the navy was so ignorant in his own business as not to know that the officers required proper vouchers for all accounts passed with them. You think, *ibid.* "this matter has been sufficiently cleared by the examination thereof in the House of Lords, which has been printed;" but I know it is not impossible for the most venerable assembly to be imposed upon in matters wherein they cannot be supposed to be experimentally acquainted, and the less, at a time when the majority shall appear disposed to favour the accused: The way of lumping accounts at so much per head per diem may be very fallacious; how do you know what stock of old provisions might be left when that account was pretended to commence, what fraud might be insinuated in point of time, or how many thousand mouths might be charged on the account more than were really fed? But still I have committed no error in saying, that an honest commissioner of the victualling had accused him of defrauding the publick in that account which he got passed by privy-seal, for this is known fact; and I should have been of Mr Papillon's mind to have persisted in my objections to an account wherein I had seen any thing charged at double to what I could prove it cost, and this would have fixed me in an opinion that the altumal account of 6¼d. per man per diem, was tricked up to deceive; but if you think, *ibid.* that "such a profit ought to be allowed him because of the distant pay," I doubt not but your own conscience would permit you to take part in such a plunder if you could come at it. But, sir, you know that great men have long arms, and are able enough to right themselves if they think they are wronged; you see your meddling with it makes the matter but the worse, and perhaps I am better provided to

maintain any thing I have said, than you are aware; but though it was incumbent upon me in my former undertaking to give some instances of the faults I was complaining of, yet I still retain as much respect as possible for the persons of all those great men I may be thought to hint at, and had much rather contribute to the healing of old faults, than to promote further enquiries into them.

Hitherto I think you have discovered no errors of mine, but I have a swinging one to charge you with, p. 7, for saying that "tallies never bore any great discount till the latter end of the year 1696," when all the world knows that they were running up to an excessive height, till the bank of England reduced them to a reasonable discount. It is true indeed, that they mounted to the highest at the time you speak of, but what I thought worthy of blame in the ministers, was their whole management in this way from first to last: I say, they should never have paid the people any thing in distant tallies, but prudently have thought on such duties and excises as would have raised the supplies within the year at once, as it is evident they have come to it by degrees, when they have withal contracted so great a debt upon the nation, that one half of the taxes goes to pay interests to the subjects. But you tell us that all this is well done, and, p. 12, "It is but reasonable that great debts should be entailed upon our posterity, that they may be made to bear their part in the expence of this long war, as they are like to enjoy the benefit of the future peace." How are you sure that they also shall not be engaged in war before the debt is paid, and what will they then have left to live upon, and to carry it on effectually? Well, sir, let us put the case; suppose you should advise a gentleman of a plentiful estate, but engaged in a law-suit, to give his lawyers double fees, and mortgage his estate at high interest to carry it on at a most extravagant expence, it is not a farthing matter what he spends, so he makes it last for his time, let his heir take what is left and clear it as well as he can, why should not he be made to contribute towards his father's excess and folly? I am sure no wise man would take your advice, and you would gain the reputation of a pitiful counsellor by this sort of reasoning.

P. 9 and 10. You entertain us with a history in what manner our deficiences grow upon us, which to our sorrow we knew but too well before, and then set us to judge if the ministry occasioned it; let me answer you by a question, Whose business was it else to take care to prevent it? The House of Commons were (for the most part) governed by them, and did nothing but what they would have them. You insinuate, p. 11, That "one half of our money was clipped before King William came here;" but that's another great error of your's; I remember well, that before that ministry the clipped money was inconsiderable, and I dare say not five per cent. in proportion to the whole, whereas they let it run to above (as I take it) 30 per cent. and the much greatest part of the mischief was done in the last two years before the recoining, and by the account you give, it appears that the clipped money brought in wanted near one half, which vast loss might easily have been prevented, if these ministers had at first but obliged those who were under their command to do their duty: You shew no ingenuity in your studying apologies for these gross miscarriages, and your telling us, *ibid.* that "the ministry might with as much justice be blamed for the dearness of corn in 1694, and the sickness in 1693, as for suffering so great a damage to fall upon the publick by the clipped money," will never wipe off the blot; will not all serious people censure your prophaneness in making an absurd comparison between the irresistible visitations of God's providence, and the mere negligence and improvidence of men, for which any other but such a managed parliament as they then had, would have broken their ministry, or reformed their administration? But how can you have the confidence to say, p. 12, That "that load of taxation laid upon the nation is so easy a burthen, that our ancestors never were so free in their publick payments (the reign of

King Charles the Second excepted) remembering the prerogatives of our former kings, as our posterity will be?" Don't you know that the single excise on beer and ale was given to King Charles, in full compensation for the court of wards and liveries, &c.? And have you never considered how manifold that has been exceeded by the additional excises and customs that have been since given? Your assertion in this is so notoriously false, that it deserves a worse name than an error; but you make all this to be done in tenderness to the people, and so let them think when they feel it.

You lay the blame of the deficient funds on Mr Lowndes, who, you say, *ibid.* was the one "man that invented them all;" why, at this rate you make him a greater man than all the lords of the treasury, and all the House of Commons put together, but I'll leave you to answer for the abominable reflection, that all these had no brains, no thought, no care of the nation's business; but I can assure you that there were other projectors, and you may reasonably imagine that all the projects for raising money were from time to time laid before the treasury board and consulted there, where this gentleman's station was no more than an honourable servant, and his duty obliged him to submit to the stronger inclinations of his superiors in some things that might be less agreeable to his own judgment: But what if he may have been sometimes mistaken in his private opinion, is it fair for you to charge the whole fault upon him alone? No, sir, your invidious reflection won't stick upon a man of his known worth; you yourself observe well that he is still employed by all ministries; surely then there must be something very conspicuous in him: I believe 'tis because they have found his long acquaintance and perfect understanding in the business, his unwearied application, his never-blemished integrity, and his superior capacity in most kinds of useful knowledge, to be qualifications so eminent in him, that no ministry will ever desire to be deprived of his services; nor is there a civilized government in the world that would not be fond of so useful a man.

Ibid. You think "the great premios given for the advance of money deserves not to be complained of;" but I am still of the mind that a wise and honest ministry would have taken measures in time to have prevented such extortion upon the government.

P. 13. As to "private advantages made of publick money, misapplications," &c. you see I had followed the words used in an address of the House of Commons to her majesty, upon the observations made by the commissioners of accounts; if there be any dirt in them (as you are pleased to represent) you ought not to lay it at my door; nor yet have you fixed any error upon me, whilst I have so good a voucher to answer for what I have said: O! But you will be even with me here, you have the answer of the House of Lords to this very address, refuting every tittle of it; it may be so in your opinion, but you must give me leave to enjoy my first sentiments till I meet with more conviction; I know how to make allowance for prevalent interests and party favours even in supreme senates: You might have observed with me, that this was only an answer, trimmed up to be sure to the utmost advantage, not published (as I remember) till the latter end of the session, or perhaps after the houses were up; there had been no joining issue, or putting the different allegations upon proof, nor any manner of replication from a House of Commons to this day; from whence we may conclude (not that they were unable to make good their charge, but) that those who have been ever since in power were willing to let these matters lie covered up; and therefore, as I told you before, you do the great men of your party no service by drawing such things into controversy, which, if there should ever come a severe retrospect, may make some of their hearts ache. But let us take a little taste of your ingenuity in the answer you here produce. You insinuate then, *ibid.* that "all the parliamentary aids given to the crown, and not by them appropriated to particular services, are to be considered as given to the uses of the civil list," p. 14, and 15, and so you make the

great revenue settled in King Charles and in King James's time to enable him to maintain so large an army (and which amounted to much more than you think fit to allow in your pretty way of disposing it) to be but just so much civil-list money; and that when King William succeeded to it, it was all his own, and not applicable to the war; and so you represent the two millions and a half which you say that king gave out of his revenue towards the support of the two first years of the war, as if it were so much generously given out of his own purse. I am even ashamed to trouble my reader with the repetition of such paltry argument (much more may you be for offering it.) You do not know then that the ministers are answerable for all monies given by parliament, if they think fit to call them to account for it, and that the way of appropriation to particular services is but of late practice, and was intended as a kind of restraint upon the ministers, that they might not too much deviate from the designed services, by suppressing one to support another, as had been done sometimes; but it is often omitted, and yet then the not performing the intended services is subject to a parliamentary enquiry whether the money has been well or ill applied; and surely if the two millions and a half you speak of had been diverted to other uses at that time, and not employed in carrying on the war, some people might have been made to answer for it, for they knew that the parliament designed it for that proper service, and gave no larger supplies than what might make it up to a sufficiency. After this, sir, I believe I may presume to affirm, that if any House of Commons should not approve of the disposal of the 124,222*l.* 8*s.* arising by the duties on French goods and India silks, and by seizures, they will never acquiesce in that opinion of the House of Lords, that it was the king's own money, and not accountable, because not appropriated: I do not yet say, that any sums placed under the article of the civil list will be disallowed, if they shall appear to be rightly disposed in that service; but whatsoever shall be found otherwise, will certainly come under the charge of misapplication.

Sir, you may take the topical reflection back to yourself; nothing being more common for bigots of your size, than to upbraid any one who dare speak a word of any miscarriages in King William's reign, with your common topic, p. 15, that they are enemies to that king, and are "disposed to bring obloquy upon his ministers;" but I can assure you that I have no such disposition against any men, as they are or have been ministers; I love my friend Peter, and I love my friend Paul very well, but I love truth and the good of my country better; and my endeavouring to expose the faults of such who have shewn themselves no good friends to either, which ever side they have pretended to, has been to no other end, but that the good people of Britain may be rescued from their deceits.

Your five sides of computation shew no more but your own weakness to think that you serve your friends, by exposing in one view the vast sums which the nation has lost through their improvidence and ill managements.

You come now to pin the basket, and tell us, p. 23, "It is a surprising master-piece of good management in the ministry, that the land and malt taxes are the only extraordinary payments the common people have been subject to by reason of the war, although those taxes don't provide above a fourth part of the necessary expence (prodigious! then you compute our whole expence at about ten millions per annum) how skilful (say you, p. 24,) and how just must that ministry be, that shall be able to draw above two millions per annum in voluntary contributions out of the pockets of the wealthy?" And so you reckon up above sixteen millions raised by what you are pleased to call contributions: Now, when you can persuade all these wealthy contributors to forgive us their interests and annuities, we will erect a statue of praise for yourself, and not only heartily thank them, but record their names to all posterity, as the noblest contributors that ever the earth produced; but till you shall obtain that small favour from them, the poor common people are like to have but little enjoyment of

your fool's paradise, and must be contented, though they don't disburse a great deal to the land and malt tax, to pay abundance in excises, as long as ever the contributors have any thing to demand for their rents.

Sir, I have just done with you, only give me leave to drop two words of advice at parting, that you will never write again till you have espoused a better cause, or know better how to manage it, but, above all things, go no more out of your own way of trade to deal in specimens.

The foregoing having lain several weeks for the perusal of some persons, whose opinion I was willing to have upon the arguments handled in the dissertation, there is since come out a pamphlet called Most Faults on one Side, of which I thought it behoved me to take some notice, though I think it a performance of so little worth, that a very short answer will be as much as it deserves.

My undertaking was to shew, that the original tories set themselves to promote the evil designs of the court in every thing, and that by advancing the power of the crown above the legal constitution, they had brought the nation to the brink of ruin, and consequently that they espoused the wrong side, and engaged in pernicious designs, and upon ill principles, in the beginning: On the other hand, I maintain, that the old whigs endeavoured to preserve the rights and liberties of the people, by keeping up to the constitution, and opposing all illegal innovations and usurpations, and that therefore they had engaged upon a right principle: Now this author seems to acquiesce in this, by acknowledging in p. 9, that "the properties of whig and tory are quite altered since those days, and that the tories acted imprudently (a soft word) in King James's time." Do I not sufficiently blame the modern leaders of the whigs for deserting their principle since they came into power, and say that they acted like the old tories? And do not I acknowledge, of later years, many of those gentlemen who are still called tories have opposed the court managements in such cases where they saw the publick good neglected, and so have acted on the whig principle? Thus I have considered, not the men, or the parties, but their actions, and have impartially commended or blamed, as the facts deserved. I need not therefore trouble myself to trace this party-writer in his many prevarications, sophistical perversions, and scurrilous reflections, which will sufficiently appear to every judicious reader, as well as his malice and disingenuity in condemning all that are called whigs by wholesale, though many who are reckoned of that party have always approved themselves to be men of better principles, both with respect to the church and the state, than this pamphlet has manifested its author to be. I shall therefore bestow no more pains upon him than just to point at some of the most remarkable of his falsities, his trifling and unfair way of arguing, his pedantry, and some few passages which I thought to deserve answering, leaving many more to the reader's own observation.

P. 5. "The letter-writer's project and aim is at a coalition," that if the "whigs can come in for a share, they may worm every body else out." But it will appear to every impartial reader, that the whole design of my writing was to favour neither party in what they had done amiss, and equally to commend whatsoever was praise-worthy in either, and that I aimed at no other coalition, than that of the honestest men of each, to unite against the knaves of both sides.

Ibid. "In spite of his distinguishing and explaining, he discovers much of the republican, shews himself a zealous friend to the dissenters, and a bitter enemy to the church and clergy." I have sufficiently shewn my esteem of the present constitution of our limited monarchy, which I look upon as much better adapted to the genius of this nation, than any other kind of government. I have indeed expressed a dislike to the prosecution of the dissenters, but no zeal for them. But I have never shewn the least bitterness or enmity to the church of England or its clergy; though I should be

glad to see such of them reformed in their morals and their politicks, who have given too much occasion for scandal in both.

P. 6. "The main design of the treatise is to shew that there was scarce ever any such thing as an honest man in an office." I have never offered at any thing like it, I blame only the ill-designing men, who have made themselves the heads of parties, and have managed for their own private interests to the prejudice of the publick.

P. 7. "Who affirms all the fault to be on one side, and that too in the crown." Quite contrary; the whole discourse is impartially to expose the faults of the respective factions: But would this writer persuade us that none of our former princes have ever affected a greater power than the constitution admits; and that the people have no ancient rights and privileges which they ought to contend for when they are violated?

P. 8. "But this gentleman roundly declares for an alteration of the constitution." No part of the discourse shews the least tendency to such a design; it discovers indeed some alterations that have happened in it, but proposes no more than such a reform as may reduce it to the primitive design of the institution. The supposing me to be the author of a book called "The Divine Rights of the British Nation," is altogether suppositious, for I never saw the book.

P. 14. He says, "I endeavour to wheedle a certain lady of the court, by telling her she is a good whig." Bellarmin —— for that; my words are, "she has never engaged herself in either faction."

P. 15. That I abuse King William. I deny it, and the sentence he quotes vindicates me.

The last paragraph in the same page, about occasional conformity, abounds in falsities. If a man, who has been bred up among the presbyterians (for this affects scarce any other sort of dissenters) find so little, or no difference between them and the established church in doctrine, that he has no scruple to communicate with them, only he is not willing to be debarred the liberty of sometimes hearing a sermon, or even receiving the sacrament among those also, from whom perhaps he received the first notions of religion; is this "one of the greatest faults that can well be committed? Is this detestable hypocrisy, and a prophanation of the sacrament?" I think the obliging such who live in open wickedness to receive it, and the administering to such, is a greater prophanation. Cannot a man "endeavour at a coalition in the ministry, without at the same time declaring for occasional conformity," when yet there are multitudes of the whig party (and among them men of the first quality) who never dissented from the church?

P. 18. "With relation to our constitution in church and state, the whigs are upon principle dishonest." How will those many lords, spiritual and temporal, and thousands of worthy English gentlemen, who have been always reckoned of that party, and yet never dissented from the church, bear this false and scandalous reflection?

P. 24. He says, "It was always the tories principle to pursue moderate measures." How has it appeared in their violent persecutions of the dissenters, in their acting in the ecclesiastical commission, and many other instances, when they have had power? If it were their principle, they have often made it appear that it was not in their nature.

P. 28. Can there be a more impudent falsity published than to say, that the "doctor has contributed more to the quieting and cooling of the nation than any man in it," and that "the kingdom has not at any time in our memory been more unanimous than it is now," when, on the contrary, all the world must acknowledge, that the whole nation has been set in a flame, and the rage and fury of one party against another has been raised to a greater height than we have ever seen it before? And can there be a more illusive argument of a nation's unanimity, than when it consists of

nothing else but that either faction is unanimous within itself to oppose the other with all its might?

P. 29. He charges me with denying the house of Hanover to have any hereditary right. But I have never denied the hereditary right of that house; my assertion is, that they have no claim but by act of parliament; and this very inadvertent writer presently confirms it himself by telling us, that "the Act of Settlement having excluded all popish successors, the house of Hanover, being next, succeeds in course by hereditary right." I say so too, because an act of parliament has given them that claim.

P. 37. "All the town knows that several dissenters were actually aiding and assisting at the demolishing of the meeting-houses." He that can in so notorious a manner bid defiance to truth, deserves very little credit in any thing he says.

P. 42. "The distinctions of whig and tory, high-church and low-church, are owing to the unreasonable separation of the dissenters." This is manifestly untrue, for whig and tory are really factions in the state; so that though we had no religious dissenters, we might yet have whigs and tories: And high-church and low-church are distinctions between the more rigid or more moderate professors of the church of England; the one are for approaching nearer to the papal hierarchy, the other are content with the legal establishment they live under.

P. 12. He charges me with begging the question for "taking it for granted that the whigs (as such) are in the right, and that the tories (as such) are in the wrong." But it seems rather that himself had forgotten his logic, for I have fairly distinguished by shewing wherein the whigs were in the right, and the tories in the wrong; he ought then to have denied that part of the argument wherein I had affirmed the right or the wrong, for if I have sufficiently demonstrated that, the *petitio principii* lies at his door: And in the same paragraph he adds a plain falsity, when he affirms, that "my party are apt to vilify and despise the universities." I absolutely deny that I am of any such party (and it is as false to say so of any party that I know) let him prove himself to be in the truth if he can. He cannot help shewing his pedantry also in criticising, whenever he thinks I am out in my grammar, particularly in page 14, he quotes my saying, "That this very gentleman, if his conduct should be impartially considered, it will be found, &c." Now this expression is however very intelligible, and I have observed more correct writers than I pretend to be sometimes *loqui cum vulgo*; and as he might easily discern that I am not altogether ignorant of letters (though I have none to boast of, as he seems to do of his) he might have passed this as a *lapsus pennæ*, since the small word (of) placed between that and this, would have brought it within rule; but he discovers the meanness of his own talent, and shews that he is but (what some call) a haberdasher of small-wares, and such a sharper at it, that he will let nothing slip him, for he has me again. P. 16. he quotes, The good queen (may I say) submitted, and says, "it is left in doubt whether the softening parenthesis (may I say) relates to the word good, or to the word submitted;" let him find me a blockhead that can take it in the sense he has put upon it. But I shall shew him a slip of his own anon, let him then remember, *Turpe est doctori*, &c.

P. 7. He quotes my saying, that "our acts of parliament would never call the late civil war a rebellion." But to refute my assertion, he says "he has heard of a form of prayer, with thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having put an end to the great rebellion, &c. and he has been told that this day of thanksgiving was set apart by act of parliament." Let us see whether this argument can run upon all four: The parliament enacted a day of thanksgiving for the putting an end to the troubles of the kingdom, without making mention of a rebellion: But the clergy composed a form of prayer, entitled "Thanksgivings to Almighty God for having put an end to the great rebellion:" Therefore that act of parliament did call the civil war the great rebellion. If there are people that can swallow such conclusions, much good may it do them.

But I have a much better authority to confirm my opinion, that that parliament would not suffer the taking up arms against King Charles the First to be called a rebellion, and that is an extract out of the journal of the House of Commons, the 12th of May, 1660, of a reprehension given by the Speaker to one Mr Lenthall, a member of that house, for saying that "he who first drew his sword against the king, committed as high an offence as he that cut off the king's head," which I think very well worth the reciting *verbatim.*

"Mr Lenthall,

"The House has taken very great offence at some words you have let fall upon debate of the bill of indemnity, which in the judgment of this House has as high a reflection on the justice and proceedings of the Lords and Commons in the late parliament, in their actings before 1648, as could be expressed; they apprehend there is much of poison in the words, and that they were spoken out of design to set this House on fire, they tending to render them that drew the sword to bring delinquents to condign punishment, and to vindicate their just liberties, into balance with them that cut off the king's head, of which act they express their abhorrence and detestation, appealing to God, and their consciences bearing them witness, that they had no thoughts against his person, much less against his life. Therefore I am commanded to let you know, that had these words fallen out at any other time but in this parliament, or at any time in this parliament but when they had considerations of mercy, pardon, and indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer sentence than I am now to pronounce. But the disposition of his majesty is to mercy; he has invited his people to accept it, and it is the disposition of the body of this House to be healers of breaches, and to hold forth mercy to men of all conditions, so far as may stand with justice and the justification of themselves before God and man; I am therefore commanded to let you know, that that being their disposition, and the present subject of this day's debate being mercy, you shall therefore taste of mercy, yet I am to give you a sharp reprehension, and I do as sharply and severely as I can (for so I am commanded) reprehend you."

P. 16, 17. He charges me with disrespect to her majesty, for pretending to know her mind so perfectly well, and to be so perfectly acquainted with her royal resolutions, in presuming to say, "There is not the least reason to doubt but that all those of the whig party who shall concur in the promotion of the publick good, will be freely admitted into employments, nothing being more desired than a coalition of the honest men of both sides to balance the over-grown power of the ministers." Now where's the least disrespect shewn to the queen in all this, when, besides, her name is not so much as mentioned? Is it not usual for princes to take the advice of their ministers in such matters, and how does he know but that I have better authority for what I have said than he has to contradict it? But how pitifully does he abuse the plain meaning of my expression, to balance the over-grown power of the ministers? "These honestest men of both sides would then be ministers themselves (says he) and then the ministers must balance the over-grown power of the ministers, an odd balance certainly: If the same scale weighs against itself, which side will preponderate?" A school-boy would be whipt for so foolish a perversion of common sense, for my whole discourse pointed at the over-grown power of some ministers then in being, and when I first began to speak of them, I had sufficiently indicated whom I intended to be understood by that expression all along.

P. 18. 19. He charges me home for saying, "I dare assure the dissenters that her majesty is as firmly resolved against all extremes as they can wish; that such of the tories (as people still call them) as shall be admitted into the ministry, will be laid by, if they refuse to act in moderate measures; that she will never suffer them to be made

uneasy by an occasional conformity bill; and that she will inviolably maintain the toleration they now enjoy." "For a little scribbler of a party (thank you, sir, and in return I will acknowledge you for a great one) to pretend to be partaker of royal secrets," is such impudence as whigism can hardly parallel. These things, I find, trouble him much; but though I don't pretend to be one of the cabinet, I can yet assure him that I have seen the man who has seen the queen, and I will refer him to her majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament to vouch for a good part of what I have said; and if I should see his beloved occasional conformity bill again brought into the House, I shall never believe it to be with her majesty's good-liking till I see it pass.

My book shews abundantly that I am no advocate for such of the whig party who have done those ill things, which I censure as much as he can; and that I agree with him entirely, p. 20, 21, that "the way to put an end to parties, is to promote none but persons of true principles, for then those who are otherwise will soon cease to be a party, or at least (have I caught you, Mr Critic! how can they be less than ceasing to be?) will be a very insignificant one." I shall never contend with him upon these topicks. But then let it be observed how pitifully he begs the question through four pages together; he would have it taken for granted, p. 22, 23, that the "whigs are the queen's enemies; false subjects; false church-men; have denied the queen's title; condemned the doctrines of the scriptures; according to their own principles they can't behave themselves well; their great fundamental principle is confusion, not only in government both of church and state, but also in reasoning and thinking," with more of the like sort of thumping arguments, which I cannot think will convince, or will be believed by any man who is wise and honest.

He has offered nothing of argument to refute the characters I have given of the original whig and tory parties, or of their different principles, and his arguing from the relation I have given of the faults of their self-interested heads and leaders, to cast the reflection upon the whole body, and to condemn their principle, is highly disingenuous, and mere sophistry designed to pervert the truth and to deceive ignorant people. How unworthily soever some men have acted under that name, it must yet be acknowledged that the late happy Revolution was founded upon that principle, and all true Britons will ever own the justice of that undertaking, for the maintaining the rights and liberties of the nation against the usurpations and destructive designs of that misguided prince; which was always known to be the true principle of the whig party, and therefore I think I do but right to say that such of the other party, who are well affected to the present settlement, are not acted by the tory but by the whig principle.

P. 22. And now behold this author turning panegyrist to an incendiary, if it be not indeed the famous Dr Sacheverell glorying in himself, for I am told that he has given the book gilded and neatly covered to several members of parliament; a shrewd sign that he is its worthy author, or at least that he still continues to be a tool to the party.

Well, but the man understands the world no better than to think that the doctor has opened people's eyes, and given them a right notion of persons and principles. Alas, poor creature, our eyes were open before, to see and know persons and principles much better than he himself! I have shewn in my former discourse, that the first motive to the change of the late ministry was her majesty's own uneasiness; there had been also a general dissatisfaction among the nobility and gentry through the nation, to see themselves slighted and scorned by men who had grown up from being their inferiors to become their lords and governors, and the employments of the nation engrossed in the hands of the corrupt leaders of one party, and their creatures, to the exclusion of many deserving men on the other side, who were as hearty to the government as any of those that were in; they were likewise discontented to find the war drawn into length, and managed in such a way as that a general might keep up his

reputation by gaining victories and towns, and yet be far enough from forcing the enemy to a submission. The removing of men that had gotten as it were the whole power of the nation into their hands, and were become formidable, and even dangerous, was an arduous and difficult undertaking; at such a time then it may be thought no unusual policy to animate the common people against the ruling faction: The wrong step that was made to try Dr Sacheverell in parliament (which might have been done perhaps to as much effect, and with less noise, in a court of law) offered a fit handle, ignorant people were moved at they hardly knew what, and wiser men gave into it, and encouraged it through the nation; and thus the extremes on one side begat extremes on the other, and hence came the extravagant addresses (some of which would perhaps at any other time have been looked upon as a striking at the foundation of the Revolution and the present settlement of the crown) to be countenanced; this also gave occasion to the mighty struggle at elections, and carrying so great a majority of one side to be members of the House of Commons, who since their coming together have yet sufficiently convinced the nation that they have more at heart the dispatching the queen's and nation's business, than the gratifying the expectations of hot partizans. Now although divers incidents have concurred to bring about this great turn, and some even unwarrantable actions have been tolerated, in order to attain the end, yet we may hope seldom to see the like occasions, and never to make use of ill precedents: And thus the Paul's sermon, though in itself wicked and seditious, was yet drawn into a lucky consequence, and made serviceable to the present time.

Ibid. "The clergy," says he, "behaved themselves, during the trial of Dr Sacheverell, with the courage and constancy of primitive Christians," &c. when yet neither their invective sermons, nor yet their exploded doctrine of unlimited passive obedience, had any thing of the spirit of Christianity in them.

P. 29. But see with what insolence he vapours. "If ever they dare to fall on a clergyman of the church of England, especially such an one as Dr Sacheverell, if such another can be met with," &c. The best way to try the experiment will be for the doctor his own self, when he has liberty to open his mouth, to dare preach such another sermon, and see whether the government will be afraid to punish him.

P. 30. He gives me hard words for calling "a professed Jacobite one of their writers, and for coupling the non-jurors and the high-church clergy." Now I would be rightly understood, that by the term high-church I never intend those who are zealous for the church of England as limited and regulated by the laws of the land, the higher the more sincere in their profession I think them; but I mean those who are not content with that portion of authority the laws have allotted them, but do really aspire to (what they call) a *jure divino* independence, and reckon themselves to be placed in a sphere above the laws of their country; [query, whether they would not have a visible head too?] and that there are such among those who have sworn to the government, as well as among the non-jurors, we find by their writings; and these are the men I suspect of Jacobitism, and surely with such principles they can hardly be accounted good subjects: As Mr Lesley then has written as freely as any upon this topic, *quatenus* high-church-man, I might well call him one of their writers; and as I am not single in my suspicion, that there may be some Jacobites among the conforming clergy (and Dr Sacheverell himself has much wrong done him, if he has not been used to drink the Pretender's health) why may not I reckon Mr Lesley their writer too, *quatenus* Jacobite?

Ibid. He asks whether "for these twenty years together there has been one man of the tories proved by any action to be in the Jacobite interest?" Men of so audacious a confidence render themselves unfit to be argued with; let me answer him by two questions; Were not all the nonjurors reckoned of the tory party? Is there not among them all, one professed Jacobite? But to refresh his memory I will name one Sir John

Friend to him, and if he will put himself upon recollection, I believe he may call to mind a few more of them who have acted in the Jacobite interest.

P. 31. He affirms there are "those who make it their business to propagate the principles of resistance to government, and deny the queen's hereditary title."

Can any thing be more perverse and disingenuous than to insinuate, that, because many good men have maintained the justice of such a resistance as was made use of at the Revolution, and the lawfulness of defending the rights of a nation against tyranny and oppression, therefore they propagate principles of resistance to governors? I shall challenge him now to name any one whig who ever denied it to be a damnable sin to resist lawful and just government and governors, or that will not own the queen's hereditary as well as parliamentary title.

P. 32. His trifling about "a new name for our form of government, a more than needful concern for the monarchy and church," (which means no more but that they are safe enough without their concern) "declaring for an alteration in the government," &c. is so pitiful that it deserves no answer.

P. 33. He shews himself (a true tory indeed, but) either very ignorant, or no friend to our constitution, by his querying, "has not her majesty's right of making peace and war been set aside by votes and resolutions about those matters?" I tell him no, and whenever her majesty's great council think it for the good of the nation to give their advice in those matters by way of humble address, it is their ancient right to do so; but the crown is not tied up by it, though the ministers will think themselves concerned to pursue it as far as they can. He goes on, "have we not received various accounts from several parts of the kingdom, of villains committed to a gaol for speaking treason upon account of dissolving the parliament?" May he not be called by as bad a name who suggests such a thing, when there is not one word of truth in it? But is it not a fine way of proving the appearance of rebellion, &c. by arguing from this false suggestion, "that little villains are apt to blab out what they hear spoken by great ones?"

P. 36, 37, 38, 39, 40. The account he gives of the riots and tumults raised on Dr Sacheverell's occasion, and his ingenious way of turning them all upon the dissenters, and representing them as the demolishers of their own meeting-houses, may perhaps please some of the foolishest of his own party, but must look very ridiculous to every body else. But I can tell him a true story (in opposition to his false ones) of the manner how the attacking the meeting-houses began. Six young men, well dressed, came to an ale-house just without Temple-Bar; they had not staid long before they heard the huzzaing of the mob that attended Dr Sacheverell's coach returning from his trial; immediately they left their swords and watches with the man of the house, and went and joined the mob, who presently after turned away to go to Mr Burgess's meeting-house; in less than an hour five out of the six came back again to fetch their swords and watches, but appeared very melancholy, saying their other companion was mortally wounded by the fall of a window-frame from the meeting-house. Now to me it seems out of doubt that these young fellows were employed on purpose to set the mob upon the meeting-houses, but whether they were dissenters or Dr Sacheverell's friends, I will leave the world to guess, since it is known that the young man who was killed was an apprentice in a very remarkable tory family. But I have done with this matter, only I beg leave to state the case a little fairer than my antagonist has done it, whether the doctor was not the occasion of these disturbances, and so the fault ought to be laid at his door? Suppose then a turbulent clergyman gathers the people together, and preaches an invective sermon to them at St Paul's Cross; some of the hearers think his discourse tended to sedition and rebellion, and therefore charge him with it, and carry him before a court of judicature; while the matter is under examination he calls out of the window to the people, and tells them he is a true son of the church, but those who prosecute him are her enemies; upon which the mob take a freak, and go and break

the prosecutor's windows. Now though he did not bid them do this mischief, yet I *think* he may be very well said to be the occasion of it; for as the court afterwards pronounced him guilty of the sedition, it was his seditious sermon which first disturbed the minds of the ignorant people, and then disposed them to this disorder, whereas, before that, they were quiet and harmless.

P. 40. If I have said that "our modern flatterers of royal power have attributed to our kings the same (I don't say all the) powers which are taken by an absolute monarch," I add, and have magnified his authority above the laws, this is abundantly manifested from multitudes of their writings ever since Dr Manwaring's sermon down to our time, and therefore, as he falsely affirms, "a positive falsehood in fact."

P. 41. What I have spoken about *spiritual religion* is well understood by serious practical Christians; to men who live under the forms of religion without experiencing the power of it, it may appear (as it does to this writer) but mere cant; for as the apostle tells us [the natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.] He owns that the contest is not about the faith of Christianity, but about ceremonies, discipline, and such like things, and as to these, he lays the whole fault upon the dissenters, "Why don't they come into the church?" Rarely argued! does he take it for-granted that the dissenters have nothing to say for their separation? What if they think some of the ceremonies have too much of the remains of popish superstition, and that it would be sinful in them to comply in the practice of things which in conscience they cannot consent to? The church of England does not pretend to infallibility, and owns the ceremonies to be indifferent, will she abate nothing for the sake of weak brethren? Is she so perfect as to need no reformation in any the least circumstance? Does there lie no obligation on her part to seek peace, by condescending a little in matters of indifference? Well, if they are sure they are in the right, let them keep so for me, I will not concern myself in the contest; but this I'll tell them for a truth, which they will one day be convinced of, that those of either side who revile and persecute one another about these matters, have not the spirit of Christ, and will at last be found to be none of his.

He that can entertain himself with rant, railing, begging the question, and miserable trifling, instead of argument, may find enough on it (*passim* indeed but principally) from page 42 to the end; for my part I am quite tired with it, and shall trouble myself no farther than just to touch two or three places more.

P. 44, 45. Is it not possible for a minister to preach with a decent and Christian warmth and sharpness against rebellion, hypocrisy, &c., but he must lash out into all the abusive, exasperating, insulting, and virulent expressions that he can rip up? If such a treatment be not reviling and invective, there is no notion of any such things; the Paul's sermon (with many other of the same kind) is apparently such in a superlative degree, and the censure I have given in scripture quotations is justly applicable to such teachers, and will stick upon them for ever unless they repent, not because I have repeated, but because it is the word of God.

P. 47. He need not make it a question, whether the clergy ought not to recommend obedience to princes and magistrates; I challenge him to name any one man of the whig side that ever denied it by word or writing, but they ought never to strain it to an extreme that neither reason nor religion require.

P. 51. He remarks that I have said, that the prince and people may enlarge or diminish the exteriors of religion, "but not a word of the sense or authority of the church itself;" very fine! does not the word People then include both clergy and laity? And are not all good Christian princes, lords and commons, as essential a part of the church of Christ as the clergy themselves? We have standing laws enough to convince him that "the political church of this kingdom has been pulled down and set up, limited and

reformed," by our kings or queens, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament assembled; and let the high-church be as angry at it as they please, I will say, that it is fit an end should be put to all ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction that is not subject to that authority: But for this man to affirm in print, That "the consent and authority of the church itself (which in his sense means only the clergy) is by the constitution of England essentially necessary to make any of our laws," is a presumption that may be worthy the animadversion of our superiors.

The gentleman is pleased to reckon me "a very bad writer and a very bad man, but yet no fool:" I will repay his courtesy in kind as to the two former, but I am sure he has shewn himself no wise man in undertaking a business which he has performed so weakly: He allows me but "a very little wit or good sense, but somewhat of cunning;" I cannot return him the compliment in either, for a fool could hardly have lain himself more open to be lashed: I bear his contempt with patience, because it comes from one who, I believe, has rendered himself much more contemptible in the eyes of all impartial judges: He says "I am not to be treated like a gentleman," neither has he done it: "Villainous designs (in the title-page) villainy in the author" (p. 30,) and abundance of unmannerly epithets, shew himself to be of a coarse, ungentleman-like temper, and I had no mind to discover so much want of good breeding by imitating him. I boast not of my performance, but can truly say that I had no other design in writing but to do good, and I have the satisfaction to see that it has been favourably received, and in great measure answered my end. The faulty and bigotted whigs, and the high-flying rancoured tories (for there are many good men of that side, who have reformed that extreme) are equally angry at it; but the more moderate and wise of either party have been very well pleased with it.

The author, after having abused the whole whig party in as gross a manner as words could do it, comes off at last (just like Dr Sacheverell in his exception of consciences truly scrupulous) with a salvo, that he would not be understood to mean every body that has had the name of whig put upon him, many honest and well-designing persons, no doubt, having some time or other been called whigs. I verily believe it, and are so still. For his part he speaks of things, not of words; so did I, and shewed that the thing called whig principle (for maintaining their just rights against any invasions) was, and still is right; and that the thing called tory principle (for assisting the regal power in any usurpations upon the constitution, and for setting the church above the state) was at first, and ever will be wrong; and he has said nothing to disprove it, his whole labour has been in vain. By whigs he means those who are guilty of the practices, or espouse the principles he has condemned. But if he has condemned some principles and some practices that the whigs were never guilty of, we are not bound to stand to his judgment; I have not been sparing to expose the practices of those whigs who have acted contrary to their principles, and yet I maintain the principle to be right, and those who keep to it to be honest men. In short, he condemns all those who approve of my performance: And among them he condemns many persons of the first quality, and even of the ministry, who are so wise as to see and avoid the errors of all parties that have gone before them.

Considerations for Competitors and Electors of Representatives in Parliament.

This pamphlet seems to be calculated for the meridian of 1710, when Harley entered upon office as prime minister. The Tract, however, has such a tone of good sense and moderation as may suit a general election at any period.

TRUSTS are things which all men agree, *nemine contradicente*, ought to be performed with all faithfulness, and for that purpose with all the care and diligence, that the nature, importance, or difficulty of the matter doth require. Hence it is that honest men, who make conscience of the due performance of their obligations, are not easily persuaded into such undertakings, unless where near relation, intimate friendship, great charity upon some special advantage and need of their assistance doth move, and in some sort oblige them to it; much less are they apt to intrude into such employments, or offer themselves, except where there is apparent need of their assistance, and upon due consideration of their own abilities to discharge what they undertake; and therefore, when men are without any such special motives, found to thrust themselves into such employments, or stand in competition with men as well or better qualified for the business than themselves, this is generally looked upon as a just cause of suspicion of some sinister ends and designs in them.

This being so in private trusts, why is it not, or should it not be much more so in public, since they are of greater importance? and yet it is not always in these: The reason is this: Of publick offices of trust, some are also offices of profit, and reason good they should be so, being offices of great skill and pains, and requiring the expence of living proportionable to the dignity of the office: And such as Providence hath left to get their livings by their labour, may reasonably desire such honest employments as they are duly qualified for. But in this there are usually great faults committed, as, 1. When men, who are in a competent, decent, and convenient way of living, are not contented therewith, but ambitiously aspiring, or insatiably gaping, after greater and higher matters; these are not, nor cannot be, either complete Christians, or truly good men, and when the tentation comes, do usually shew themselves. 2. When they seek such places merely for the profit, and are not sufficiently qualified duly to discharge the office and trust. 3. When by their interest or friends they interpose to keep out better or fitter men than themselves; in both which cases they do prejudice to the publick, and are obstacles and impediments to its service.

Other offices and employments are of great trust, honour, and authority, but of little or no profit, but rather occasion of expence. These, I conceive, are neither to be sought for the honour or authority by any, nor to be refused for their trouble or expence, by such as are well qualified for them, when they are regularly called to that service. But of all publick trusts in this nation, there is none, taken singly, of greater weight and concern than that of enquiring, consulting, and acting in parliament; of which I shall speak a little more particularly as to the persons to be chosen for representatives of the Commons, and the duty of the electors. Each of these hath a double trust re-

posed in him, the one by the electors for the special good of the place for which he is chosen, the other by the constitution of our government for the good of the whole nation, wherein the religion, lives, liberties, properties, and whole concern of all that is valuable is comprehended, and many times great concerns of other nations also: And in this the representative of the meanest borough hath an equal share with a knight of the largest county.

The qualifications of a person to be chosen for such a service ought to be proportionable and agreeable to the extent and weight of the trust, which is to be reposed in him. As, 1. Integrity, and such integrity as is not to be moved by any prospect of profit, honour, or fear of the faces of men. 2. Knowledge and good understanding in that variety of matters, which may occur and are there to be considered whether ecclesiastical or civil, the principles of laws and government in general, and the laws and government of England in particular, and many other matters, with a good sagacity, prospect and foresight into the remote consequences of things. 3. Diligence and industry, to attend and consider, and prepare and forward matters of importance to the publick. These are necessary, if not indispensable qualifications; to which may be added two others of great use, that is, 4. Elocution, so as to speak pertinently and closely to business; and, 5. Reputation of integrity and good judgment, which usually makes what is spoken by such a person to be the more regarded by the rest. These five qualifications are as requisite to a complete parliament man as are the five senses to a complete man.

Such indeed are to be desired, to be sought for, to be preferred and chosen, where they may be had. But where persons thus qualified in all particulars, and in the highest degree, are not to be had, in such case they that come nearest are to be chosen, especially at such times when matters of great moment and concern are to be ordered. This is plain and evident, because the end, which all men in such cases are by the laws of God and nature obliged to intend, is the publick good, and by consequence are likewise obliged to make choice of the most just and proper means and instruments for the attaining of that end; and such only are those who have most of the principal qualifications aforesaid, and in the highest degree.

And by this rule may all such, both competitors and electors, who are more concerned to discharge their duty and serve their country, than to gratify their ambition, or serve a private interest, easily direct their actions, and judge of the actions of others. And therefore, 1. For competitors, whoever, because of his quality, his estate, and ability to spend most money, or his interest among his neighbours upon any other score than the qualifications aforesaid, shall oppose another better qualified in those respects for this purpose than himself, does certainly either act upon mistaken principles, or is transported with a vain ambition, or has not that affection for his country, and sense of his duty, as he ought to have. And this may be further demonstrated from a familiar instance, for there is no wise and considerate man, but in his private matters of law, in matters relating to his health, in matters of dealings with other men, and the like, will seek assistance from such as are of more ability in those respects than himself; and therefore in matters of greatest moment to himself, to his posterity, and whole country, not to do the like, is inconsistent both with common prudence, and that sense of duty, and of the weight of his undertaking, which every honest man hath in the acceptance of but a private trust; and certainly men's so forward intruding into a trust of so great importance, deserves no other construction than it doth, and usually hath, in the case of a private trust, under the like circumstances.

By the same rule also may the electors as easily direct their choice, if they intend the just and honest discharge of their duty; that is, if they regard only or principally the true and proper qualifications of the person for the business for which he is to be chosen, and lay aside all by-respects and private concerns. Some men pretend that a

good estate is a necessary, or principal qualification, to oblige the person to be the more concerned for so considerable an interest; but that is but a mere fallacy; for a covetous or ambitious man will be apt to use that as a step to sacrifice the interest of his country, to the satisfaction of his humour, whichsoever it is, whereas an honest man, contented with his condition, will be no less careful to preserve the little he hath, than he that hath more. Others are carried on upon the consideration of friendship, which is as unreasonable as if a man, instead of an able lawyer or physician, should make choice of a person but meanly skilled in either of those sciences because he is his friend: And as absurd and unreasonable it is for any man to take it ill from his friend, who chooseth the assistance of a more proper man in a special case than himself. The first of these does plainly prefer his private friendship before the publick good of his country, and the latter his own interest or humour before either. A like mistake is very common in cities and boroughs, where they think themselves obliged to choose their actual or expected benefactors, and they again expect to be chosen. Of these we may judge by what is said of the last. In the country many are swayed by fear of the displeasure of their landlords or great neighbours, and they as unreasonably expect their compliance. The former do in a matter of greater importance, the choice of trustees for their country, what they would not do in a less, the choice of trustees for a small estate of their own: And the latter take from their neighbours that freedom, which they would not have taken from themselves; or having basely given up their own, would injuriously usurp their neighbour's right, as hath often been the case of late times. For that rabble of brutes who are ready to sacrifice all to their bellies, they are scarce capable of hearing reason, *Venter non habet aures*, but if any of them have so much humanity left as to listen to it, the rule before expressed may direct them.

An Essay upon Publick Credit: Being an Enquiry how the Publick Credit comes to depend upon the Change of the Ministry or the Dissolutions of Parliaments; and whether it does so or no? With an Argument, proving that the Publick Credit may be upheld and maintained in this Nation, and perhaps brought to a greater Height than it ever yet arrived at, though all the Changes or Dissolutions already made, pretended to, and now discoursed of, should come to pass in the World. By Robert Harley, Esq. Printed 1710.

The greatest difficulty which the new ministry of Queen Anne, who came into office in 1710, had to encounter, arose from the doubts of national credit, and the depreciation of the funds in consequence. The tories were chiefly country gentlemen averse to the funding system, as loading their estate with taxes, and inclined in some degree to the house of Stuart. The whigs availed themselves of those circumstances, and of their own influence among the monied interest, to raise an outcry, that the public creditors were in danger of being deprived of their security by a ministry coming into power, who were supported by such adherents, and by the dismissal of Godolphin, and the dissolution of the Whig Parliament.

The following treatise, written probably by the celebrated Daniel De Foe, although in the name of his patron Harley, has for its object to allay those apprehensions, by shewing that the national credit rests not upon this or that ministry, but upon the queen and parliament, and would therefore remain safe under all the expected changes. These arguments were not sufficient, however, to alleviate the apprehensions of the whigs, and the funds continued to fall, until Harley, by se-

curing the interest of some monied men in the city, and by his South Sea scheme (which afterwards led to such extravagances) rendered it obvious that he could command the necessary funds for paying the public creditor, and for support of the public credit.

THE world being so full of politicians, and so many authors having of late turned statesmen, it behoves me to lay every thing down exceeding plain as I go on; the subject is nice, the age abusive, the town full of Observers and Reviewers, who write to please and content the notions of men, who, directed by their interest and parties, differ even with themselves; reason, it is true, is dictator in the society of mankind; from her there ought to lie no appeal; but here we want a pope in our philosophy, to be the infallible judge of what *is* or *is not* reason.

I am to speak of what all people are busy about, but not one in forty understands: Every man has a concern in it, few know what it is, nor is it easy to define or describe it. If a man goes about to explain it by words, he rather struggles to lose himself in the wood than bring others out of it. It is best described by itself; it is like the wind that "blows where it lists," we hear the sound thereof, but hardly know "whence it comes, or whither it goes."

Like the soul in the body, it acts all substance, yet it is itself immaterial; it gives motion, yet itself cannot be said to exist; it creates forms, yet has itself no form; it is neither quantity or quality; it has no *whereness*, or *whenness*, *scite*, or *habit*. If I should say it is the essential shadow of something that is not, should I not puzzle the thing rather than explain it, and leave you and myself more in the dark than we were before?

To come at a direct and clear understanding of the thing, the best method will be to describe its operations, rather than define its nature; to shew how it acts rather than how it exists; and what it does, rather than what it is.

Trade, as the author of the Review has told us, and who I can better submit to learn of on that subject, than some other he talks more about, "was derived by convenience from the profitable exchanging of goods from nation to nation, and from place to place, as people increasing, found their neighbours possessed of what they wanted, and themselves having to spare of what their neighbouring countries did not produce." This we now call *barter*, and is not so much in use as it was in the infancy of commerce in the world.

The Britons inhabiting this island were found to exchange their block-tin with the Phœnician merchants for spices, wines, and oils, even long before Julius Cæsar set his foot upon this island.

But as trade increased, two accidents fell in as effects; being the great mediums of universal commerce, the vehicle in which trade is preserved or administered through the world; these were *money* and *credit*.

This thing called commerce flourishing, and extending every way into all the corners of the world, the nations falling generally into dealing with one another; yet trade found itself unsufferably streightened and perplexed for want of a general species of a complete intrinsic worth, as the medium to supply the defect of exchanging, and to make good the balance; where a nation, or a market, or a merchant, demanded of another a greater quantity of goods than either the buyer had goods to answer, or the seller had occasion to take back.

This nothing could be found in the world of universal and intrinsick worth enough to answer, but metals; as being neither consuming in quality, bulky in carriage, or useless in nature: Of these metals several nations adhered a long time, to such as their own country produced; but gold and silver, by their mere intrinsick worth, prevailed;

and they alone retain the universal character, as it may be called, in all payments of whatever kind in the world.

The course of trade being thus turned, from exchanging of goods for goods, or delivering and taking, to selling and paying, all the bargains in the world are now stated upon the foot of a price in money; and though it be at any time an exchange of goods for goods, yet ever those goods are on either side rated at a price in money.

Though this was a great assistant to trade, and gave a liberty to the increase of commerce more than ever it had before, yet such was the great increase of trade, that it even over-run the money itself, and all the specie in the world could not answer the demand, or be ready just at the time trade called for it. This occasioned, That when A bought more goods of B, than A had money to pay for, and B having no need of any goods that A had to sell, it behoved that A should leave his goods with B for a certain time, in which A was to provide the money for the said goods: And this was done, both from the occasion B had to sell his goods, the occasion A had to buy them, and the opinion B had of A's integrity and ability for payment.

And this is the great thing we call credit.

Credit is a consequence, not a cause; the effect of a substance, not a substance; 'tis the sunshine, not the sun; the quickening something, call it what you will, that gives life to trade, gives being to the branches and moisture to the root; it is the oil of the wheel, the marrow in the bones, the blood in the veins, and the spirits in the heart of all the negoce, trade, cash, and commerce in the world.

It is produced, and grows insensibly, from fair and upright dealing, punctual compliance, honourable performance of contracts and covenants; in short, 'tis the offspring of universal probity.

It is apparent, even by its nature, it is no way dependent upon persons, parliaments, or any particular men, or set of men, as such, in the world; but upon their conduct and just behaviour. Credit never was chained to men's names, but to their actions; not to families, clans, or collections of men; no, not to nations; it is the honour, the justice, the fair-dealing, and the equal conduct of men, bodies of men, nations, and people, that raise the thing called credit among them: Wheresoever this is found, credit will live and thrive, grow and increase: Where this is wanting, let all the power and wit of man join together, they can neither give her being, nor preserve her life.

Arts have been tried on various occasions in the world to raise credit; art has been found able, with more ease, to destroy credit, than to raise it: The force of art, assisted by the punctual, fair, and just dealing abovesaid, may have done much to form a credit upon the face of things; but we find still the honour would have done it without the art, but never the art without the honour. Nor will money itself, which Solomon says answers all things, purchase this thing called credit, or restore it when lost.

It is in vain to talk of credit without this probity: Honesty will raise credit without money; but all the money in the world will not raise credit without the principle. D was a prince of high birth, a great character for wit, gallantry, and all the perfections of a duke and peer of one of the politest nations in Europe; he had, besides, a noble fortune, built great edifices, purchased great houses, maintained a vast equipage, and did every thing with the air of an exquisite and most accomplished gentleman; he had a vast fortune, great offices at court, nor did he ever want money; his stewards were never without 20,000 pistoles in cash; if any sum, however great, was wanting to support any point of honour, for his play, or to purchase what he had his eye upon, he knew how to produce it; yet the barber would not trust him for a perriwig; the coach-maker would not let his chariot go home with a new set of wheels; what was the matter? He would pay nobody generously, or honourable; he would be surround-

ed with duns as he came out of his palace, and would go *incognito* to court to prevent being insulted: The shirri, or provost's men at Paris, would stop his coach in the street, he has been forced to call a chair, and leave his coach and horses in their possession.

The thing was plain, he had no credit; his great estate, his high birth and quality, his equipage, his vast quantity of gold plate, his large cash, they would not add one inch to the stature of his credit; but he lived as if he was poor, and was less esteemed in the shops of the merchants, than a private gentleman; nay, than one of the Burgois; I had almost said, than a shoemaker in the city.

On the other hand, S—— is a gentleman of a moderate fortune compared to the other, but is also a man of quality; he lives nobly, though frugally; keeps a good equipage, a handsome family, does not lay up much, his generous nature will not permit it; but he pays punctually, no man comes twice for his money; if a tradesman leaves his bill, he buys no more of him till he comes for his money; he never dines till his wine is paid for; he wears no cloaths that the taylor or mercer can reproach him for, and call theirs as he goes along the street; instead of having his door crowded with duns, and his steward bribed to pay, he is rather crowded with shopkeepers to petition for his custom; his servants are teazed to procure their lord to buy here or there, and every one studies to leave his goods for approbation. The tradesmen are ready to fight who shall get in his goods, and sell often to loss, to under-rate one another. What's the matter? Credit stands at his door; Honour lives there, and Credit is her handmaid. The count deals justly, pays punctually, every man's demands are answered, Credit courts him, he shall have her favour, whether he will use her or no.

It is needless to enlarge; experience tells us the same thing in all cases, whether private or publick, personal or national.

Credit is the consequence of just and honourable dealing; fair proposals punctually performed will bring credit, let the person or people be who they will. How do we trade among the Turks, and trust the Mahometans, one of whose doctrines, in the Alcoran is, not to keep faith with Christians? They have obtained it by a just, punctual, and honourable practice in trade, and you credit them without scruple; nay, rather than a Christian.

Upon this foundation I build what I am in hand with, and bring it down to the present case; I know no persons or parties in my argument; this lord treasurer or another lord treasurer, or no lord treasurer, it is the same thing to me; a bank or no bank, it is all one; I will sell none of my tallies or annuities; I will discount no Exchequer bills: Dissolve the parliament or not dissolve the parliament, it is all one to me; I neither fear, desire, or am anxious about either; nor can I see so much cause for an alarm among our people that have money, as if credit was pinned to the girdle of a man, or waited at the door of the House of Commons; the thing is a mistake, credit attends the honourable management of your treasurers, your exchequers, your parliaments, whether past, present, or to come.

I do not examine what politic reason may induce her majesty to change or remove her great men in the ministry; I enquire not whether her majesty purposes to dissolve the parliament, or to let them sit; these things are not concerned in our case: The late lord treasurer, I allow, has done honourably, has managed the finances with great and unusual dexterity, and has acquired thereby the fame of the best officer, that has for many years acted in that post; I could be content to spend a whole page in his praise; the nation is infinitely obliged to him; and his royal mistress, no doubt, has received infinite satisfaction in his conduct, as appears by rejecting all attempts against him, and keeping him so long in a post of so great trust.

But after this is said, credit, which has for some years been the nation's happy guest by whose aid such mighty things have been done, cannot be said to be the sole property of my lord treasurer personally; it is not singly entailed upon his family, or his

name; this would be to go a length his lordship himself has more modesty than to claim; nor would his lordship be well pleased with any that could think such coarse kind of flattery would oblige him.

Our credit in this case is a publick thing; it is rightly called by some of our writers, *national credit;* the word denominates its original; it is produced by the nation's probity, the honour and exact performing national engagements. In this the great officers of the treasury and exchequer are, as we may say, perfectly passive; their business is indeed active; so the wheels of a clock, their business is to go round; but they are subject to the influence of their position, the operations of the springs and wheels that guide their motion, by which they act passively, if that may be said, that is, of mere necessity; and the punctual pointing of the hand to the lines shewing the hour, the minutes, and the seconds, are consequences of these motions: These indeed tell us that the wheels are good, perfectly made, exactly placed, and moved to a truth; but the honour redounds to the workmen, who placed them in that exact order, adapted them to their several uses, and placed such springs and wheels about them, which, by their like exactness, but all derived from the same original, oblige every part punctually to perform the end of the whole movement.

Credit is not the effect of this or that wheel in the government, moving regular and just to its proper work; but of the whole movement, acting by the force of its true original motion, according to the exquisite design of the director of the whole frame.

Thus the honour, the probity, the exact punctual management, which has raised our credit to the pitch it is now arrived at, has not been merely the great wheel in the nation's clock-work, that turned about the treasure, but the great spring that turned about that wheel, and this is the queen and parliament. The one, the spring (still keeping to the allegory) that gives motion or life to the whole; the other, the balance or pendulum, that regulates that motion, keeps it true to, and exact in, the performance of the general work, (viz.) the equal and punctual dividing the smallest measures of time.

This nice case requires me a little to descend to particulars, and touch matter of fact nearer than was intended; what is it has restored and recovered the nation's credit from the breaches made in it? The answering this necessarily requires that I should also ask what made the former breaches in our credit? I should do this as modestly as I can; for it is not the present work to open sores, but to heal them, to prevent more from breaking out.

Some of the reasons which sunk our credit, and made the breaches in it in the late reign, were the settling funds that were in themselves deficient, and making no provision to supply those deficiencies. Some would perhaps go farther, and say, it was settling funds that were not probable, and whose deficiencies were visible. I shall not go that length, the error was in the original; it would be unjust to charge the deficiency of these funds upon the commissioners of the treasury for the time being; it would be still harder to blame them for the parliament not supplying those deficiencies. Some may have said they were to blame in the first act, because it was their work to provide funds, and the parliament only gave what they asked; that they took them and went away satisfied, as sufficient for the supply of the occasion, and that they were judges of the probability; I am not of that mind, though it is not to my purpose here to debate it. But this is certain, the not supplying the deficiencies upon the repeated application of the persons, whose estates lay in those deficiencies, seemed wholly to lie at the door of the parliament, and this brought the tallies on those funds to intolerable unheard-of discounts, to the ruin of all that we called credit.

What then has raised this credit? I hope I do not detract from the just character of him, whom one calls the great guide of the nation's treasure,[1] if I say, it was some-

[1] Earl of Godolphin, lord high treasurer.

thing else than his lordship's management, something prior to it, in which that national honour and justice, resolution of punctual payment and concern for the means of it, appeared, which put life into the nation, and made those people that had money think it as safe, as well deposited, and the principal in as good hands, as in their own; so that they were perfectly easy in adventuring their money, and the longer this went on, the forwarder were the people to bring in their money: Nay, so forward, that the faster the government lowered their interest, the more eager were the people to bring in their money.

Let us see where this began, and this will tell us whose doing it was. After the first session of parliament of her present majesty, the queen acquainted the House, That the funds had more than answered the sums they were given for; there was the capital wound of deficiency healed at once. That the overplus should be applied, &c. There was an assurance, that all deficiencies, if any happened, should be made good. This gave the parliament part a brightness that revived the spirits of the people, helped open their purses, which had been so long closed, and caused taxes to be raised without murmuring.

The queen acted the next part; her majesty gave constant assurances, that every thing given should be rightly applied; and, to encourage her people, and shew she was willing to bear a part of their burthen, the queen generously threw in an hundred thousand pound of her own money, appropriated for the civil list, to ease the nation of so much in that year's burthen. These were steps no prince ever was known to take before. After this you never heard of a complaint of the heavy burthen of the taxes, though greater far than any raised in the former reign; on the contrary, the more you raised, the easier they were paid; the more the nation ran in debt, the higher their credit rose every day. After this you never had any commissioners of accounts asked for, or any question about misapplication. No man need go far for a reason for this; the credit centered all in the queen, whose concern was so visible for her people's good, that she would suffer no misapplications; that she would employ none, but in whom she could place entire confidence; whose probity and exactness her majesty could answer for to herself, and was well assured she might be safe in.

It is no way lessening the honour of the servants her majesty chose, to say that the nation's credit depends not on the reputation of their conduct, but on her majesty's care, in chusing such men, whose conduct would perform all the nation could expect; and that if they should fail, her majesty would not fail to remove them, and put in others. This is putting the thing right; the sum and substance of the argument is this. In short,

Publick credit is the consequence of honourable, just, and punctual management in the matter of funds and taxes, or loans upon them. Where this goes before, credit always follows.

This management depends not upon the well-executing their offices, by the great officers of the treasury and the exchequer, but on the care, conduct, and vigilance of her majesty and the parliament: The latter in establishing sufficient funds, and the former in placing able officers, and obliging them to an honourable management.

The publick credit therefore depends upon the queen and parliament entirely, and not at all upon the well or ill management of the officers, of what kind soever.

Another thing confirms this, viz. That while the parliament concerns itself to prevent the deficiency of funds, and the queen to place men of probity and honour in the government of her treasury, there is no question to be made, but both would concern themselves upon any complaints of the subject, to enquire into any mismanagement or abuse of the people, in the greatest officers; and not only punish the offender, but prevent the offence, by removing such officer, and supplying his place with others, who should better discharge so weighty a trust. This resolves the point, that credit centers where the government centers; for if the sovereign displaces those that misapply, the

wound to credit heals of itself; and while the sovereign carefully prefers men of honour and probity in the nation's trust, credit rises by a natural consequence.

But still it is the nation's credit; that is, it is built on the honour of the queen and parliament, as above; and this has been the case of the late lord treasurer; the credit of whose management must return to the queen, as to the center; otherwise this must be called, My lord treasurer's credit, not the nation's; and, to our great loss, must die with his lordship; which would be very unhappy for us; and would imply, that we ought to be more concerned for his lordship's long life than the queen's; a thing would very ill please even his lordship to suggest.

Having laid down this as a foundation, I build this short fabrick upon it, viz. That as the publick credit is national, not personal, so it depends upon no thing or person, no man or body of men, but upon the government, that is, the queen and parliament; displacing or removing any minister of state, or great officer, whose management under the sovereign affects our treasure, can no way influence our national credit; while the just, honourable, and punctual conduct of the sovereign and parliament remains the same. Neither does our credit depend upon the person of the queen, as queen, or the individual House of Commons, identically, as if no queen but her present majesty, and no parliament but the present parliament, could support and uphold the credit of the nation; but it will remain a truth, that every queen or every king, and every parliament, succeeding the present, that shall discover the same justice in government, the same care in giving sufficient funds, the same honesty in supplying the deficiences if they happen, the same concern for the burthen of the subject, and the same care to put the treasure into the hands of faithful and experienced officers, shall keep up the same character, have the same credit, and restore all these declinings to the same vigour and magnitude as ever.

From hence it appears, that our present loss of credit does not arise from any doubt, whether the like conduct can produce this effect or no, but from a strange suggestion, that a new parliament, or a new ministry, shall either not design or not pursue, the same vigorous and wise resolutions, or manage with the same integrity, as the last have done. If her majesty saw room for this suggestion, I make no doubt, (her concern for the publick good is such) that no such change had been made, or would lodge an hour longer among her thoughts; but if her majesty is of the opinion, that such a change will not lessen the concern for, or just measures in the publick service, then the difficulty ends. Her majesty has now put new officers into her treasury: No doubt her majesty is satisfied it shall be in their power to preserve the publick credit, and restore it to as great a height as ever it was before. And I will presume to add, that if her majesty should find it otherwise, it would be an effectual motive to farther changes till such hands should be found, in whose conduct the national credit could not miscarry.

It seems that the present discontents are grounded upon a supposition, that a new ministry shall be less zealous for the publick interest than the present; or, at least, the objectors argue, that her majesty has sufficient experience of the zeal of the present ministry, for her service, and for the publick good; and therefore it cannot seem rational to run that risque; and the like, of a new parliament.

To this may be answered, Why should it be suggested, that a new parliament shall not be equally zealous for the liberties of Britain with the present? They are to be chosen by the freeholders; they are to be Englishmen; they are to be protestants; they are to abjure the Pretender; they are to be joined with the same House of Lords; to be blessed with the same queen; and the queen, I doubt not, filled with the same principles as before; the same by which her majesty, for I must place it there, restored the nation's credit before, and raised it to what we have now seen it.

Shall we say, The parliament will not raise money to carry on the war? This would

be to say, We shall chuse such a parliament as will declare the Pretender, forsake the confederacy, join with the common enemy, and depose the queen. These are fears no thinking man can suppose to be rational; and are spread about by none but those that desire it should be so; and who, crying out loudest of the fall of publick credit, procure the thing they complain of; and indeed we have no breach of our credit, but what rises from these men.

To back their fears, and make others think them reasonable, they give long accounts of the progress of Dr Sacheverell, as if the folly and impolitick vanity of that gentleman could influence the people of England, to send up men as mad and foolish as himself: I must profess to think, if Dr Sacheverell thinks he serves the interest he pretends to appear for, by his mobbing and riotous progress, he is as much mistaken as they were, who made him popular by a hasty prosecution, instead of committing his sermon to the hangman, and kicking him from the bar for a lunatic; which, if they had done, the nation had been more in debt to their prudence than I think they are now for their justice.

I am against furies on both sides; nor do I see any such coming in: If her majesty does let in any such, I dare presume to say, it must be for want of having their due character; and the term of their services may probably end when they discover themselves.

But if men of moderation and men of integrity come in, I see no room to fear, but our credit shall revive as well under a new ministry as an old.

I know that some talk of a stagnation of the fountain; that there is a famine of funds; that the nation is exhausted, and we are at a full stop: This I take to be an amusement that comes over from France, and is calculated very much for the service of the enemy. But there are ways to get over the difficulty, and the best way is demonstration and experience; I believe the French king does not raise half so much hopes from our not being able to find any funds at all, as from our being at a loss for credit to borrow upon those funds when they are raised; and he may live to be deceived in both.

But to obviate these things, I take the liberty to say, and that not without book, when the parliament meets, be it the present parliament, or a new parliament; be it the present ministry, or a new ministry; as I hope there will not want zeal in the members to supply her majesty's occasions for the war, so were this war to hold seven years longer, it is easy to propose sufficient funds for the carrying it on, without that horrid proposal of mortgaging our land-tax, or without any such taxes as shall either be burthensome to the poor, or scandalous to the nation.

As to credit, while the parliament and the queen continue to preserve those funds from deficiencies, to make good such as happen, and to support the vigour and honour of the publick management, I see no room to doubt, but credit shall revive, and as we have not yet found any fund the parliament has raised, unsupplied with loans and advances upon it, even faster than could be desired, so I can see no room to fear the contrary: Yet if such a thing should happen, a mean head may find out some expedient that may not be ineffectual; for a supply of which, if there should be occasion, a proposal shall not be wanting.

[*From the late Earl of Oxford's Collection.*]

An Essay upon Loans; or an Argument, proving that substantial Funds, settled by Parliament, with the Encouragement of Interests, and the Advances of prompt Payment usually allowed, will bring in Loans of Money to the Exchequer, in Spite of all the Conspiracies of Parties to the Contrary; while a just, honourable, and punctual Performance on the Part of the Government supports the Credit of the Nation. By the Author of the Essay upon Credit.

The whigs continued the system of alarm by which they endeavoured to prevent the adverse ministry from raising means to defray the expences of government; while Harley, on the other hand, strained every nerve to provide the means of settling a load of unfunded and unprovided-for debts, to the amount of ten millions. His principal resource was what was called the South-Sea Scheme, by which the public creditors advancing money for discharge of debentures and mortgage tallies, and other deficiencies of public expenditure, were erected into a company for trading to the South Seas, and for encouragement of fisheries. Immediately upon the bill passing, the money-bills rose to above twenty per cent. and the loan required was filled up in a few hours. The purpose of this Tract was to smooth the way for government raising money by loan, and it becomes a judicious and practical supplement to the author's former work upon credit.

HAVING treated in brief upon the difficult subject of credit, and that (if the town is not a deceiver) with some success, it seems necessary to speak a word to two upon the great object upon which that credit operates, viz. loans of money upon the publick demands.

The author, an enemy to long prefaces, presents his thoughts to the world upon this head, without any other apology than this, that he thinks it a service, at this time, to remove the mistakes which some make, and others improve to our disadvantage, while they think it is to the disadvantage of some body else: While they aim at an object they would hurt, they wound themselves; and in prosecuting private or party prejudices, injure, weaken, and assault the publick good; which every man has a property in, and therefore is in duty bound to defend.

A discourse upon credit is naturally an introduction to a discourse upon loan; credit without loan is a beautiful flower, fair to the eye, fragrant to the smell, ornamental to the plot of ground it grows in, but yielding neither fruit nor seed, neither profit to the possessor of it, by making due advantage of its produce, nor benefit to posterity, by propagation of its species. On the other hand, loans without credit, are like the labouring ploughman upon a barren soil, who works, cultivates, sweats, and toils, but to no purpose, all the fruit of his labour ends in sterility and abortion.

Loans are the consequences of credit, and the evidence of that particular quality, which, in the preceding discourse of credit, I laid down as its foundation; I mean general probity, punctual, just, and honourable management.

To explain things as I go, though this needs but little: By loans, I am now to be understood to mean, lending money to the present government: The thing will extend to private affairs, and I might take up a great deal of your time in speaking of the effects of credit in trade, such as delivering goods by tradesmen to one another;

paper credit in affairs of cash; pledging, pawning, and all the articles of security for money, practised in general commerce; but these things are not to the present purpose.

The author of this confines his discourse to the government borrowing money of the subject, whether upon securities established by parliament equivalent in value delivered, publick faith, general credit, or otherwise.

The nature of these securities, the reason, the usefulness, and the foundation they stand on, are no part of the present subject; they are reserved by the author to a head by themselves, if leisure and the publick service make it proper to present you a discourse upon funds.

The present war, which, with a small interval of an unsettled and impolitick peace, is now in its twenty-second year, has been remarkable in several circumstances above all the wars that ever this nation has been engaged in, since the Romans possessed it.

It has been
The longest in duration;
The fiercest and most expensive in blood;
The most famous in successes and unheard-of victories;
It has been carried on against the most powerful enemies;
It has produced the most firm and the greates confederacy,
And it has in view the most glorious conclusion.

Together with these things, it has this also peculiar to it that it has been carried on at an expence, which has surmounted not all that ever went before it only, but all that it could be imagined was possible for any nation of our dimensions in the world to support.

Not the French king only has been deceived in the efforts made by this nation in the process of the war; which, as penetrating as he is, he never thought possible; but it is most certain, had the wisest and best calculator in the island been told what the undertaking would have called for, he would have determined it to be forty millions sterling beyond what the nation was able to do, and that without selling the very nation it could not be done.

As the view of the expence would have made us wisely avoid the war, and either not have begun it, or long since ended it, upon the best terms we could obtain from the enemy, so, had the enemy believed England capable of supporting the war at such a prodigy of expence, he would never have begun it; which the King of France himself has been heard, in terms very plain, to acknowledge.

When upon the Revolution the parliament fell most willingly into the war, as a thing the enemy, by espousing King James's interest, made absolutely necessary, the first branch of our expence was carried on in the common road of levying taxes, and the money required for every year's expence was raised and paid within the year.

The nation was rich, trade prodigiously great, paper-credit run high, and the goldsmiths in Lombard-street, &c. commanded immense sums; anticipations were indeed in practice, they had been so of old, and borrowing clauses were added to the bills of aid, but these lasted but a few months, the money came in of course, and they were paid off in their turn: Land-tax, polls, additional duties of customs, excises, and the like, were the ways and means by which these things were done; the year generally supported its own demands; all the loans were supposed to be temporary, and to end with the collection.

As the war every year grew heavier upon us, and the expence increased, new ways and means were necessary to supply the growing demand, till all the taxes that could

be raised by the ordinary way, were found little enough to bring the annual expence about.

This put the commissioners of the treasury upon listening to new taxes, and entertaining all the projects for raising money, that the working heads of the age could supply them with.

These, backed with parliamentary authority, were too unadvisedly supposed to raise such certain sums as the publick occasions then called for, and borrowing clauses were added to them, limiting the said sums; which passed as a giving the treasury credit upon the acts of parliament for such sums as they were granted for; but the collections falling entirely short of the sums proposed, left the publick in arrear to the lenders, and from hence came the great load of deficiencies which the nation feels the weight of to this hour.

As the sums given fell short, so the war called every year for still greater sums; which, added to the deficiencies of the old taxes, grew so heavy, that our managers found it was in vain to struggle with the difficulty any longer, upon the foot of annual taxes; and that it was next to impossible to raise every year what the publick occasions called for.

This led them of course to a new method to supply the great demands of the war, viz. By establishing annual receipts of limited or perpetual interests for such sums as might be borrowed upon the credit of the nation, the principal to sink in the hands of the publick. These were called funds.

To encourage the people to lend upon these funds, premiums for advancing the money, large interests, and other advantages were annexed; such as 14 per cent. per annum upon annuities, with survivorship, chance of prizes by way of lottery, 7 per cent. upon exchequer bills, and the like.

Here, together with the innumerable tallies, which, upon the deficiency of former taxes as aforesaid, went about the town upon discount, and the great obstruction of running cash, by calling in the old coin, was the first rise given to the art and mystery of stock-jobbing; a practice, whether good or evil in its consequences to the publick affairs, is not to the present purpose to enquire.

By this method has the greatest part of our yearly taxes, since that time, been raised; the parliament establishing funds for payment of interest, and the people advancing money, by way of loan, on those interests.

It may not be improper here for some people to reflect, that in the advantages granted by the government upon these loans, and the great discounts upon tallies on the deficient aids, mentioned above, were founded the great stocks of money, banks, and powerful credit, with which some people are grown to such a height, especially in their own opinion, as to talk of influencing the publick affairs, and, as it were, menacing the government with apprehensions of their lending or not lending, as they are, or are not pleased with the management of, or managers in, the publick œconomy; and this is the subject I am a little to speak to.

Loans to the government, by the gradations aforesaid, having been found essentially necessary, the first steps to that new method were found fatally encumbering; the high *premios* given, the great advantages proposed, and the large interests paid to the lender. The government appeared like a distressed debtor, who was every day squeezed to death by the exorbitant greediness of the lender; the citizens began to decline trade and turn usurers; foreign commerce, attended with the hazards of war, had infinite discouragements, and the people in general drew home their effects, to embrace the advantage of lending their money to the government. Then grew up the bank, whose second subscription being founded upon a parliamentary security, for making good the deficient tallies, was formed by receiving in those tallies at par, which cost the subscribers but 55 to 65 per cent. by which the greatest estates were raised in the least

time, and the most of them, that has been known in any age, or in any part of the world.

This, I say, turned the whole city into a corporation of usury, and they appeared not as a bank, but rather one general society of bankers; all men that could draw any money out of their trades, run with it to Exchange-Alley, to buy stocks and tallies, subscribe to banks or companies; or to the Exchequer with it to put into loans, and lend it upon the advantageous funds settled by parliament.

It is meet to mention these things, for the sake of the people who have gotten such great estates by the government, to let them know from whence the advantages they have made did proceed; and also for some other reasons which will appear in the sequel of this discourse.

The government, to preserve to themselves the advantages of the loans, and yet to avoid being imposed upon and oppressed by those exorbitant interests and encouragements, about the year 1698, entered into measures to secure the loan of money, and yet lower the advantages given to the lenders.

The first was done by the parliament, applying themselves to restore credit, by a vote to make good all deficiencies, and erecting a punctual, just, and fair management of the payments; by which every several engagement being honouraby complied with, the credit of the publick affairs revived, and the exorbitances the former years were exposed to wore off of course.

This tedious recapitulation of things will appear less trouble to the reader, when he sees the use I shall make of it.

Here may be seen several things, which, if well considered, tend to the lowering the high and extravagant imaginations of some people, with respect to loans, credit, borrowing and lending of money to the government; such as these;

I. Large interests, advantages, *premios* for advance of money, and the like, will bring in loans in spite of parties, in spite of deficiencies, in spite of all the conspiracies in the world to the contrary; while a just, honourable, and punctual performance on the part of the government, does but maintain the credit of the nation.

II. As the affairs of the government have made loans necessary, and they cannot go on without borrowing, so the stream of trade and cash is so universally turned into publick funds, the whole nation feels so much of gains, so much by, and depends so much upon the publick credit, that they can no more do without the funds, than the funds can do without the loan.

III. These borrowings and lendings are become so much a trade, so many families have their employment from, and get so great estates by the negociating these things, that it is impossible for any particular set of men to put a stop to it; or to get any such power into their hands, as to give the government just grounds of apprehension, that this or that party of men can put a check to the publick affairs, be they whigs, tories, city, court, banks, company, or what they please to call themselves.

I shall not tie myself to speak to these apart, the liberty of this tract will not admit of it, but in a summary way you will find the fact demonstrated, and the consequence evident.

Men in trade, more especially than the rest of mankind, are bound by their interest; gain is the end of commerce, where that gain visibly attends the adventurer, as no hazard can discourage, so no other obligation can prevent the application.

Impiger extremos currit Mercator ad Indos.

To pretend after this, that parties shall govern mankind against their gain, is to philosophize wisely upon what may be, and what would be politick to bring to pass; but what no man can say was ever put in practice to any perfection; or can be so by the common principles that govern mankind in the world.

There have been combinations in trade, and people have seemed to act counter to their present interests; nay, have gone on in apparent loss, in pursuance of such combinations; but they have always been made in order to secure a return of greater gain; and therefore, the laws made against such combinations, are not made to prevent people's going on to their loss, but to prevent the end of that appearing loss, viz. the ingrossment or monopolizing of trade, to come at some advantage over others, and thereby make an exorbitant gain.

But it was never yet heard, that the zeal of any party got the better so much of their interest, as to put a general stop to the current and natural stream of their interest; that a people should reject the fair and just advantages which have raised so many estates, and are the due supplies to the breaches made by the war upon general commerce. To talk that we would not lend money to the government, while the parliament settles funds, allows interests, gives *premios* and advantages, is to say, Nature will cease, men of money will abstain from being men loving to get money; that tradesmen should cease to seek gain, and usurers to love large interests; that men that have gained money should leave off desiring to get more; and that zeal to a party should prevail over zeal to their families; that men should forfeit their interest for their humour, and serve their politicks at the price of their interest.

Let those that promise themselves these things, enquire among the merchants, and see if parties govern any thing in trade; if there is either whig or tory in a good bargain; churchman or dissenter in a good freight; high church or low church in a good adventure; if a shop-keeper sees a good penny-worth, a scrivener a good mortgage, a monied man a good purchase, do they ever ask what party he is of that parts with it? nay, rather in spite of party-aversions, do we not buy, sell, lend, borrow, enter in companies, partnerships, and the closest engagements with one another, nay, marry with one another, without any questions of the matter?

Let us come to the general body of people as fate has unhappily divided us: Where are the men, supposing a party conspiracy against the government in this matter of loan; where are the men who would hold together, and refuse making 7 per cent. of their money to preserve the engagement? Where are the men who would stay their hands, and lose the probability of gaining a thousand pounds a year by lottery? No, no, it is not to be done; the stream of desire after gain runs too strong in mankind, to bring any thing of that kind to perfection in this age. The thing is so impracticable in its nature, that it seems a token of great ignorance in the humour of the age to suggest it; and a man would be tempted to think those people that do suggest it, do not themselves believe what they say about it.

In the matter of loan it next comes in our way to enquire, how does the cash of the nation, which is the thing we are upon, stand divided, and how is the government in hazard by any combination of this kind? If it be impossible to make this enquiry without any party bias, and so as to give offence to neither side, it shall be done. I do not say who is in, or who out; who has the management, who had it, or who would have it; let that stand as it does, or may; but how do the parties stand, with respect to one another; supposing any one party would endeavour to stagnate the general circulation of credit, in prejudice of the other: As for the purpose;

Suppose a whig administration, and all the high-church-men and their appendices, in hopes to reduce them to exigences in the management, should conspire together to run down the publick credit, and lend no money on any of the funds. *Vice versa;* suppose a reverse, and the whigs in general should do the same thing. Let us in-

quire; Are either of these parties so rich in cash, so powerful in lending, that all the loans must depend upon their money; or are either of these parties so inconsiderable in this case, that their support should signify nothing without the concurrence of the other? If the last were true, that weak party could make no manner of figure in this government, or be significant enough for the sovereign without visible distraction to engage with. To descend to particulars.

The notion is general, at least among themselves, that the gross of the cash is with the whigs; and the Review speaks of it as a thing capable of some demonstrations; though with his good liking, it may be said, he may be mistaken. Some have gone a length beyond the author of the Review, and will have it, that the money lies in the hands of the dissenters; and will allow the church-men, especially the high-church-men, to have little enough for themselves, and by consequence less to spare to the publick loans.

Others will tell you, the high-church party have a larger share of the nation's cash in their hands; that they have generally a proportion of money, and beyond comparison more land than the other. They add, that as they have more land, they can when they please have more money; and that therefore, though they should grant that the low-church and dissenters put together have the most ready money, yet allowing them the superiority in the lands, they can fetch the money into their own hands when they please.

It is not for me to determine who has most land, or who most money; it is my opinion, neither have so much or so little, as to render them formidable or contemptible to one another in the matter of loan. Both sides have enough to be useful to, and both sides have little enough to stand in need of one another; and in this division the balance of parties (which at this time is the only felicity that we can find in having any parties at all) does consist.

I make no difficulty to acknowledge, that where the land is, there is the foundation of all the real wealth in the nation; I do not say, it is in this or that party exclusive; that the gentlemen, who call themselves of the high-party, have a great share of the land is most certain, but that they have so much more than the whigs and dissenters joined, as some will alledge, I cannot determine. No doubt where the land is, there can be no want of money; because land will at any time raise money; whereas money without the assistance of trade, land-men, or governments, can operate no way, but like the viper, preying upon itself.

This leads me to examine the difference between loan and fraud in this case. Examining which, something may perhaps come to light for our instruction, which has not been much thought of before.

Solomon tell us, "The borrower is servant to the lender;" but with the wise man's leave, in this case it is not so. Solomon is there to be understood speaking of the poor borrowing wretch, who borrowed upon the foot of charity and compassion, and therefore he just before says, "The poor uses many entreaties, but the rich answer roughly." The poor man that borrows on his single promise to supply his urgent necessity, uses entreaties, as we may say, He begs to borrow; but the rich lender is surly, hardly consents, answers roughly, and is with difficulty brought to lend.

But we are to distinguish here between Solomon's borrower described as above, and he that borrows on a sufficient current security: He is no more servant to the lender than the lender is servant to him; having an unquestioned security to give, he scorns to ask you twice; but if you do not think fit to lend your money, he goes to another.

This is apparent in the publick securities, as well as in private; and will make it out, if ever put to the test, that the people of England stand in as much need of the funds to lend their money upon, as the government stands in need of their money upon those funds. I prove this matter of fact, fresh in your memories and undeniable

in all its circumstances. In the beginning of the war, when the money lay abroad in trade, the knowledge of affairs young, and the people not apprized of the thing, the anticipations upon taxes and loans came heavy, and were small. What drew them on? Large *premios*, high interests, chances of prizes, survivorship, and the like.

Thus, when the necessities of the government were great, and their credit young to borrow, the lenders made their market: But when the government found themselves rich in funds, their demands, though great, yet not pressing; credit established, the parliament, the great fund of funds, and centre of credit, ready to make good deficiencies, and leaving no room for jealousies in the minds of the people, What was the case? You took off your *premios*, you drew no more lotteries for sixteen years, you lowered your interest, you brought your annuities from 14 to 7 per cent. and your interest on tallies from 7 to 6 per cent. per ann. From 7 per cent. upon exchequer bills, you came down to 4 per cent. And what was the consequence? The necessity of the lenders being more to lodge their money for improvement, than the necessity of the borrowers was to ask, they came always down to your price; and had you brought the general interest of loans to 4 per cent. they must have come down, for money is no longer money than it can be improved. Nay, it is to be observed, the eagerness of the people to bring in their money increased as the advantages of lending decreased: Having no way to improve it better, they were under an absolute necessity of bringing it in, for the sake of the improvement.

Are these any of the people who can be supposed to say to the parliament, They will not lend their money? It would almost provoke a man to laugh at them. You will not lend your money! Why, what will you do with it?

Perhaps you will not lend it to the government; well, you will then lend it upon private security, upon land and the like: Why then those you lend it to will lend it to the government, and so the malice of the affair will be lost, and the advantage too. Will you run it into trade? Do so by all means. Some of those hands it will circulate through will lend it to the government. Your very export and import is a loan to the government. In short, the government shall have your money first or last, do what you will with it.

Suppose it were possible to divide this nation into two parts, the landed-men and the monied-men, and the government were to be put into the hands of the first against the consent of the last; and the monied-men knowing the landed-men could not carry on the war without money, resolved to lend them none, I mean as a government, What course should the landed-men take?

In my opinion, they should pass an act, That none of those people should be admitted to lend any money to the government at all; What then would be the consequence? They would be immediately distressed with the weight of money without improvement; they would eagerly lend it to the landed-men at 4 per cent. upon their land; and they again lending it to their government at 6 and 7 per cent. the government would be supplied, and the landed-men would get 3 per cent. by the other men's money.

I am not making application; but let any of the present parties, who boast of their having the gross of the money, reflect what they would say, if any act were to pass, That no whig's money, or no dissenter's money, or no high-church-man's money should be accepted upon loan; that they should not be allowed a transfer upon any stock, or to buy any annuity; the complaint would be very loud of their being excluded the common advantages of their fellow-subjects; and that, paying their share of taxes, they ought to have room for equal improvements, and ought not to be excluded; and this is true too, it would be hard. Then they would run about to their friends among the contrary party, shelter their money under their names, and perhaps give one half

per cent. or one per cent. commission to others to lend, buy, and transfer for them. And what would the government feel in all this?

The case is this: No party can be so foolish to think they can be able to stop the loan of money to the government; nor need the government think of putting the laws in execution against such combination (though if any such appeared, no doubt they might be prosecuted.) Keep up but the credit of parliament, and let that parliament find funds, it is not in the power of any party of men to stop the current of loans, any more than they can stop the tide at London-bridge, in its constant course of flux and reflux from and to the sea.

There is no doubt but the French have agents among us, who would be glad to weaken our hands in the war, and prevent our supplies for that purpose: From them it must be that these notions creep into people's heads; Englishmen cannot in their common senses be so weak; telling us that we shall have no loans, is much at one to telling us we shall have no recruits to our army; as, while you can pay armies, you shall never want men; so while you can pay interest, you shall never want loans.

The estates that some men boast of, by which they are enabled to lend, and made bold enough to threaten a stop of it, were gained by lending. Those that have them are too eager to increase them, those that want them are too eager to gain them, by the same method, and all too covetous and too selfish not to come into any good proposal.

The worst these men can do is, by making things appear backward, to raise the rate of interests, and move the parliament to add something to the usual encouragements for lending; and if the nation pays this, who have they to blame for it? Yet neither will they be able to do this, the present credit of the British parliament putting it out of their power; for as the necessity of lending will prompt on one hand, the undoubted security of parliamentary credit removes all the jealousies our party-men would raise on the other.

The zeal some men shew for their country, as well as justice to the government, is nevertheless very conspicuous in this; who, first, to glorify their party-prejudices, would have the war miscarry, rather than money should be lent, while such men manage as they pretend not to like; secondly, Reproach some people with designs to make peace with France, and yet endeavour, by discouraging loans, to render it impossible for them to carry on the war.

But both these will be disappointed: While the parliament supports credit, and good funds support the parliament, money will come in as naturally as fire will ascend, or water flow; nor will it be in the power of our worst enemies to prevent it.

If the author of this appears again in publick, it may be upon the subject of Funds.

An Essay towards the History of the last Ministry and Parliament, containing seasonable Reflections on Favourites, Ministers of State, Parties, Parliaments, and Publick Credit. 1710.

The attempt to remove the administration of Godolphin in 1710, was attended with much risque and hazard. The means resorted to are all stated in a note upon the article Saint John in the Biographia.

"The first was absolutely to secure the queen; that is, to fix her in a steady and determined resolution to pursue the measures suggested to her, notwithstanding all the arguments and applications of every kind, that it might and must be foreseen would be offered to discourage, dispirit, or divert her. Some have supposed that the whole scheme was not opened to her at once, but that she was gradually drawn from one step to another. But the very contrary of this seems infinitely more probable, for, if she had not been promised a total deliverance, it is not to be conceived what could be propounded to balance the hazards she ran in a partial removing of those who were grown disagreeable to her.—In order to effect this, she was continually put in mind of the victory gained over her in the affair of Mr Hill's regiment, when, by the Duke of Marlborough's going out of town, and the menaces of an address from the House of Commons to remove Mrs Masham, she was constrained, by a letter under her own hand, to let his grace know that she gave up the dispute, and that he might dispose of the regiment as he thought fit. She was put in mind of her being carried to school every day, for that was the phrase given to her attendance on Sacheverell's trial, to hear things that, considering the family from which she sprung, and the sentiments in which she was bred, must be extremely disagreeable to her; and the putting her in mind of these and many other instances of that strict discipline under which she was kept, brought that princess to recollect many offensive and mortifying passages, to which even these private friends were strangers.—The next thing was to secure the people, and for this purpose the most effectual measures were taken, both by discourse and writing. In the latter, some of the greatest men among those, who aimed at an alteration in the ministry, condescended to employ their pains and their pens, which distinguished them from other performances. And in reference to the former, the bulk of the clergy throughout the kingdom served them with great industry and zeal, from the alarm taken at the affair of Dr Sacheverell. As soon as their success in both these points was thoroughly known to themselves, it was judged for their interest, that it should be no longer a secret to the world. They knew that the reputation of power is power; they knew that the parliament as it then stood was against them; and therefore to balance this, they thought it necessary to shew that they had the people. To do that effectually and with eclat, they procured addresses penned in the fashionable style of the preceding reigns of the queen's father and uncle: And under pretence of taking possession of a living, the late criminal, now looked on as a kind of confessor, made a progress from Oxford to Wales, and was received and caressed wherever he came, in a manner that fed his own vanity, and answered their purpose.—Such were the previous steps to this revolution, which were so dexterously managed, that they seemed to rise naturally from events, and consequently were asserted to be the spontaneous sense of the nation, manifested in the fulness of their hearts, and without any management at all, which was denied and disclaimed with the very same warmth with which it was executed.—Lord Dartmouth and Mr St John were made secretaries of state in the room of Lord Sunderland and Mr Boyle; Lord Godolphin removed from the treasurer's office, which was put into commission. The parliament rose April 5, 1710, ten days after which the Marquis of Kent's white staff of lord chamberlain was given to the Duke of Shrewsbury; yet at the same time the marquis was created a duke. This in those days was looked on as an ambiguous measure; but those who were in the secret knew that it was the signal. Accordingly the other projected alterations followed in due time, and the whole was completed by the dissolution of

the parliament, and calling a new one to meet in November. All possible methods had been tried to shake the queen's resolution. The governor and some of the directors of the bank acquainted her with their apprehensions as to publick credit; the ministers of the emperor and of the States-General suggested the uneasinesses these changes must infallibly give to her allies; and without doubt these made some impression, though not so great as was expected. On the other hand, great pains were taken to persuade the nation, that these hints to a crowned head were very high indignities, as they had a tendency to take from the queen the free choice of her own servants."

No less art was necessary to justify the change of ministry, than had been used to procure it. The following Tract contains most of the arguments upon which the tories rested their defence.

Postquam Respublica in paucorum potentium jus, atque ditionem concessit, semper illis reges, tetrarche vectigales esse; populi, nationes, stipendia pendere; ceteri omnes strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratia, sine auctoritate, his abnoxii, quibus, si resp. valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut ubi esse volunt: Nobis reliquerunt pericula, repulsas, judicia, egestatem. Quæ quosque tandem patiemini?—Cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt, nova diruunt, alia ædificant; postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant: tamen summa lubidine divitias suas vincere nequerunt.

SALLUST. DE BELLO CATILL.

THE late changes in the ministerial part of the government, and the dissolution of the last parliament, having occasioned various speculations and censures, and the party, who for some time have strenuously opposed these alterations, infusing now, with great industry, strange fears and jealousies into the minds of her majesty's subjects, the writer of these papers, who had ever the true interest, peace, and welfare of this flourishing nation in his view, thought it his duty to bestow some leisure hours on these important matters, and to communicate to the public the following essay, wherein he hopes he has traced these changes to their true causes, and given sufficient reasons for the same: Heartily wishing that these his endeavours, by setting things in a fair light, may, in some measure, contribute to the allaying the present heats and animosities.

It is a received maxim, that kings are the common fathers of their country, and that 'tis below their high dignity to be kings of no more than one half of their people; which, at last, becomes the case of princes that bestow all their favours on some persons only. Their paternal care and affection ought therefore to reach to all their subjects; for as in a private family the fond partiality of parents to one child begets envy and hatred among the brothers and sisters, so in a nation, to see a set of men engross all places of profit, enrich themselves with the universal spoils of the publick, riot in wealth, and raise sumptuous, I had almost said, insulting palaces, whilst their fellow-subjects groan under heavy burdens, cannot but raise the indignation of a free people, and produce murmurs and discontent.

Not that the people should repine at the prince's having some bosom friends[1] with whom he may communicate his most secret thoughts, and unbend his cares; nor to see such favourites the better for his bounty: For in this princes do but enjoy the common privilege of all mankind; and this practice of theirs is warranted by the example of the best kings and emperors. But the people cannot behold, without a just resentment, two, three, or more persons exalted high above all the rest, who abuse the prince's favours, whose ambition is not satisfied with any honours, and whose avarice is not satiated with multiplicity of profitable places, nor with repeated gifts and grants; who keep an open market of civil and military employments; who by false representations traduce all others, that they may engross the prince to themselves; and who, in return to his kindness and munificence, put continual slights and affronts upon him, and

[1] Alluding to the outcry made against the influence of Mrs Masham, to whose quarrels with the Duchess of Marlborough the change of ministry was in so great a measure to be ascribed.

keep him in an inglorious dependence on their wills, in the disposal of all. 'Tis such a sort of favourites and ministers that the people hate and exclaim against; and whom men of birth and superior merits endeavour to get removed. They may indeed maintain their ground, whilst by a multitude of dependants they keep the throne so closely beset, that the murmurings of the people cannot reach it; but when either the loud cries, or his own indignation at the indignities that are put upon him, have awakened a good prince, he does not think it derogatory from his royal dignity and honour, to banish such false and unfaithful friends from his presence.

I own that princes, whose titles are disputable and precarious, may fear idols of their own making, and stand in awe of men become terrible only by greatness derived from them. They may be afraid of pulling down favourites and ministers grown formidable by the united strength and counsels of their faction, and so bear tamely daily insults, and let male-administration go on: But neither the cabals of a party, nor the difficulties which their combined malice may, for a while, bring upon his affairs, will deter a rightful and lawful, wise and stout prince, who has the hearts of his people, from vindicating his own honour, and reforming abuses in the state. It was never heard that a tumult was raised to restore an insolent and rapacious favourite in disgrace;[1] on the contrary, to see ambitious upstarts engross all favours, and invade all offices and employments, has been the occasion of many popular seditions; which wise monarchs have either prevented, or appeased, by a just and seasonable sacrifice.

'Tis true, a prince who for some time has been kept in mean dependence on a party by insolent favourites, and who would set himself free, and reform the state for the general ease and benefit of his subjects, must expect to meet with some difficulties, especially if those he would throw off have many confederates: For the fears of such as may be called to an account will make them set all engines at work, and lay all sorts of obstacles in the way. In the first place, they will set a high value on their own deserts, and, if a war has been successfully carried on, assume to themselves the whole honour of it. They will extol the great services of the general that upholds their party, and under the shadow of his laurels make bold advances towards the invading even sovereign authority and royal prerogatives; they will arrogate to themselves the merits of the many millions which the whole kingdom has freely granted; and propagate a wild notion, that the credit of the whole nation resides in themselves, and must stand or fall with them.[2] They will try to give all things a false turn, and to fill every place with unfair suggestions. Sometimes, to prevent national enquiries into their own mismanagements, they will impeach innocent persons; that so by raising an empty clamour, and putting the people upon a wrong scent, they may avoid the pursuers, and go unpunished: And thus, perhaps, an unwary divine was lately accused, and prosecuted with uncommon violence, with design only to prevent disquisitions, which might have ended in the impeachment of a great minister.

Moreover, that the knowledge of their ill conduct may not reach the prince's ears, they will endeavour either to engross him to themselves, or, if they cannot compass that, to blast the reputation of all such as are willing and able to administer good advice; insinuating, that they are either enemies to his person and government, or actuated by private malice and selfish ends: Thus the best patriots have been branded with the odious appellations of Tories and Jacobites, and charged with designs of bringing in the Pretender, and with him, popery and arbitrary power; than which nothing can be suggested more monstrous or chimerically extravagant.

At other times, they will boast of the number of their friends and adherents; fondly presuming to awe the court with an opinion that their party is too strong to be op-

[1] The Duchess of Marlborough is intimated.

[2] The whigs rested no small part of their argument upon the risque of disgusting the Duke of Marlborough, and the danger of publick credit.

posed: and that they alone are able to carry on the business of the publick: And thus we have seen what great combinations have been made to prevent the removal of a lord treasurer.[1]

But it is to our singular happiness, that we have now upon the throne a queen willing and able to assert her just right, and reform the abuses of the state: Willing, from the wisdom of her mind, the goodness of her temper, and the just resentment of the slights offered to her royal person and dignity; able, from that power which her undoubted hereditary title, most glorious reign, mild government, sincere piety, and other political and moral virtues, have procured her in the hearts and affections of her subjects. Such a princess will not be terrified from the prosecution of wholesome counsels by the prospect of any difficulties. She knows that a few may complain without reason, but that there is occasion for redress, when the cry appears to be universal; and that no military services, or other merits, can give a man a just title to screen any, no not his nearest relations, who forget themselves so far as to insult their royal mistress and bountiful benefactress.

Though it is certain that we are tenacious, even to madness, of our liberties, yet no nation pays a more sincere and dutiful reverence to their lawful monarch than ours: And as the generality naturally love and respect the throne, so they compassionate a prince whom they think in danger to be enslaved to the will and caprice of those about him, well knowing that they remain miserable, till he reassumes the exercise of the regal authority into his own hands. It was therefore no wonder to see, of late, the people so willing to join themselves with those who appeared most zealous to defend and support the just rights and prerogatives of the crown: For how can any true Briton not be warmed with indignation, when he beholds his sovereign so far abused, as to be denied even the nomination of a provost of a college, and the disposal of a regiment?[2]

These insolent denials were attended with odious and aggravating circumstances: For the royal soul not brooking such insults, and her majesty insisting on her uncontroulable right, the folly of the faction went so far as to get an address drawn up, and ready to be offered to, or rather imposed on the House of Commons, for the removing from her majesty the most dutiful, affectionate, and assiduous of all her menial servants; and all this to gratify the spleen of the most arrogant, imperious, and ungrateful. This intended violence was indeed timely prevented: But her majesty justly resenting this and other indignities, which decency will not suffer to be mentioned, and a gentleman of great abilities, probity, and spirit, having, notwithstanding the brow-beatings of the junto, found means to approach the throne, and acquainted her majesty with the general discontent of the nobility, gentry, and people, at the exorbitant power and greatness of one family, and at the administration of affairs, in relation both to peace and war, her majesty resolved to exert the queen; upon which she was wittily saluted as such by a noble duke.

It may be said indeed, that a wise and just prince will not punish many, for the errors and follies of a few; nor make a thorough change of his ministers, because one or two have done amiss. To be sure it is not without reluctance that he consents to part with some persons, whose wisdom, integrity, and abilities he has often experienced and entirely approves; but yet when these very persons grow sullen and resty, and obstinately reject a coalition with others, for the sake either of an overgrown minister,

[1] Lord Godolphin.

[2] Queen Anne was desirous to nominate Hill, the brother of her new favourite, Mrs Masham, to the command of a regiment. But the Duke of Marlborough conceiving this to be an encroachment upon his own province, threatened to resign if it was persisted in; while the Earl of Sunderland, on the other hand, is supposed to have meditated making some motion in the House of Commons to have Mrs Masham removed from the queen's person. Alarmed at these threatening indications, Queen Anne gave up her purpose of promoting Mr Hill at that time, but always considered the sort of victory thus atchieved by the Marlborough family as a deep personal insult.

or of an insolent favourite; in such a case a prince that hath any spirit, will employ another set of men: For he well knows, that parts, uprightness, knowledge, and experience in affairs, are not confined to this or that party, and rightly considers, that ministers or favourites, who should be able to protect themselves by a cabal, might first presume to think they subsist by their proper strength, and so advance at last, either to slight or defy his authority.

Moreover, it has been justly observed, that partiality, which is the weakness of private men, is unbecoming the greatness of a sovereign, whose favour should shine on the whole body of his people: And therefore a wise and good prince ought to make it his principal care, and use his utmost endeavours, to root out faction. But if the disease be too inveterate to be entirely removed, he must try by turns, the persons most eminent for their abilities in both parties, in order to beget a virtuous emulation, which may produce good effects: For by that means both sides will be at strife, which shall do the prince and the nation the most honest and the most faithful service, with the fewest selfish designs.

The main objection against the present changes is, that as all seasons are not proper for physic, so all times are not fit for purging the body politic; and that the war having been successfully carried on by the late ministry, it had been prudence not to shift hands before a peace was concluded. To this it may be answered, that as in cases of necessity, physic is administered at all times, so for the same reason, a reformation in state is never out of season; that though it must be acknowledged, that the war has hitherto been prosecuted with wonderful success under the late administration, yet it cannot be denied, that some parts of it, particularly the most essential, Spain, have been notoriously[1] neglected, either with design to spin out the war, or at least, to give the whole honour of it to the favourite general; and therefore it was necessary to put the management of the treasury in the hands of such persons as will impartially give attention to all the parts of the war; which certainly is the most effectual means to procure a speedy peace. That the debts of the nation, particularly those of the navy, being immense, it is highly necessary to enquire how the monies appropriated to those uses have either been diverted or embezzled: Which enquiry, before unsuccessfully attempted, would undoubtedly have been once more evaded, if the late ministry and parliament had been continued. That the people, at this time, groaning under a great variety of old and new taxes; the necessities of the state being still more pressing than ever; the public lying under many engagements; the honour of the nation being at stake to make good several deficiencies; and the late ministry having exhausted their stock of projects, it was necessary to call for the assistance of another set of men, to find out new ways and means. That a free nation, abhorring to see a few private men accumulating to themselves vast riches in this general poverty of the public, the universal voice of the people seemed to call for this change. And in the last place, that the high-church-party, or the landed gentlemen, having borne the chief burden of the war, it was but just and reasonable to give them an opportunity in some measure to repair their fortunes, by admitting them into places of profit.

And indeed this last reason is of itself sufficient to justify the late alterations: For profitable employments in the political body are like the blood in the natural, which while it circulates regularly, the whole body is in health; but when it stagnates in one part, it occasions there dangerous tumours, which must be prudently removed, before they rankle and fester.

It is to be wondered, that the ingenious author of a polite paper has not yet filled one of his lucubrations with the vision of a great receptacle of water, placed on the top

[1] See Dr Friend's Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain. It was alleged by the tories that the war in Spain was neglected, and the whole force and funds of the empire applied to that in the Low Countries, in order to gratify Marlborough.

of a hill, which, by several rivulets and pipes, diffuses the necessary moisture to the adjacent fields: He might have feigned a goddess presiding over the persons employed in the opening and shutting the sluices of the receptacle, who, taking notice that some meadows had received a sufficient quantity of water, should say with Virgil (in his third Pastoral)

Claudite jam rivos, pueri, sat prata biberunt.

Now dam the ditches, and the floods restrain,
Their moisture has already drench'd the plain.

DRYDEN.

He might have supposed that this wise goddess had afterwards bestowed fertility and plenty on the other fields; which, in some measure, would have adumbrated her majesty's character, in the equal and seasonable distribution of her favours among her subjects.

But, besides, when necessity compels the prince to make alterations among his ministers, which becomes unavoidable when neither the ties of gratitude, nor the bands of allegiance, are any longer a restraint to the ambition, rapacity, insolence, and arbitrariness of those he has raised to the highest degrees of power, honour, and riches; in such a juncture, a wise prince will certainly lean that way where he thinks his own dignity safest and the public welfare most consulted: Which is our present case.

To set this in a clear light, we may observe, that when the arbitrary junto perceived that the daily insults they offered to the crown had incensed the royal breast, and roused the innate spirit of loyalty of the nation, and that an enquiry into their administration, though once or twice before unsuccessfully attempted in parliament, might again be pressed and insisted on by good patriots, they resolved, if not to shake the very throne, at least to keep it in a stricter dependence on their own interest and power, by reviving the drooping spirits of a baffled, inconsiderable, and expiring antimonarchical party. Nor did they want a handle for their design: For a rash divine having asserted the wholesome and Christian doctrine of obedience to the higher powers, though perhaps with too great a latitude; and at the same time inveighed with unbecoming bitterness and vehemence against the dissenters, and exposed the male-administration of such men in power as favoured them; this indiscreet sermon was made the pretence and subject of great clamour. Hereupon the friends and emissaries of the late ministry publickly avowed principles almost diametrically opposite to our happy constitution in church and state; cried up the power of the people, tried the queen's title, and made it almost precarious, and dependent on the caprice of the giddy multitude; advanced the toleration to an equality with the legal establishment of the church of England; and extolled the merits and services of the great general and treasurer to such a degree, as if the whole success of the administration was solely to be attributed to them; and the queen herself had nothing but the bare name of sovereign.

Not contented with this, the junto proposed an impeachment against Dr Sacheverell; which, however, was at first opposed by some of their more discreet and discerning friends, who plainly foresaw the effects of such a solemn prosecution, against a son of the national church, for a piece of pulpit oratory, which both parties agreed to be only the result of an extravagant zeal. But as that very sermon contained shrewd reflections on the late lord treasurer, characterising him by his vulgar nickname of *Volpone*, that minister's most servile dependants resolved to bring the unwary divine to punishment: Into which counsel the other friends of the late ministry went the more readily, when they considered, that the length and formality of such a parliamentary trial would divert the Commons from enquiring into the disposal of the public monies.

But such is the folly of human wisdom, that this accusation had an effect contrary to what the projectors of it expected; and turned at last to their destruction, for whose security it was first entered upon: For the queen, who began to see clearly into the designs of the junto, having been present at this solemn trial, and taking notice that the whigs, who managed this prosecution, advanced positions derogatory from the royal prerogative; set up the Revolution, if not above, at least on the same level with, the hereditary right; treated with indecency and contempt the sons of the church; and spoke with all tenderness and respect in favour of the dissenters: Her majesty could not but entertain suspicions, that some wicked designs were on foot to alter the constitution in church and state. And on the other hand, the high-churchmen, who defended Dr Sacheverell, having with great loyalty asserted the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, and with zeal maintained the sound doctrines of the church of England, her majesty could not but think well of this party; and her royal person and dignity safer in the hands of the true professors of the established religion, than with those who mix and join themselves with fanatics and republicans.

At the same time, the eyes of the whole nation were opened by this unpolitic trial; and the ferment it occasioned in the capital city, instead of abating, spread and increased throughout the kingdom. Hereupon the bulk of the nobility, gentry, clergy, substantial freeholders, and good citizens, declared themselves loudly in the cause of their lawful monarch; embraced the government more warmly, and by their loyal and zealous applications to the throne, sought shelter under her majesty's royal prerogative, against the impending invasions of our happy constitution in church and state; which made an alteration in the ministry, and a dissolution of the last parliament unavoidable.

Thus Dr Sacheverell's trial, though not the true cause, was yet the occasional means of the late changes: The more discerning and impartial men, even of the whig party, early saw through the design of that violent prosecution, and from whence that engine was played; and at last, the whole nation began to be alarmed. It is well known that the late Mr Dolben, who appeared the most zealous and forward in that business, was an entire dependant on the T——r; and therefore it is not to be wondered that such a strained impeachment first kindled a flame in the House of Commons, where the late male-administration had already gathered so much combustible matter; and that it afterwards revived old grudges and animosities, and occasioned distractions, which were fomented and inflamed by mercenary and ignorant scribblers on both sides; and by the triumphant progress of the same indiscreet divine, who lay under a parliamentary censure: But which, however, happily ended in the removal of the arbitrary junto, and the dissolution of a parliament that was entirely at their devotion. And indeed it had been imprudent to commit the healing of our late distractions to those who were the principal and original cause of them; and who, instead of curing, would undoubtedly have exasperated the distemper. Thus when a storm arises at sea, if the steering of the ship happen to be in unskilful hands, abler pilots are immediately called to supply their places. And indeed as those who began that violent procedure, which occasioned so great a hurricane in the state, are alone accountable for any ill consequences of it, so it was but justice they should first suffer for it.

But before the blow was given, the junto fondly believed they might still support themselves by representing the common interest of Europe as inseparable from theirs. In the first place, it was industriously whispered about, not without a fair shew of popularity and public spirit, that after so many victories gained by her majesty's arms, in conjunction with those of the allies; after the reduction of so many fortified towns, and the regaining of the French king's earliest conquests, which seemed to open to our troops an easy entrance into the very heart of the enemy's country; and after the French court had a second time sued for peace, and sent their plenipotentiaries to

Gertruydenberg to negociate, it was reasonable to believe that a treaty would soon have been concluded. And, indeed, it was hardly imaginable, when, by maintaining a war so long and so expensive, England shewed marks of an unwearied constancy, and that we had a spring of wealth not easily to be exhausted: And when on the contrary the French were so sore with the wounds they had received at Vigo, Blenheim, Ramilies, Turin, Barcelona, Oudenarde, Lisle, Mons, and Tournay; so exhausted of wealth, and so diminished in people both by famine and the war, that they should think of breaking off the conferences at Gertruydenberg! It was therefore speciously suggested, that our late distractions, unjustly charged upon those who appeared in favour of Dr Sacheverell, gave the enemy a prospect of a turn of affairs here in favour of the Pretender: Which, considering the wrong estimate the jacobite party ever made of their own strength, and the false informations they give to the French court, is not altogether improbable. But then, may they not have been fortified in that fond expectation by the supineness and ill management of our late ministers? May they not flatter themselves to succeed in a second attempt to invade Scotland, when, notwithstanding the provision made by the parliament, towards the security of that part of Great Britain, the forts and garrisons there are scarce in a better condition than they were two years ago? May they not from the long anticipations on our old public funds, the deficiencies of some new ones, and the immense debt of the navy yet unprovided for, believe us involved in difficulties, which they think impossible for us to wade through? And may they not conceive our affairs to have been so perplexed by a long series of male-administration, that they had no reason to fear abler hands, and wiser heads, would either run the hazard of meddling in our business, or be in a capacity to prosecute the war with vigour? And, indeed, the selfish rapacious temper of the late ministry and our intestine divisions, industriously fomented by the emissaries of those, whom nothing but confusion can no longer protect; and the scandalous negligence which has been shewn in inspecting and stating the accompts of the fleet and army, must needs have lessened our reputation abroad, encouraged the French to think us now no dangerous enemy, and made them expect to see the great band of the confederacy dissolved.

When the queen had, at last, resolved to resume the exercise of her royal authority, and to vindicate herself from the insolence and arbitrariness of the junto, she thought fit to begin with the person who advised and promoted the address, for taking that privilege from her majesty which the meanest of her subjects enjoy, viz. the having by her royal person a trusty, assiduous, and affectionate servant. The junto were indeed alarmed at the removal of the Earl of Sunderland, but not entirely daunted, and having recovered spirit, they resolved to try new expedients to support their tottering power. In order to that, their emissaries propagated a wild notion, that the public credit of England wholly depended on the late lord treasurer, and the continuation of the last parliament; so that the whole confederacy seeming to be concerned in their preservation, some members of the Bank of England, and some of the allies, were unwarily drawn in to interpose in their behalf with her majesty; than which, a greater affront was, perhaps, never offered to the crown of England, either by subjects or friends. All that can be said to palliate the fault of the first is, that in their applications to the queen about matters of the highest importance, and above their sphere, they acted by the instigation of some great men, without the knowledge and privity of the body of which they were members. To be sure the bank is too wise to dare, uncalled, to advise her majesty, and lay down to her rules of government; and if they should, the parliament would, undoubtedly, think it necessary to check such a presumption, and to abridge the power and influence of a corporation, which, in time, might believe themselves independent on the government, and even able to dictate to it.

As for the interposition of some of the allies, although it be more excusable, because

they are engaged with us in a long and expensive war, upon measures concerted with the late ministers; and because there seems to be a parallel case of the queen's interposing at the court of Vienna, in favour of the protestants of Silesia, and of the parliament's desire, that application should be made to the emperor for sending Prince Eugene to command in Spain, yet there is scarce any instance of a sovereign's intermeddling so far in the affairs of another, as to advise him about the choice of his ministers, unless the latter was a tributary to, or mean dependant on the other. However, we ought not to pass too hard a censure on this wrong step, but ascribe it either to a mistaken zeal for the common cause, or, rather, to the crafty suggestions of the emissaries of the late junto, who infuse abroad false notions of our domestic affairs, with the same impudence as they vent their spleen and malice at home. Witness the pretended letter from Mr Pettecum to Monsieur Buys; and the letter said to have been found in Douay: Both which spurious pieces were first printed and with great industry dispersed in Holland.

This preposterous (not to call it by a worse name) interposition proving ineffectual, the discarded ministers and their dependants endeavour now to deceive and poison the vulgar, and even some of the better sort, with groundless fears and false suggestions, giving wrong and scandalous characters of those who have strenuously asserted our excellent constitution both in church and state; and insinuating, as if under pretence of maintaining the legal prerogatives of the crown, they aimed at bringing in the Pretender. A design which, as was hinted before, may with more reason be charged on those that raise that wild apprehension.

But as great changes in the government are often preceded, so are they, almost unavoidably, attended by a ferment in the kingdom: For those who, for many years, had the management of affairs, and the absolute disposal of all employments, have thereby so fortified themselves by a numerous party, that it is almost impossible to remove them without great convulsions. It is therefore no wonder to see what clamours have been raised, and what art and industry have been used, to cast an odium on the late alterations, and not only to misrepresent the causes, but also to blacken those who have appeared to be the instruments of them: For they who in all their proceedings never had but their private interest in view, will not fail making the same judgment of others; and will endeavour to persuade the world that all is swayed by selfish ends, private malice, and revenge.

I hope I have already sufficiently accounted for her majesty's justice in the late changes; nor was her wisdom less conspicuous in the choice of her new ministers.

It may be thought either presumption by some, or interpreted flattery by others, to give characters of men in power; but yet, I hope, the malicious aspersions that have been cast on the new ministers (particularly in a scandalous paper called the New Scheme, and in a letter to the freeholders) will on this occasion justify my endeavours to do them justice, by a fair and candid representation of their principles and merits.

I will not enlarge on the character of the person, who may justly be supposed to have been a great instrument in the late changes: His parts and abilities are too well known to need an encomium. However, since the malice of the faction seems to have been principally levelled at him, I shall only set down here the most remarkable passages of his life, which, if drawn out in their proper length by a more skilful hand, would, I am sure, give the world a complete idea of a true British patriot.

His first entrance into the world was remarkable, by his appearing earlier than any of his countrymen in the late happy revolution; having, for that purpose, raised, at his own expence, a gallant troop of horse, at the head of whom he joined the (then) Prince of Orange. Being, by his own family interest, chosen a member of the House of Commons, his sagacity and diligence were conspicuous in the detection of the scandalous bribery used in the orphans' bill; insomuch that Sir John Trevor, then speaker, being

thereupon expelled the House, the Commons, out of a grateful sense of this piece of public service, would have advanced Mr Harley to the chair; but being then both a young man and a young member, and desiring to be more thoroughly acquainted with all the methods of parliamentary proceedings, he most industriously declined it, and, by an uncommon piece of generosity, resigned his interest to his uncle Mr Foley, who thereupon was chosen speaker, and even in competition with Sir Thomas Littleton, who had the whole weight of the court interest to no purpose. Mr Harley made himself still more popular, by bringing into the House of Commons, and stickling for the bill for triennial parliaments, the firmest bulwark of the British liberties. On the other hand, his zeal for the good of the nation made him very active in the commission for inspecting and stating the public accounts, in which he was always foremost: So that being the scourge of an unthrifty ministry, they resolved to keep under and brow-beat so prying and so upright a patriot; notwithstanding which he pursued with great courage the true interest of his country, and constantly sided with the party whom he thought preferred it to their own private advantage. Upon the assassination-plot, he shewed his abhorrence and detestation of it, being one of the most forward to sign in the House of Commons the association in favour of King William; even to the apparent danger of his own life, being then hardly recovered of a fit of sickness. Some time after he was one of those that opposed the bill of attainder against Sir John Fenwick, being persuaded they had most moderation who least pretended to it. Some time after, Mr Harley got into the confidence of King William, who was more than once heard to express his regret, that he had not sooner been acquainted with a man of his merit and abilities. Being chosen speaker of the House of Commons, he first proposed to King William the act for settling the succession in the most illustrious house of Hanover, which received the royal assent in that session; and upon the calling of a new parliament, being again chosen speaker, he acted with his usual zeal for the public good; so that by his means the act for the further security of the protestant succession had a quick and easy passage: All which demonstrates his entire affection to the house of Hanover. He also was the person, who, in a committee on ways and means, moved the making good the deficiencies, and carried it, notwithstanding the opposition made principally by those concerned at that time in the revenue, whereby the public credit was restored. His abilities and merit were further acknowledged, when he was a third time chosen speaker of the House of Commons, in the first parliament summoned by Queen Anne. In the second session of that parliament he used his utmost endeavours to allay the unhappy differences that had arisen between the two houses, on account of the miscarriage of the occasional bill, the examination of the Scotch plot, and some other matters, that might have obstructed the public affairs: For which seasonable piece of service he was made one of the secretaries of state, with universal applause. He signalized his first entrance upon that office, by stifling an insurrection that was ready to break out in Scotland; and, not long after, saved the lord treasurer from being impeached, on account of the act of security passed in Scotland. Such signal services, one would have thought, would have been requited with all possible marks, if not of public, at least of private gratitude; but, on the contrary, observing that Mr Harley discharged his office of secretary of state with uncommon zeal, affection, and punctuality; that, having free access to her majesty, he acquainted her with many things which others endeavoured to have kept from her knowledge, particularly some advances made by France towards a general peace, after the battle of Ramillies; and that her majesty entertained a particular esteem for so useful and diligent a minister; the arbitrary junto not only exerted all their power to get him removed, but afterwards, by an unparalleled piece of ingratitude, used all sinister and scandalous methods to destroy their benefactor.

From this short account of Mr Harley's actions, and the tenor of his whole con-

duct since the Revolution, it is no difficult matter to judge of his principles: And I am sure that all impartial whigs will be apt to believe him to be on their side. But then they ought, with the same frankness and impartiality, to acknowledge that since he has performed all the great things before-mentioned, in company with the tories, the latter are no such enemies to our happy constitution as they are represented by the hot men of the whig party.

This great patriot having, with undaunted courage and equal address, found means to lay before the queen the true state of things, and given her convincing instances of the danger with which her authority was threatened, her majesty did not immediately proceed to the shifting of hands, but with great wisdom, resolved to consult the ablest statesmen in her kingdom. In order to that, and to give a free admission to several persons conspicuous in former reigns for their deep skill in matters of government, and whom the supercilious arrogance of some ministers had driven from the court, her majesty thought fit to give the key and staff of chamberlain to the Duke of Shrewsbury, a person who borrows less splendour from his illustrious and heroic ancestors, than he repays to them by his shining qualities and political virtues. This nobleman having confirmed to her majesty the informations already given by Mr Harley, and in concert with him, and some other persons of consummate abilities and untainted honour, framed a scheme to restore her majesty to the exercise of her royal authority, and to allay the fears of the members of the established church, it is no wonder his grace has almost an equal share with Mr Harley, in the spleen and malice of the discarded ministry: But no arrows that are shot from that impotent quiver can make an impression on so solid a merit, or deface so bright a character. His grace, in the most difficult times, appeared a zealous asserter of the liberties of his country, and a warm stickler for the protestant interest: For, observing how furiously the late king James's popish counsellors were driving, he not only resigned the office of lord chamberlain, but quitted a regiment of horse he then commanded, mortgaged his estate, went over to the (then) Prince of Orange, and drew with him so many persons of honour and estates, that he may justly claim the largest share in the late happy Revolution, of which he was afterwards the main support. For both on the account of his signal and never-to-be-forgotten services, and of his distinguished abilities, he was, upon King William's advancement to the throne, made principal secretary of state, which office he discharged with universal applause, till an accident (a fall from his horse) having rendered him incapable to undergo the fatigue of it, his majesty who had before made him a duke, and knight of the garter, gave him an easier employment, viz. the same her majesty was lately pleased to bestow upon him. To demonstrate what thoughts his grace entertains of our present settlement, it is sufficient to repeat what he solemnly declared at Dr Sacheverell's trial: That as he bore as great a part as any in the late Revolution, so he would ever go as far as any to assert it, and to vindicate the memory of our glorious deliverer. Is not this enough to remove all the jealousies that the most industrious malice can suggest?

Besides these two great men, her majesty thought fit, on this important occasion, to call to her assistance some other persons, equally eminent by their high birth, consummate wisdom and experience in affairs; and, among others, the Earl of Rochester. I own their steady zeal for monarchy and the established church has, at divers times, exposed them to the slanders and defamations of the enemies of both; as their integrity and public spirit have to the envy and malice of ambitious and rapacious ministers: But nevertheless their characters ever shone bright, even through the clouds that were industriously raised to obscure them.

The fanatical and antimonarchical party have all along, in a particular manner, shewn their inveteracy against the noble earl before-mentioned: For, notwithstanding the demonstration he gave of his firm adherence to the protestant interest, by his

chusing to resign the treasurer's staff, rather than to strike in with King James's design; and his near relation to the late queen and our present sovereign, which entited him to the highest trusts, they infused such groundless jealousies to King William, as made that prince shy of confiding in him, till, as was hinted before, Mr Harley had removed those sinister impressions. However, they had not the power to stifle in his royal consort's breast the natural affection and real esteem she had for the person and merit of her uncle, whose retirement she endeavoured to make easy by the grant of a pleasurable country-seat;[1] where his lordship has erected a monument of her bounty, and his own gratitude. His lordship was possessed of the government of Ireland, and of the present queen's favour, upon her majesty's accession to the throne; but those who designed to engross all to themselves did not rest till they had removed a person whom they foresaw would have opposed any encroachments on the royal authority. His lordship's enemies did not fail renewing their base aspersions, as often as he was like to return to court; but their malicious endeavours were at last defeated by the same person who had done him justice in the late reign, and who is satisfied, that neither his lordship, nor any of the high-church party, who have been taken in, will ever propose, or pursue, any measures, that may any way weaken the present settlement, or give the least uneasiness to the dissenters.

Her majesty, after repeated consultations with these and other able statesmen, having resolved to change part of the ministry, it seemed but just to begin with the person[2] who had refused to come into the secretary's office before Mr Harley was removed from thence, and who was supposed to have been the promoter of the before-mentioned address for removing Mrs Masham from her majesty's bed-chamber. His place was, at first, designed for a noble person who, declining so fatiguing an employment, the same was bestowed on the Lord Dartmouth; a peer who inherits the loyalty, zeal for the established church, and public spirit of his noble father; and whose probity and application to business had already been tried in another employment.

The lord treasurer being removed, notwithstanding the great struggle of his faction to support him, her majesty thought fit to put that important office in the hands of commissioners; and besides Mr Harley, who was placed the second in that commission, and as such made chancellor of the exchequer, her majesty pitched upon four other persons, no less distinguished by their natural abilities than by their integrity, whose large fortunes in land will certainly induce them to consult the interest of a kingdom, where they have so great a stake; and are a security to the nation for their clear and just administration: And who, having no particular tie with any of our generals, or allies abroad, will impartially take care of all the parts of the war.

The choice of these four persons cannot but be applauded by all unprejudiced men: For, in the first place, the Earl of Powlet, who is at the head of the commission, is a nobleman of solid judgment and understanding, polite learning, virtuous and exemplary morals, unblemished reputation, moderate principles, and a true son of the church, without any bitterness or fiery zeal against the dissenters.

Sir Thomas Mansel, who some years ago generously resigned his place of comptroller of her majesty's household, on account of his friend Mr Harley's being removed from the secretary's office, and is now with him in the commission of the treasury, is a gentleman of a very ancient family, most ample fortune, generous and affable temper, publick spirit, and clear understanding. Mr Paget's bright parts, and his knowledge of the business of the navy, make him a very fit person to be in the commission of the treasury. And in the last place, Mr Benson, brother-in-law to the Lord Dartmouth,

[1] The late queen gave the Earl of Rochester part of Richmond Park, where his lordship has made extraordinary fine gardens, and erected there her majesty's statue, with this inscription: *Semper Honos, Nomenque tuum, Laudesque manebunt.*—Orig. Note.

[2] The Earl of Sunderland.

is a gentleman of quick natural parts (improved by study, travel, and polite conversation) sound judgment, and well versed in the laws and constitution of this kingdom.

The event has already justified her majesty's choice of these five commissioners: For, notwithstanding the great difficulties they have hitherto laboured under, occasioned chiefly by the endeavours of the friends of the late ministry to sink the publick credit, and embroil the affairs of the bank (of which notice may be taken in a more proper place) and though they found the treasury and exchequer not only entirely exhausted, but also clogged with new-struck tallies and anticipations, yet by their credit and reputation they have found means to supply the armies in Flanders, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, till the end of the campaign; and at a cheaper rate than the late treasurer ever did.

Another gentleman having some time after resigned his place of secretary of state, the seals were immediately given to Mr St John; who, like Sir Thomas Mansel, had formerly chosen to sacrifice his place of secretary of war, rather than abandon so worthy a friend as Mr Harley. Nor is any man in the three kingdoms better qualified for that high and busy employment, whether we consider his natural talents, vivacity of wit, penetration and judgment, or his mastery of languages, flowing eloquence, affability, and address; so that her majesty cannot have a more useful minister, either with respect to the publick business in the House of Commons, or in relation to the management of the affairs abroad: And I dare prophesy, that he will never be guilty of such a false step as was made in the business of the Muscovite ambassador, or expose the crown and nation to so inglorious a submission to retrieve it.

Some other persons, too far engaged in the late measures, having been necessarily removed, and others having voluntarily resigned their employments, perhaps through a false punctilio, lest they should be thought to change sides, their places were supplied by men of equal merit, parts, and abilities; and, at least, as zealous to advance the true interest of their country, and the good of the common cause. I shall not enlarge upon their characters, because it is foreign to my present design to enter into such particulars, any farther than seems absolutely necessary to account for the late alterations.

But, in order to trace them up to their true causes, we may still observe, that only two new persons have been put in the commission of the navy; and that no man could, with more justice, be placed at the head of it than Sir John Leake, whose successful expeditions and enterprizes have carried the honour of the English navy as far as any sea-commander that can be brought in competition with him.

We may likewise observe, that one of the secretaries of state, and some other persons, have been continued in their places; and that the reason of Mr Smith's removal from the chancellorship of the exchequer, being only because that place belongs, of course, to the second commissioner of the treasury, her majesty was pleased to shew the continuance of her favour to him, by bestowing upon him another profitable employment in the exchequer.

These few hints and instances shew, at the same time, the main scope of the late changes: Which is not to cramp or streighten the government, by turning out one party, and taking in another, but rather to strengthen it, by enlarging its foundation, it being the queen's fixed design and resolution to encourage and reward all such, who, with honest and virtuous principles, shall embrace and promote her majesty's and the nation's service, without any regard to invidious distinctions. Usurpers, or encroaching favourites, and ambitious ministers, may, for a while, support themselves by a faction; but our rightful and lawful queen has nothing more at heart, than that the names of Tory and Whig may be buried in oblivion; she thinks it below her royal dignity to make use of the mean arts of indulging any of her subjects in follies and animosities to themselves fatal, and injurious to her power. As she has a right to

govern all, so she scorns to be queen of no more than half her people: And as she is able to judge whose merits are the greatest, and who are the fittest objects to be shined on, so she will, for the future, impartially distribute her rewards, and countenance the best patriots; which cannot fail of strengthening her auspicious administration with the hearts and hands of all her subjects.

And here we may cursorily take notice, that her majesty has already begun to redress military as well as civil grievances. Thus we see the glorious victor at Wynendale, the brave General Webb, to whom we are principally indebted for the conquest of Lisle, but whose laurels were like to have been fixed on the brow of another, and his services depreciated, advanced to an important government: Thus we see that valiant and experienced commander, the Earl of Portmore, whose involuntary idleness was lamented by all the well-wishers to the common cause, at last sent to retrieve the affairs of Portugal; and, 'tis to be hoped, to complete the conquest of Spain. Thus a noble lord, who, some years ago, had a fine regiment of horse taken from him (either for not voting in the House of Commons according to the desire of a certain great man, or for opposing the election of his near relation) was lately restored to her majesty's favour, and advanced to a high military title. Thus we may expect to see ere long justice done to the illustrious Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Peterborough, whose great achievements will ever live in the memory of all grateful Englishmen. And thus the Argyles, the Orreries, the Norths and Greys, and all other brave Britons in the army, who have either been postponed or disregarded, whilst all favour was shewn to Hibernian officers, may, with reason, hope to be taken notice of, and promoted in their turns.

To return to our present business: The discarded ministers having, by their vast wealth, and numerous dependants, formed a strong and formidable party, were not without hopes, if not of regaining their power, at least, of avoiding a national enquiry into their administration, by suggesting dangers from the calling a new parliament; and by starting difficulties in the ordinary method of dissolution: But her majesty being fully convinced of the absolute necessity of it, wisely exerted her royal prerogative, and ordered a proclamation to be published for that purpose.

It has, with great industry, been whispered by the emissaries of the late junto, how ungracious it was to dissolve so good a parliament, which had so readily voted the necessary supplies for the war; but besides the reasons for this dissolution hinted at before, it may be observed, that the same motives that prompted her majesty to change her ministry, were sufficient to induce her to call a new parliament.

It is with a mixt government, as ours is, as with a piece of clock-work, where, unless the springs be fitted to the wheels, and *vice versa*, the wheels to the springs, let the pendulum be ever so regular and steady in its motion, the whole work will never produce the effects intended by the artist. Thus in our political constitution, if the springs or the ministerial part of the government, do not exactly agree with the wheels or parliament, nothing can be expected from them but continual jars and misunderstandings, each contending to put the other in the wrong, and obstructing what the other moves for the public good; whereas, on the contrary, when both concur in opinion and designs, all good counsels, prosperity, and success, attend so excellent an harmony.

Some of our princes have, indeed, been justly censured for dissolving parliaments; but 'twas then only, when they seemed resolved to govern without them. Wherefore it cannot be thought ungracious in her majesty to part with the last, (though, to do them justice, they supplied the necessities of the war with all imaginable zeal and readiness) since another was immediately summoned to meet about the usual time; so that foreign affairs can suffer no prejudicial intermission by this dissolution; and, on

the other hand, 'tis not to be doubted that proper remedies will be applied to our intestine distempers.

Parliaments are the very heart of our constitution: While that vital part of it is free, vigorous, and sound, no danger from abroad, no distractions, factions, or combinations at home, can hurt us. Our sovereign is no where so safe, or appears with so great splendour, as when he sits in his throne, at the head of his parliament; the peers no where vested with so great authority, as when they sit supreme judges in their house; and as the Commons are the guardians of the liberties of the people, so the latter cannot lose their rights so long as we preserve parliaments; the felicity of our constitution being such, that we cannot be undone but by ourselves, and by our own consent.

But 'tis matter of grief to reflect, that, of late years, not a few men, considerable for their birth, abilities, and estates, instead of bending their thoughts how to serve their country, have meanly contrived how to advance their own fortunes, either by a slavish dependence on a favourite general, or by supporting a great minister at the helm; and whilst they were attending levees, and cringing for civil or military preferments in anti-chambers, they either left to their relations the care of managing their elections in the country, or, which is worse, of making interest for such as were recommended by the two rulers. By these means most of the elections were carried for officers or monied men; which is not to be wondered at, since gentlemen had taught their tenants and dependants to sell their votes, by their practice of bringing their voices to market in the parliament-house. Such members never believed it went ill with the nation, as long as it went well with themselves: The landed interest was not so much the object of their care, as by what obsequious arts they might be advanced to better posts; and if they had but their share of the public money, they took little thought of the application of the remainder. Thus by the bestowing of regiments on proper persons, though to the notorious discouragement of officers who had merited by their long services; by bribing other members by pensions, or civil offices; and by winking at the immense gains which some private men made out of the kingdom's treasure, the junto had bid fair for the largest share of the legislative authority.

Armed with this power, and having, as they fondly believed, entirely secured to themselves the bounteous and indulgent queen, it is no wonder that instead of bringing the vast profits, accruing from safe-guards and contributions, into the public treasure, as the Romans did heretofore, and as it is now practised by the thrifty Hollanders; instead of accounting for the several regiments taken prisoners, or incorporated in Spain, and elsewhere, which were not new-raised in two or three years after, and the best part of the pay whereof was sunk; immense grants were procured, both out of the crown-lands and revenues, for the favourite general; and whereas, in former times, trophies only were erected out of the spoils of the vanquished, a magnificent castle, shall I call it, or a strong citadel,[1] has been raised for our leader, mostly out of the public treasure; whilst Whitehall, the ancient mansion of our kings, remains in rubbish; and whilst her majesty is contented to take up with a scanty accommodation in an old patcht-up house, eclipsed by a sumptuous and regular new palace, built by the late favourite lady, 'tis no wonder, that when an honest party in the House of Commons had pressed an enquiry into the mismanagement of our affairs of Spain; and when it appearing, that of the 28,000 men voted and provided for by the parliament, there were not actually 9000 employed in that country, an address was carried to represent to the queen a miscarriage too notorious to be passed over in silence: The majority of that house were, however, satisfied with a palliating answer, jumbled up by the junto. 'Tis no wonder, that other enquiries into the disposal of the monies appropriated to the navy, have since been unsuccessfully attempted; 'tis no wonder that

[1] The palace of Blenheim.

an act of indemnity was procured to skreen a great man, who is shrewdly suspected of having lavished away near a million sterling, to bring about the Union, with no other design than to retrieve a false step, for which he might have lost his head.[1] In short, 'tis no wonder that the junto had formed the towering project of getting a general for life;[2] who might, in time, have gained as absolute an authority as that of a Roman perpetual dictator, or of a British protector; and so have governed arbitrarily both queen and nation.[3]

But, thanks be to God, that fond and fantastic design is vanished into air, by the timely dissolution of the last parliament: And although the British spirit has of late been much abased and depraved, yet there is good reason to hope it is not yet quite extinguished.[4] Though the late junto and their supporters, the monied men, were, and still are, able to bribe many, yet was it not, (and 'tis now less) in their power to corrupt all. They found indeed a base compliance among a party, who left no servile arts unpractised to get into profitable employments: But then they met in their career a set of landed men, proof against bribery, stiff and staunch in the principles of honour, heartily zealous for the support of our happy constitution in church and state, and whom profit could not allure, nor power intimidate. Now, as the arbitrary junto had reason to dread the industry, frugality, vigour, sagacity, and courage of these patriots, so all sinister methods were used to keep them under, by branding them with odious appellations, and charging them with unnatural designs against their lawful sovereign and native country; well knowing, that if ever this sound party should prevail, their corruptions and mismanagements would be animadverted upon.

'Tis therefore no wonder to see, that the same artifices are now practised to thwart the high-church or landed men in the new elections: But by this time, the charm is broke; some boroughs were formerly corrupted, but are not yet, thank God, bought out; and the true patriots having gained the day at court, it is not to be doubted but they will have a majority in the ensuing parliament.

And indeed, as there cannot be a circumstance more dangerous to the liberty of a nation, than to have the real right, interest, and property of lands in one hand, and the power of being chosen into parliament in another; so, to preserve the rights of this nation, we should be represented by such as have the greatest share in property.

From hence it naturally follows, that the new whigs, who, as they themselves boast, are the monied men, having for these many years past enjoyed all the places of profit, and made up the majority of the House of Commons, it was but a piece of justice, and generous condescension, in her majesty, to hearken to the general voice of the nation that called for a new parliament. This gives her majesty's subjects an opportunity of being represented by men of estates; whereas, had the late parliament been continued, it might have happened that those, who never consulted the landed interest, having exhausted their stock of ways and means, might at last have given into the project of making land a perpetual fund; than which nothing could in time prove more fatal to our constitution. For thereby the real property of land would belong

[1] Swift avers, in "The Examiner," and in his celebrated pamphlet called "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," that the Union was pushed through by Godolphin only to avoid the consequences of the Scottish act of security.

[2] It was the most popular article of accusation against the Duke of Marlborough, that he designed to have himself chosen general for life.

[3] When Cato was acted for the first time, Lord Oxford called Booth into his box, and made him a present of a purse of fifty guineas, for having so well defended the cause of freedom against a military dictator.

[4] "Many simple whigs all this while fed themselves with vain hopes, that the present parliament would sit another session; but they were all dashed on the 21st of September, when they were dissolved by proclamation, and a new one called on the 26th, the writs to bear date on the 27th, and be returnable on the 25th of November. Before which dissolution, almost all the great whig officers and ministers of state resigned their places, viz. the Lord Somers, President of the Council, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Steward, the Lord Chancellor Cowper, Secretary Boyle, Earl of Oxford, first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, and the Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."—*A Detection of the Court and State of England*, vol. III. page 387.

to the bankers and usurers; and we should be, in a great measure, represented by such as, having only the name and shew of estates, would be in an entire dependence on the court for preferments. Nor would there be any fence against such corruption; for a parliament that would consent to continue land-taxes beyond the duration of the war, would give up all our liberties at once.

From all this it is plain, that men of good estates, untainted honour, unshaken loyalty to the crown, and independent on the late ministry (call them by what name you please) are the proper persons to represent this free nation at this critical juncture. It was they who, since the Revolution, in which they had as great share as any, strenuously asserted the rights of the people, and procured us the two strongest bulwarks of British liberty, viz. the treason bill, and the act for triennial parliaments; it was they who have always been for saving the public money, and as far as in them lay checked depredations, by calling every session for the accounts and estimates of the army and fleet; it was they who, after the peace of Ryswick, insisted on the disbanding of the army, and resumed exorbitant grants to pay public debts; it was they who made the nation sensible of the dangerous consequences of the Partition-Treaty, and had the courage to attack in parliament, men of great figure, whom they thought authors of that pernicious counsel; it was they who, about the beginning of the year 1701, (Mr Harley being then speaker) made the act for the further limitation of the crown in the protestant line; and who, just before the late king's death (Mr Harley being still in the chair) passed two other acts, viz. one for the attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales of high-treason, and another for the further security of the succession in the protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders; it was they who first entered into this necessary war, and therefore they ought in justice to have the honour of ending it; it was they who, upon the queen's accession to the throne, made good the deficiencies of the last reign; which shews they will ever be tender of the honour of parliamentary engagements. And in the last place, it was they who opposed the mismanagements of the late junto, and are therefore the fittest men to enquire into the disposal of the public moneys; which the immense debt that now lies upon the navy renders absolutely necessary. Nor is it to be doubted that the landed gentlemen will readily grant and provide the necessary supplies for carrying on the war with the utmost vigour: For as they have still borne, and are still like to bear, the greatest weight of taxes, so will they, in their own defence, exert their utmost endeavours to procure a safe, honourable, and lasting peace, in order to ease themselves of their burden. Therefore if, as has been suggested, the court of France spun out, and at last broke off the late conferences at Gertruydenburg, upon a prospect of a turn of affairs in this nation in favour of the Pretender, they will certainly find themselves as miserably disappointed in that fond expectation, as they have often been in others of the like kind; and, it is to be hoped, pay very dear for their last legerdemain: For, in all probability, our new ministry, and the new parliament, will insist on the restitution of the whole monarchy of Spain; and on better terms for all the allies (particularly for the trading part of this nation) instead of offering an equivalent for the 37th article of the late preliminaries.

On the other hand, it is not to be doubted that as the moderate tories and old whigs jointly opposed in the late reign, the mismanagement of the new whigs, who, to maintain themselves and their friends at court, ever winked at a loose and unprovident administration, so they will on this occasion unanimously concur in all proper measures for the allaying of our late feuds and animosities, and the advancement of the public good. It is true, some of the high-church party, misguided and inflamed by busy tantivies, or by licentious, mercenary, and ignorant scribblers, have lately shewn more than ordinary warmth, and expressed both their zeal for the established church, and their loyalty to the crown, with too unchristian bitterness against their protestant brethren on the one side, and with a latitude inconsistent with a limited monarchy and

the present settlement on the other. Thus we have seen incoherent addresses asserting her majesty's hereditary, and slighting her parliamentary title, as if she could now enjoy the one without the other; and, while they lay so great stress on the former, professing their firm adherence to the illustrious house of Hanover, which in all probability will never have any claim but by act of parliament; we have seen others acknowledging an irresistible power in the crown, and in the same breath avowing vigorous resistance: And most of them full of bitter invectives and outcries against republican, antimonarchical, and rebellious principles, when (except an inconsiderable party of notorious jacobites and non-jurors) the whole nation, notwithstanding our unhappy divisions and distractions, join and concur in their duty, loyalty, and hearty affection to her majesty and her government. On the other hand, some pamphlet writers, either, as they expected, to ingratiate themselves with some great men, or with less justifiable designs, have not only saucily insulted the authority of parliaments, but exposed the Revolution, undermined [1] the succession, and given such broad hints of an intended restoration, [2] as could not but raise indignation and just alarms in the well-meaning, who make up the bulk of the nation. But as these insolent scribblers are now so far from being countenanced by any men in power, that, on the contrary, orders have been issued out for their prosecution, so it is to be observed, that most of the late high-church addresses were drawn up in a heat, with more zeal than caution; and generally calculated for the undiscerning multitude, in order to influence future elections in favour of the landed gentlemen, who have too great a concern in the welfare of the nation to give up their rights and liberties to the arbitrary will of a prince, and are too good protestants to bring in a popish pretender.

As for the spirit of tumult and riot raised by Dr Sacheverell's trial, which spread through several countries, particularly during his progress, and was lately revived on occasion of the new elections, it cannot, with any justice, be charged on the high-church party, at least not on the sober and substantial part of them; but rather, as was hinted before, on those who began that violent prosecution, who, as they were the primary cause of those disorders, so did they in some measure encourage them, by not giving them a timely check, which it was in their power to do. 'Tis well known, that the day when several meeting-houses were pulled down, Mr Burgess applied himself in the morning to a great man, acquainting him, that the night before, some of the rabble had attempted his meeting-house, and had set a guard upon it, in order, he doubted, to pull it down that evening, which might be easily prevented, by causing some of the queen's guards to patrole that way; but no notice was taken of this intimation, those who designed to lay the odium of these tumults on the high-church party being willing to let them grow to a head; nor would they perhaps have quelled them so soon, had not some of the mob threatened to go to the bank. As to Dr Sacheverell's triumphant cavalcades, and the solemn honours paid to him by some magistrates as indiscrete as himself, while he lay under a parliamentary censure, bating the unthinking multitude, they received no countenance but from a few country gentlemen, who took that occasion of making themselves popular, and thereby secured a great many votes against the ensuing elections; nor is the doctor's conduct in that particular justified by any body, unless it be by mercenary scribblers and incendiaries. That divine had but too much reason given him to think himself a very considerable person; but

[1] Lesley, in a pamphlet called "The Good Old Cause" for which he was ordered to be taken into custody and prosecuted, and thereupon absconds, has this expression: "Hereditary right, and the national allegiance due to it, is a stubborn thing, and will not bend even to an act of parliament, nor to a thousand usurpations!" page 35; where 'tis plain, that by the word *usurpation*, the author means our present settlement.

[2] The author of a pamphlet called "An impartial Account of what past most remarkable in the last Session of Parliament," &c. having toward the end of it quoted a passage out of the Earl of Clarendon's History, relating to King Charles's restoration, concludes with this pious and loyal ejaculation: "May it always happen thus! may the same good Providence ever watch over us, to save and deliver the church and monarchy from the hands of their enemies!"—*Orig. Notes.*

he is greatly mistaken, if he believes that sober men, even of his own party, entertained the same opinion of his late behaviour.

We may therefore reasonably expect, that when the moderate men of both parties, who, in the main, mean the same thing, shall come together in the House of Commons, they will unanimously pursue the most prudent, most effectual, and gentle methods to heal up our intestine breaches, and remove all fears and jealousies: First, by vindicating the parliamentary authority, rather by providing against future, than punishing past offences: By justifying the late happy revolution, and the necessary means by which it was accomplished: By giving a timely check to such licentious sermons, books, and pamphlets, as tend to stir up discord or sedition; to unhinge the present settlement, either in church or state; or to weaken the protestant succession, by maintaining the act of toleration, and avoiding giving the dissenters any just ground of uneasiness; by retrieving public credit, and, in order to that, making good all parliamentary funds and engagements; and by granting her majesty effectual supplies to carry on the war with fresh vigour, in order to obtain a speedy, safe, honourable, and lasting peace.

Of all the sinister methods by which the late junto have endeavoured to maintain themselves, none was either more crafty or plausible, and at the same time more dangerous, than the false suggestion, that the publick credit was nearly concerned in the continuance of the late lord treasurer, and in a manner must stand or fall with him. This extravagant notion being propagated with more than ordinary industry by their emissaries both at home and abroad, gained so far upon the minds of some monied men (who generally are the most susceptible of fears and alarms) as to have occasioned the fall of the public funds; which being a case somewhat particular, and not easily to be paralleled in history, it will be necessary for a writer, who sets about the transmitting to posterity the account of the late changes, to enquire into the true causes of the present diminution of these funds; and whether or no the credit of the nation was really affected by the removal of that great minister?[1]

In order to proceed in that enquiry with regularity and success, it is necessary to settle the signification of the word *credit*, which, in some measure, carries its definition with it, since it may be explained and understood by its synonyma's *Confidence* and *Honour*; and is, indeed, the opinion or confidence we have in another's ability, honour, and punctuality, to discharge or pay a debt. Thus credit among private men and traders is a full assurance, grounded on the tried honesty and reputed ability of those we deal with, that within such a time, agreed on, such a man or men will make such and such payments, for commodities sold or monies lent. And publick or national credit is the same opinion or confidence, with respect to the state or government, founded on the experience of its ability, honesty, and punctuality.

If there was no such thing as credit, men would be obliged to content themselves with what they possess; or to exchange part of what they have for what they want; or to pay ready money for the latter.

But because it was found by experience, that either the exchanging of goods, or the paying for them ready money, reduced trade to a very narrow compass, and cramped it with many difficulties, it was therefore wisely agreed in all trading and civilized nations to set up credit, which effectually removes all those difficulties.

Thus credit is become the very heart and soul of all trade and commerce, either pri-

[1] "Though the tories now began their triumphs with insolence enough, and such as is but too incident to men elated with prosperity, credit sunk to such a degree, that the whigs themselves could scarce have believed it, to which many of them, either out of sullenness, or fear of a worse change yet in the state, did not a little contribute, by selling out their stocks, and other ways."—*A Detection of the Court and State of England, vol. III. page* 887.

vate or publick. By his credit, a merchant, for example, takes up great quantities of commodities at home, and exports them to foreign markets, from whence he expects a profitable return; or makes remittances abroad for goods he buys there, to import them home, and sell them with profit. And in like manner, by its credit a government fits out navies, maintains armies, and answers the other necessities of the state.

From hence it appears, that to hurt or ruin a private man's credit, is to do him an almost irreparable injury, for which the law has provided a remedy; and that to lessen the public credit is a crime against the state; which, though not yet provided against, comes little short of the enormity of high-treason.

As public or national credit depends on the confidence private men have, that the state or government will, at such and such seasons, make good such and such engagements, we ought in the next place to enquire, whether this confidence relates to the state itself, or to the persons entrusted with the management of the state revenues?

It is apparent that it respects wholly the state, whether it be an absolute or limited monarchy, or a commonwealth; for as credit is founded on the good opinion the lender entertains of the ability of the borrower, to perform such and such engagements, it cannot be imagined, that the publick would trust any private minister with several millions of money, when they know he is not worth, and consequently cannot answer the payment of, many thousands. It is therefore public security that creates publick credit; and this security in this kingdom is the whole nation, or their representatives in parliament assembled.

It must indeed be owned, that a careful and frugal management of the treasury and exchequer, and an exact payment of assignments made by parliament, will beget such an opinion of the honesty and punctuality of the government, as may very much advance publick credit; and so far, the latter may be concerned in the prudent choice of able and faithful managers of the revenues: Which choice is one branch of our sovereign's prerogative.

These undeniable axioms being laid down, let us apply them to our present enquiry. It is certain from the experience of all times past, and from the general concernment of publick funds, that a parliament legally convened, will make good all national or parliamentary (which indeed are their own) engagements; else the nation must turn bankrupt; which is impossible, as long as it continues to be a nation under our present happy constitution. The not answering those engagements, would be a downright publick robbery; and therefore to suggest (as it is said, some of the friends to the late junto have done) that the next parliament will make use of a spunge to quit all scores, is no less than to make them publick robbers, and betrayers of the interest of those they are to represent: But as such a surmise cannot be entertained by any men of common sense, it deserves no further animadversion.

And as all future parliaments cannot want the will, neither can they be reasonably supposed to want the ability, to answer all national debts, else we must suppose that the nation cannot pay the nation, which implies an absurdity.

The publick or national security being, by this invincible argument, proved to be as good as ever, the publick credit, which, we said before, is principally and originally founded upon it, ought in reason to have remained entire. But since the contrary seems to have happened, by the fall of the publick funds, we must further enquire into the causes of this fall.

And here we must again recur to the definition of credit, which shews it not to be founded on reason, or on the real honesty, ability, and punctuality of those we deal with, but rather on the opinion or confidence we have, that they are really honest, able, and punctual. Thus the excellency of credit rests on a slippery bottom, I mean opinion; which being nice, tender, and easily affected and biassed, so credit either rises or falls with it.

It has before been laid down as a maxim, that the frugal management of the treasury, and the punctual payment of parliamentary assignments, contribute very much to the good opinion private men entertain of the honesty of the government, and consequently to the advancement of publick credit; wherefore, as it is the part of the parliament to provide sufficient funds, so it is the part of the sovereign to place able, honest, and faithful officers in the government of the treasury and exchequer. Thus the publick credit depends primarily on the parliament, secondarily on the queen; or, which is almost the same, it centers where the government centers, that is, the queen and parliament, and not in any particular man employed by her majesty; otherwise the publick credit would not be national, but personal; which might prove of most fatal consequence to such a free state as ours is, and in time give a private man an opportunity of setting himself above the government, that is, the queen and parliament.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that as publick credit secondarily depends on the queen's preferring men of honour and probity in the management of her treasury and exchequer, so the displacing of officers in those trusts, of whom the publick entertains a good opinion, may, in great measure, occasion the loss of national credit, especially if the people are before-hand possessed with fears and jealousies that the new ministers shall not be equally zealous for the publick interest.

This being the strongest, most popular, and indeed most specious argument, the late junto could make use of to maintain their authority, it is no wonder their friends and dependants laid so great a stress upon it; industriously extolling the merits of the late lord treasurer, and infusing strange alarms, upon the report of his being like to be removed. Wherefore, to wind up the present enquiry, it is necessary to consider, whether the praises bestowed on that great minister, the fears infused into the minds of the people, and the aspersions cast on the new ministry, were justly grounded.

It must be owned, that during the two or three first years of her majesty's auspicious reign, the publick revenues were managed with a great deal of care and frugality, and the current payments made in the treasury and exchequer with exactness and punctuality; which contributed very much to the retrieving of publick credit. But without derogating from the reputation of the late lord treasurer, it may be affirmed, that it was primarily and principally owing to the parliament's making good the deficiencies of the last reign, and providing sufficient funds for the growing exigencies. Which proof of national honour and justice, gave new life to publick credit, and made the people so easy, as to think their money safer in the hands of the government than in their own. Nay, so eager were they to bring it in, notwithstanding the lord treasurer had reduced the interest to five per cent. upon most of the short funds, that with great wisdom he ordered, that lenders should not, as formerly, be admitted to bring into the exchequer all their money at once, but only by degrees, whereby considerable sums of interest were saved: And the publick credit being thus retrieved, the circulation of the species began to be free and easy.

But these steps, in the path of frugality and œconomy, were soon deviated from, and contrary measures pursued: Instead of that generous contribution which her majesty gave out of the civil-list, towards the expence of the war in the first year of her reign, great profusions were made of the crown lands and revenues, by grants and donatives; great sums of money were laid out for secret services, particularly to bring about the Union; and these, together with the losses sustained by employing unresponsible persons in the collection of taxes, and the deficiency of some funds, vastly increased the debts of the nation. On the other hand, high interests were again introduced; the publick revenues either almost entirely sold, or anticipated for many years to come; most of the branches of our foreign trade so overcharged with new duties, as to amount to a prohibition; and not only the profitable expeditions to the West-Indies proposed from time to time, by publick-spirited persons laid aside, but our own

plantations either abandoned or neglected, and the enemy suffered to carry away great riches from thence; and the publick design of the union with Scotland, viz. an union of interests, which alone can reconcile affections, stifled and suppressed, insomuch that the old discontents of that part of Great-Britain are, at present, rather increased than abated.

These abuses, which, unknown to the queen, had by degrees crept into the administration, were about a year ago laid before a great man, who either did not think himself able, at that juncture, to reform them, or feared, by attempting it, to lay himself too open: Thus the former methods were pursued, till her majesty being acquainted with the dangers that threatened her royal authority, and the main support of it, and of the state, the publick credit; and taking notice, at the same time, that her household had not been paid for a year and a half past, her majesty resolved to put the treasury and exchequer in the hands of persons, on whose abilities, probity, frugality, and exactness she could entirely rely? And thereupon pitched upon the five gentlemen whose characters have before been enlarged upon.

Let now all impartial and unprejudiced persons judge, whether the great praises bestowed upon the late lord treasurer, and the aspersions cast on the new ministers, are justly grounded? And whether Mr Harley, who, in the beginning of her majesty's reign, was the main instrument of the restoration of publick credit (as was hinted before) is not the most proper instrument her majesty could have pitched upon to retrieve it at present?

I own that the mismanagements of the late junto, being either kept from the knowledge of the people, or artfully extenuated and palliated by their numerous dependants; and, on the contrary, their successful services and former good administration extolled, and still in the memories of all men, the suggestion that the publick credit would be affected by their removal, seemed at first plausible enough; but, however, it is certain it would never have had the intended effect, had not their emissaries at the same time infused fears of the highest nature into the minds of the well-affected to the Revolution, and the present settlement of the crown in the protestant line: To which apprehensions the late tumults in favour of Dr Sacheverell, the publick avowing of the high-flown doctrine of unlimited passive obedience, and the adhering to the hereditary, and the renouncing the parliamentary title, gave some air of probability.

I hope these ill-grounded fears and jealousies are by this time pretty well over, and doubt not but they will be fully removed by the new parliament; who, for the reasons before enlarged upon, will certainly maintain the present happy settlement both in church and state; raise money to carry on the war with the utmost vigour; and make good all parliamentary funds and engagements, in order to retrieve publick credit, which has received the most dangerous shocks from those very men who would seem to be most tender of its prosperity.

For besides the sinister infusions of the emissaries and dependants of the late junto, before animadverted upon, we may also take notice of the practices of some of their private agents in Exchange-Alley; who, upon the removal of the Earl of Sunderland, and the report that the lord treasurer would soon follow, brought all the stocks they or their friends had by them to market; so that there being more sellers than buyers, the stocks fell gradually, that of the bank in particular, from 123½ to 107.

It is true, it had perhaps never been in the power of any party of men here to sink the stocks so low, had not the merchants in Holland, who have considerable sums of money in our publick funds, too easily taken the alarm, and thereupon sent orders to their correspondents to sell their stocks; which very much contributed to the fall. But, however, as the great blow was first given, so was it pursued here with great industry and application, by the friends of those who, placing their safety in confusion, endeavour to embroil the affairs of the nation.

It was, in a particular manner, observed by some gentlemen at Garraway's, that when upon the news of the first victory in Spain, the stocks began to rise again, and might, in course, have returned to their former value, the same party of men renewed their former practices to keep them low; and when, notwithstanding their endeavours, and the removal of the lord treasurer, the stocks got up again (the bank in particular, from 109 to 115) upon the confirmation of the victory of Saragossa, they redoubled their efforts to sink them; in which they could not fail of success.

For we may transiently observe, that besides the combinations and practices beforementioned, too secret and clandestine to be fixed on any particular persons, several other natural causes must have contributed to the fall of the stocks.

1st, As they rose upon the news of the French plenipotentiaries coming to Gertruydenberg, the bank, in particular, from 110 to 129, and continued so till it settled at about 124, so it was natural for them to fall back to their former value, upon the news of the conferences being broken off.

2dly, The great numbers of new-struck tallies, exchequer-bills, navy-bills, &c. with which trade is clogged, put a great damp on the circulation of money, and consequently contributed very much to the lowering of the stocks, annuities, &c.

3dly, The blank lottery tickets, which about the beginning of October were sold for seven pounds, being an interest of ten per cent. for 32 years, which is a far greater advantage than any other funds yet settled yield, many persons sold their stocks in order to buy those tickets, which was another natural cause of the fall of the said stocks.

4thly and lastly, The bank (for what reason is best known to themselves) neither making the usual dividend of four per cent. nor paying it in specie; but, on the contrary, calling in ten per cent. and instead of circulating exchequer bills, according to their contract, giving out bonds for them payable in one year, with interest at six per cent. besides the discount of about three per cent., gave thereby a plain indication that their affairs are not in so good a condition as they were thought to be: Which has been the main reason of the late great fall of their stock, and of the other funds in proportion: For it is very remarkable, that before the bank called in the 10 per cent. before mentioned, their stock was still at 109, besides the dividend of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. That is, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent higher than in the month of January last, long before there was any rumour or surmise of the late lord treasurer's being removed. Thus I hope I have plainly shewn, that his being in or out could not, in reason, affect publick credit; and that it is only in the power of the queen and parliament to retrieve it; which was all I intended, and was in this place necessary to prove.

A Letter from a Foreign Minister in England, to Monsieur Pettecum: Containing the true Reasons of the late Changes in the Ministry, and of the calling a new Parliament, and therefore fit to be perused by all the Electors. 1710.

Translated from the French Original.

This is another vindication of the changes of ministry in 1710, to which no particular introduction is necessary, because it turns upon the same facts which have been already commented upon in the former Tracts.

It is supposed to be addressed to Monsieur Pettecum, because the envoys both of the emperor and the United States, alarmed lest the approaching changes in England might affect the Duke of Marlborough, had taken the liberty to remonstrate upon the subject with Queen Anne.

SIR,

I FIND by your letter of the 8th instant, that the deputies of the States-General for foreign and secret affairs had held several consultations about the present posture of affairs in England; and that upon their report their high mightinesses seemed inclined to send hither Monsieur Buys, pensioner of Amsterdam, ambassador extraordinary to the Queen of Great-Britain, to take care of the interests of your republic. You desire me, at the same time, to give you such lights into the true state of things here, as may serve towards Mr Buys's instructions, in case that embassy should be fully resolved upon; which I shall do the more readily, because my master being himself embarked in the grand confederacy, of which England is the main pillar, it is our common interest to watch the measures of this court, that we may regulate ours by them.

I must in the first place freely tell you, that I was somewhat surprised, when I heard that so wise a body as the States could seem alarmed at her Britannic majesty's design to make some alterations in her ministry, and to call a new parliament. But I was perfectly amazed, when I was informed that they had interposed in favour of the old ministers; a thing which they never took upon them to do, even in the late King William's reign, when their high mightinesses might reasonably be supposed to have a greater share in the counsels of the British court. However, I will not pass a harder censure upon this step, than her Britannic majesty herself, who has only looked upon it, either as the effect of a mistaken zeal for the common cause, or the crafty suggestion of the friends and emissaries of the late lord treasurer: For having set all engines at work, in this country, to keep him in his place and power, and found them ineffectual, they at last endeavoured to persuade some of the allies, that the public credit of England depended upon him; so that the whole confederacy seemed to be concerned in his preservation.

This I take to be the most favourable construction that can possibly be put on the interposition of their high mightinesses; but lest any false suggestions, or representations of things here, should lead that wise assembly into any other impolitic measures, I shall discover to you the true reasons and motives of the late alterations in this court.

I must, in the first place, rectify the confused and false notion which is generally entertained abroad, and even by many here, of the different parties in this nation. You comprehend all in Holland under the common appellations of tories and whigs, who indeed are the most numerous and most powerful; but, besides these two parties, there are two others of less consideration, viz. the jacobites and the republicans.

Though it be far more difficult to define in politics than in metaphysics, I shall endeavour to give you a right idea of these four parties; which, if my observations for these 21 years past deceive me not, is as follows:

I. The tories are those who firmly adhere to the monarchical government, under its legal limitations and restrictions, and to the doctrine and ceremonies of the church of England, and who, upon old grudges and animosities, look on the dissenters as their declared enemies.

II. The party of the whigs, or low-churchmen, is made up of such churchmen as have a brotherly tenderness for the dissenters, and of the dissenters themselves: And both these are also for monarchy, though perhaps in a more restrained sense than the other.

III. The jacobites consist of some members of the church of England, and of all the Roman catholics of the kingdom, the first of whom upon a principle of conscience, the others of duty, inclination, and interest, did constantly adhere to the late King James, and as far as in them lay promoted his restoration, as they now do that of the

Pretender. This party is of itself hardly considerable enough to be mentioned, or taken notice of, but that on all public occasions they intrude themselves upon, and mix with the high-churchmen; who, though they differ in principle, and are firmly zealous for the protestant succession, yet in elections do not scruple to accept their votes; the rather, because their competitors the whigs do also fortify themselves by the fourth party, viz.

IV. The republicans or commonwealth-men: This party, a spawn of the old Oliverians or Cromwellists, consists of a few presbyterians, and all the independants of this nation, who would make no manner of figure themselves, but that they join themselves with the true whigs; though with as small encouragement from them as the jacobites receive from the high-churchmen, and as little conformity to their political principles.

From these intrusions it comes to pass, that upon any contentions and disputes that arise between the two great parties of this nation, the tories and whigs, they mutually asperse one another with the odious appellations of the minor party, which sometimes lurks amongst them; so that the tories call the whigs republicans, and the whigs call the tories jacobites.

But, sir, you must observe that these distinctions of tory and whig do properly belong to the second class or inferior rank of men: For persons of the first rank, who either by their birth or abilities are entitled to govern others, do not really list themselves in these parties, but only put themselves at the head of either of them, as they judge it most subservient to their private ends and designs; which being premised, it will not be difficult to trace up the late alterations in this country to their true causes.

The nobility and gentry of this free nation, bearing with indignation and impatience the exorbitant power invaded by the Duke of Marlborough and the late lord treasurer, whose families engrossed the most profitable places, and accumulated vast riches to themselves, whilst the generality groaned under the weight of heavy taxes, and who absolutely disposed of all civil and military employments, with visible partiality to their dependants, a design was laid to remove the one, and by that means restrain the authority of the other. In order to that, some distant attempts were made in the House of Commons towards an enquiry into the management of the treasury; for which the apparent neglect of the war in Spain, and the immense debt of the navy, gave but too just a pretence. But the lord treasurer having secured a great party among the whigs, who made up the majority of that House, that enquiry, which was pressed by the tories, was over-ruled and laid aside.

However, the lord treasurer, still apprehensive of being called to an account the last winter, dexterously laid hold of a favourable opportunity to divert the attention of the parliament, by causing a hot-headed divine to be impeached, and prosecuted with all the solemnity and formality of parliamentary trials, for a sermon, which both parties agreed to be a piece of nonsense, and the result of an extravagant and ignorant zeal; but which contained a crime, in the opinion of the lord treasurer's friends, unpardonable; for it bitterly inveighed against his mal-administration, characterising him by his nickname of *Volpone*.

But, sir, mark the folly of human wisdom! This very trial of Dr Sacheverell, which was principally contrived for the lord treasurer's preservation, has proved the main handle of his destruction: For the queen having been present at this solemn trial, and taking notice that the whigs, who managed this prosecution, advanced some political positions that invaded the royal prerogative, which the tories who defended him asserted with great loyalty and zeal, her majesty was thereby naturally inclined to entertain better thoughts of the latter.

On the other hand, an insolent great lady,[1] who had long entirely possessed the queen's

[1] Duchess of Marlborough.

favour, being intoxicated with power, and not behaving herself with that grateful and respectful carriage to her mistress and benefactress, which such high obligations and her duty exacted from her, the queen began to be reserved with her, and to take into her royal confidence another lady, a near relation of the Duchess of Marlborough.[1]

The credit of the latter, and of all the whig party, whom she protected, declined considerably last winter, upon a contention about the disposal of the late Earl of Essex's regiment of dragoons, which her majesty would have bestowed on Colonel Hill, brother to the growing favourite, as a just reward for his eminent service at the battle of Almanza, where he was very instrumental to the preserving the broken remains of the infantry. This was opposed by those then in power about the queen, who, insisting on her prerogative, the struggle went so far, that a design was laid by one of the duchess's sons-in-law, in a great post, to procure a vote of the House of Commons for the removal of Mrs Masham.[2] This intended violence was timely prevented, by the colonel's throwing himself at her majesty's feet, and begging she would be pleased to bestow that post upon another officer; which her majesty granted: But justly resenting this, and other indignities that had been offered her, and at the same time a gentleman of great parts, probity, and address, having the opportunity of acquainting her majesty with the general discontent at the exorbitant power and greatness of one family, and at the management of affairs in relation to some part of the war and the navy, her majesty resolved to make some changes in her ministry, and thereupon began with the person who had proposed the removing of Mrs Masham. The lord treasurer was the next: Nor can Mr Harley be blamed for having contributed to the fall of a person, who, after he had been saved by Mr Harley from an impeachment (on account of the Act of Security passed in Scotland) by an uncommon piece of ingratitude bore him an inveterate hatred; and not satisfied with having removed him from the secretary's office, used afterwards all imaginable, and indeed scandalous methods to destroy him. The lord treasurer's fall was attended by the removal of several other persons, whose places are supplied by men of equal merit, and no less zealous to advance the interest of their country, than to promote the good of the common cause: And I am confident, that if the court of France broke the late conferences at Gertruydenberg, upon a prospect of the turn of affairs in this country in favour of the Pretender, they will be as miserably disappointed in that fond expectation as they have been in many others of the like kind on this side the water, and perhaps pay very dear for their mistake: For in all probability this new ministry will insist upon better terms for all the allies than the old would have been contented with.

The treasury in particular, which is both the nerve of the war, and the spring of publick credit, is now in the hands of five persons, no less conspicuous for their abilities than for their integrity; and whose great estates in land is a security to the nation for their clear and just administration. That you and your friends in Holland may form a true notion of them, I shall give you a short sketch of their characters.

In the first place, the Earl of Powlet is a nobleman of polite literature, publick spirit, clear and unspotted reputation, virtuous and exemplary life, moderate temper, and in possession of an estate of above twelve thousand pounds per annum.

Mr Harley is already so well known by the great parts he has acted, both in the last and the present reign, that it may seem needless to mention his character. However, he having been foully misrepresented by his enemies, I must acquaint you that he is a gentleman of wonderful natural and acquired abilities, universal learning, wonderful address, penetration, and indefatigableness; and who of all men is best acquainted with the constitution of this kingdom, and the methods of proceeding in parliament. As for his principles, in relation to the parties that divide this nation, I know not that he

[1] Mrs Masham. [2] See a note upon the preceding Tract respecting the dispute about Mr Hill's promotion.

ever entirely embraced any; but still went into such measures as he thought most conducing to the true interest of his country, of which I shall give you these few instances. In the first place, he sided with the high-church party, when they opposed the bill of attainder against Sir John Fenwick, being persuaded they had most moderation who least pretended to it. On the other hand, after the assassination plot, he was one of the most forward to sign (in the House of Commons) the association in favour of King William; which shews he is entirely in the Revolution principles. In the third place, he brought into the House of Commons the bill for triennial parliaments; which is a stronger bulwark of the British liberties than the Habeas Corpus act. And, lastly, he signalized his first entrance into the secretary's office, by preventing an insurrection that was ready to break out in Scotland in favour of the Pretender; which demonstrates his affection to the protestant succession.

Sir Thomas Mansel, who was formerly comptroller to her majesty's household, is a gentleman of a very ancient family, most ample fortune, generous temper, publick spirit, and clear understanding, truly zealous for the established church, without any bitterness towards the dissenters.

Mr Paget, son to the Lord Paget, sufficiently known abroad by his embassies, is a gentleman whose bright parts and spirit have often been admired in the House of Commons, and who is perfectly well acquainted with the business of the navy, having been one of the council to his late royal highness Prince George.

In the last place, Mr Benson is a gentleman of quick and bright parts, improved by study, travel, and polite conversation; well versed in the laws of this kingdom and parliamentary proceedings, which has gained him a great interest in his native county of York, and in the House of Commons.

These, sir, are the five gentlemen who now have the administration of the queen's treasury; and the event has already justified her majesty's choice: For, though they found the exchequer entirely exhausted of money, and notwithstanding the clandestine endeavours of the discarded ministers to sink the public funds by means of their agents in the city of London, these new commissioners of the treasury have engaged a company of the most substantial merchants to remit 500,000l. for the armies in Flanders, Italy, and Spain, at a cheaper rate, than the late lord treasurer ever did: A happy presage that the public credit cannot but prosper as long as they continue in that post.

Moreover, this their first care of supplying the armies abroad, notwithstanding the difficulties they laboured under upon their entrance into their office, is a plain demonstration, that if after the late great successes in Spain (which by-the-bye seem to be a providential blessing attending the changes here) the common enemy do not think it their interest once more to beg for peace, the war will, on this side, be prosecuted with more vigour than ever; and with an impartial attention from these new ministers to all the parts of it. And, indeed, her Britannic majesty having already declared to us, that whatever changes she made among her ministers, she would still continue the Duke of Marlborough in his command, 'tis not to be doubted that if his grace acts the part of a true hero, and sacrifices his private disgusts to the publick good, he will find the new ministers as ready to promote his honour and advantage as the old. Therefore it will be his own fault if he does not make as great a figure abroad as he did before; which shews, at the same time, that any applications in his favour from the allies to this court would be altogether preposterous and needless.

I cannot at present give you a positive account of the other alterations, because they are not yet declared; but will venture to assure you, that the nobility and gentry who have before sided with the high-church party will certainly be preferred; and that upon a double consideration. In the first place, because the late lord treasurer's creatures and dependants being whigs, it were impolitic to put others of the same prin-

ciples in their places, because they might strike into any measures to procure his restoration. Secondly, because the high-church party being for the most part landed gentlemen, who for many years have borne the chief burthen of the war, it is but a piece of paternal justice in her Britannic majesty to give them an opportunity of repairing their fortunes. I shall only tell you, that I am credibly informed, that the Earl of Rochester will be made president of the council: And indeed who has a better title to preside at that board, than a person no less distinguished by his near relation to the queen, than by his wisdom, capacity, penetration, integrity, and firm adherence to the protestant interest; which last he demonstrated in the most difficult times, having rather chosen to resign the treasury than yield to the late King James's solicitations to turn papist? I hear likewise, that the Duke of Ormond is to be made lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and if so 'twill rather be a restoration than a preferment, that truly noble, generous, and public-spirited person having highly merited that government by his past services, both in the last and present war, to the vast detriment of his own patrimony.

These, sir, are the true and genuine motives and causes of the changes in this court: And you may assure yourself, that any other reasons that may be assigned for them, either by licentious and ignorant scribblers, with which this nation swarms, or the friends and emissaries of the late ministry, who have their hirelings even in your country, are all ill-grounded and false suggestions, purposely set on foot to asperse and blacken her Britannic majesty, and her present counsellors, with wild and extravagant designs of bringing in the Pretender: As if, out of gaiety, a sovereign in the vigour of her age, and securely established in the hearts and affections of her subjects, would throw up her crown; and men of estates, and protestants, set up arbitrary government and popery.

I own the violent trial of Dr Sacheverell on the one hand, and the insults put on the parliamentary authority on the other, have caused a great ferment in the nation, the hot men of both parties laying hold on this occasion to vent their spleen and malice against each other: But as those who began this unlucky and impolitic procedure are only accountable for the fatal consequences of it, so I can affirm to you, that the prevailing party at court have made no other use of these distractions than to bring their scheme to bear, by striking in with the general desire of the high-church party; who in their addresses, far more numerous than those of the whigs, have insinuated the dissolution of the last parliament; a new one being absolutely necessary, not only to support the present ministry, but also to enquire into the administration of the last.

It is impossible to tell you for certain how the ensuing elections will go: But, considering the influence of the court, and the interest of men in power, besides some other circumstances hinted at before, it is very probable that the high-church-men will have the majority in the House of Commons: And indeed, as they began the war, so it seems reasonable that they should have the honour of ending it. In such a case all things will go on with all the smoothness imaginable; and as upon the death of the late King William 'twas they that made good the deficiencies of that reign, there's no doubt but they will be now as tender of the honour of parliamentary engagements. Let the parliament be what it will, I am informed from good hands, that the queen in her first speech will recommend to them, 1st, The better securing, if possible, the protestant succession. 2dly, The supporting the public credit. And, 3dly, The maintaining the toleration. And that the present ministers will use their utmost endeavours to have her majesty's desires effectually complied with.

I heartily wish, that this short account I have here given you of the true political state of this court and nation, at this critical juncture, may be of some use to our friend the Grand Pensionary, and contribute towards the maintaining a fair correspondence among the maritime powers, who are the main support of the grand confederacy.

I am, &c.

A Letter to the Examiner. By Henry St John, Esq. Printed in the Year 1710.

The article referring to the celebrated Lord Bolingbroke in the Biographia, mentions this letter in terms of high and even exaggerated encomium. "This periodical paper (The Examiner) was set up very soon after the dissolution of the former parliament, and the calling of a new one this year, 1710. The first twelve papers came out before the new parliament met. These were supposed to be written by Mr Secretary St John, Dr Atterbury, Mr Prior, and other persons of distinction, who were equally conspicuous for their great capacities, and for their thorough knowledge of the then state of things, which established the reputation of that performance, and enabled it to operate powerfully upon elections: Among these appeared a letter to The Examiner, which was so generally ascribed to the secretary, that it was commonly called Mr St John's Letter to the Examiner, which shone with superior lustre.

——micat inter omnes
Julium sidus, velut inter ignes
Luna minores.

"[illegible] indeed an exquisite proof of his keen abilities as a writer; for in this single short paper are comprehended the outlines of that design, upon which so great an author as Dean Swift employed himself for near a twelvemonth, did his party infinite service, and gave inexpressible disquiet to the friends of the old ministry, who employed Mr Addison, first in the Whig-Examiner, and then Mr Manwayring in The Medley, to write against The Examiner to little purpose. It is not easy to name any subject that can be more interesting to a young statesman, than the discussion of this ministerial revolution. There never happened any change more remarkable in this country, or which furnished either more instruction or better entertainment. Here we see what methods were pursued to dissolve an administration composed of persons eminent for their abilities, possessed of large fortunes, most of them thoroughly acquainted with business, and knowing how to draw from the post they enjoyed, all the helps an extensive influence could give towards preserving them. An administration confided in by the allies, befriended by what was styled the monied interest, high in reputation from foreign, and, if we may be allowed the expression, from domestic victories, and secure of the parliament then sitting. These were difficulties that men must have very great courage to entertain so much as hopes of overcoming; very great capacities to frame a scheme that had even a probability of succeeding; and very great coolness and presence of mind, not to lose or bewilder themselves in the execution: The very attempting it was a boldness bordering on temerity; the proceeding hazardous in every respect; and the miscarriage big with so many fatal consequences, that the sole apprehension of them might very easily have produced a dizziness capable of disconcerting the best adjusted projects, since human wisdom can contrive nothing out of the reach of a multitude of unforeseen accidents."

When I read the introduction to your paper, it was great satisfaction to me to find, that somebody had undertaken to furnish mankind with a weekly antidote to that weekly poison, which, by the president and inferior members of a factious cabal, is so profusely scattered through the nation.

You have sufficiently exposed the letter which you chose to begin your examinations with. How little of that probability, which ought to be carried through the

whole thread of a well-invented fable, appears in it! How little regard is paid to that justness and propriety of character, without which, compositions of this kind are as monstrous, as that government must be, where submission is made the duty of the prince, and dominion the prerogative of the subject.

But such is the singular modesty of that faction, which the ministers of the crown have, with so much advantage to themselves, nursed up, in opposition to the crown, that you must expect to have the same arguments still pursued. The Observator, the Review, the Censor[1] of Great Britain, who resembles the famous censor of Rome in nothing, but espousing the cause of the vanquished, with the crowd of hireling scribblers, will hope, by a few false colours, and a great many impudent assertions, at last to persuade the people, that the general, the quondam treasurer, and the junto, are the only objects of the confidence of the allies, and of the fears of the enemies; for the queen, and the whole body of the British nation—*Nos numerus sumus.*

Surely, therefore, the argument which you have undertaken should be carried further. Allow that the French have recovered heart, that they rise in their demands, that the conferences at Gertruydenberg were broke off by them, whilst our plenipotentiaries did all that possibly could be done to obtain a safe and honourable peace; allow, I say, all this, not because it is true, for the contrary shall one time or other be made out to the world, when the true state of our present condition will be set in a clearer light, yet that odium which the ministers and their faction endeavour to throw on the queen, and on those who have appeared at her call, and in her defence, will with more justice be laid at their own door.

Paint, sir, with that force which you are master of, the present state of the war abroad, and expose to public view those principles, upon which of late it has been carried on, so different from those upon which it was originally entered into. Collect some few of the indignities which have been this year offered to her majesty, and of those unnatural struggles, which have betrayed the weakness of a shattered constitution; and when this is done, Dolben shall blush in his grave among the dead, Walpole among the living, and even Volpone[2] shall feel some remorse.

Forgive me, sir, if, in that warmth which these reflections occasion, I anticipate in some measure the subject, and encroach on the province which belongs to you.

To restore the Spanish monarchy to the House of Austria, who, by their own supineness, and by the perfidy of the French, had lost it, and to regain a barrier for Holland, which lay naked and open to the insults of France, were the wise and generous motives which engaged Britain in the present war. We engaged as confederates, but we have been made to proceed as principals; principals in expence of blood and treasure, whilst hardly a second place in respect and dignity is allowed to us.

In the year 1706, the last of these two motives was effectually answered by the reduction of the Netherlands; or might have been so, by the concessions, which 'tis notorious that the enemy offered. But the first motive remained still in its full force; and we were told, that though the barrier of Holland was secured, the trade of Britain, and the balance of power in Europe, would be still precarious. Spain therefore was to be conquered, before we laid down our arms, and we were made to expect, that the whole attention of our ministers would be applied to that part of the war. Like men of resigned understandings, we acquiesced, and flattered ourselves, that since Holland had been secured in the first place, Britain would be taken care of in the second. But, alas! these expectations, like many others, have failed us.

From that point of time to this hour, France has continued like a great town invested indeed on every part, but attacked only in one. In Spain, in Savoy, on the Rhine, enough, and but just enough, has been done, to serve as a pretence for estimates,

[1] The celebrated Sir Richard Steele, who, as Isaac Bickerstaff, assumed this title.

[2] A nickname given by Sacheverell in his celebrated sermon to Lord High Treasurer Godolphin, at which he was so greatly offended, as to precipitate the prosecution of the preacher.

and demands of supplies: But nothing decisive, nothing which had the appearance of earnest, has been so much as attempted, except that wise expedition to Thoulon, which we suffered to be defeated before it began. The whole stress of the war has been wantonly laid, where France is best able to keep us at bay; as if we fought only to make ostentation of our valour and of our riches. Towns have been taken, and battles have been won; the mob has huzzaed round bonfires; the Stentor of the chapel has strained his throat in the gallery, and the Stentor of Sarum[1] has deafened his audience from the pulpit. In the meanwhile, the French king has withdrawn his troops from Spain, and has put it out of his power to restore that monarchy to us, was he reduced low enough really to desire to do it. The Duke of Anjou has had leisure to take off those whom he suspected, to confirm his friends, to regulate his revenues, to increase and form his troops, and, above all, to rouse that spirit in the Spanish nation, which a succession of lazy and indolent princes had lulled asleep.

From hence it appears probable enough, that if the war continues much longer on the present foot, instead of regaining Spain, we shall find the Duke of Anjou in a condition to pay the debt of gratitude, and support the grandfather in his declining years, by whose arms, in the days of his infancy, he was upheld. The Dutch will have a larger and a better country than their own, at the expence of Britain, conquered for them, by those ministers, who thought it once impolitick to consent, that even Ostend should be made a part of their barrier. The emperor has already Bavaria, the duchy of Mantua, the state of Milan; and the kingdom of Npales, Sicily, and some other places dependent on these, may be added to his portion; and by the little care he takes to support King Charles, we may easily judge how great his concern will be if that prince should be deprived of all the rest.

Britain may expect to remain exhausted of men and money, to see her trade divided amongst her neighbours, her revenues anticipated even to future generations, and to have this only glory left her, that she has proved a farm to the bank, a province to Holland, and a jest to the whole world.

If the facts I have mentioned are true, and the consequences I have drawn from them are naturally deducible from such causes, may not the king of France reasonably hope, though Holland should be aggrandized, that Britain will be in proportion weakened? May he not hope, in exchange for a few towns, which he either bought or stole, in former wars, to secure the Spanish monarchy to the house of Bourbon for ever, by happily concluding this?

Let us now survey the present state of our domestic affairs, and examine whether, from the conduct of the ministry, and of the factious whigs, the French king has not good grounds to expect to see us in confusion, and by consequence the great band of the confederacy dissolved.

Domestic occurrences, the more they are examined, the greater weight will they add to the same argument.

You have, in your second paper, pointed out some few of those innumerable obligations which the whigs have laid on the French king. Whenever you think fit to go to the bottom of the subject, I make no doubt but it will evidently appear, that Lewis XIV. has reason enough to hope for success from the measures taken by the ministers, and their faction at home, as I have already shewn that he has from the conduct of the war abroad.

Notwithstanding all the pains which have been taken to lessen her character in the world, by the wits of the *Kit-cat* and the sages of the *Cellar*,[2] mkin d remains con-

[1] Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.

[2] Two celebrated clubs, consisting of the men of the highest authority among the whigs.

vinced, that a queen possessed of all the virtues requisite to bless a nation, or to make a private family happy, sits on the throne.

By an excess of goodness she delighted to raise some of her servants to the highest degrees of riches, of power, and of honour; and in this only instance can be said to have grieved any of her subjects.

The rule which she had prescribed to these persons, as the measure of their conduct, was soon departed from. But so unable were they to associate with men of honester principles than themselves, that the sovereign authority was parcelled out among a faction, and made the purchase of indemnity for an offending minister. Instead of the mild influences of a gracious queen governing by law, we soon felt the miserable consequences of subjection to the will of an arbitrary junto, and to the caprice of an insolent woman.[1]

Unhappy nation, which, expecting to be governed by the best, fell under the tyranny of the worst of her sex! But now, thanks be to God, that fury, who broke loose to execute the vengeance of heaven on a sinful people, is restrained, and the royal hand is reached out to chain up the plague.

Invisum numen terras cœlumque levabit.

One would expect, that on the first appearance of the queen's displeasure, these little tyrants should have had recourse to submission and resignation But they believed the whole nation as debauched and corrupted as those profligate wretches who were in their confidence; they imagined, that under the name of their prince, they should be able to govern against her declared intention; and having usurped the royal seat, resolved to venture overturning the chariot of government, rather than lose their place in it. They set their mistress at open defiance; neither the ties of gratitude, nor the bands of allegiance, were any restraint to them.

Their first attempt was to take that privilege from her, which the meanest of her subjects enjoy, and slavery was to pursue her even into her bed-chamber.

Here the nation in general took the alarm; a spirit of loyalty began to rise, which the faction foresaw would no longer bear to have the meanest submission shewn to the ministers, whilst common decency was hardly used towards the throne. The conspirators therefore resolved to precipitate their measures, and a rash intemperate sermon was made the pretence of their clamour. Those who prove themselves friends to this government by avowing principles inconsistent with any, presumed daily to try the title of the queen, and to limit the allegiance of the subject. The party agents of every rank were employed to declaim in public places, and we had the mortification to see cabals of upstarts sit in judgment on the right and authority of the crown, who, had it not been for the profusion of royal favour, could have had no pretence to be common triers in any cause.

By long insipid harangues and fulsome panegyrick, the merits of the ministers were exalted: The whole success of the administration both at home and abroad was singly attributed to them; and lest the queen should think fit to declare them dangerous, she was by necessary consequence, from the positions laid down, declared herself to be useless.

This attempt had likewise an effect contrary to what the projectors of it expected. The ferment, instead of abating, increased; the bulk of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and commonalty of Britain, declared themselves loudly in the cause of their prince; and those disorders which the faction had raised for their security, threatened their destruction.

[1] The Duchess of Marlborough.

Not daunted yet, they resolve to try a new expedient, and the interest of Europe is to be represented as inseparable from that of the ministers.

——Haud dubitant equidem implorare quod usquam est;
Flectere si nequeunt superos, Acheronta movebunt.

The members of the bank, the Dutch, and the court of Vienna, are called in as confederates to the ministry, and such an indignity is offered to the crown, as no man, who has the honour of his country at heart, can with patience bear.

What a weakness in our constitution, what a sickness at heart, do these symptoms, which appear too openly, discover!

These are signs which shew a government to be near its dissolution; these are things which justly give encouragement to an enemy. And if you would go to the root of our distemper, these are the topics you must insist upon, as the real causes which have prolonged the war, distracted the nation, and given France spirit enough at last to break off the peace.

And these are the things, sir, that deserve to pass under your pen, that the nation may be truly informed from what springs our own grievances, and the hopes of our enemies, have risen.

A Letter to Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. occasioned by the Letter to the Examiner. By Earl Cooper. Printed 1710.

This Tract was designed as an answer to the preceding. Assuming the same mode of conveying his sentiments, the writer addresses Isaac Bickerstaff, (the celebrated Sir Richard Steele) as St John had done the Examiner. The character of Lord Chancellor Cooper is thus given by Tindal, when he records his death.

"On the 10th of October, 1723, died Earl Cooper, eminent for his integrity in the discharge of the office of lord chancellor, which he had twice filled.—There may have been chancellors of more extensive learning, but none of more knowledge in the laws of England. His judgment was quick, and yet solid; his eloquence manly, but flowing; his manner graceful and noble."—Rapin's *History of England, vol. IV. fol. London,* 1747.

This and the preceding Tract exhibit the singular picture of two statesmen, each at the head of their respective parties, condescending to become correspondents of the conductors of the periodical writings on politics,—a sure proof of the extensive influence which these writings must have acquired over the mind of the public.

Sir,

I am not apt to judge too fondly of men by their first appearance; else, as the writer of the letter to the Examiner has treated that author, I might have been tempted long since, and when I had seen little more than the introduction to your Tatlers, to compliment you on your abilities.

I own that from your setting out, I hoped for great benefit to the public from your lucubrations; but before you had passed a reasonable time of probation, one could not absolutely assure one's self, that you would make a right use of that excellent genius

which Heaven has given you. Wit had so long and so generally been made to serve the vilest purposes, on pretence its end is to please, that the plainest truth in nature, namely, that honesty and pleasure are inseparable, seemed irrecoverably sunk into oblivion, till you undertook to bring it up again into clear day, not by argument, but example, by numerous sketches, and some finished pieces drawn with irresistible strength and beauty.

As you disclosed your design by degrees, you had my esteem in proportion; and you will allow me to say you had it not entire, till in the course of your papers I had observed, that as you could discern and describe much better than our Drydens and Lestranges, the true springs of private and domestic happiness, you had likewise so much more generosity of spirit and benevolence for mankind than they, as to insinuate gradually into the public, that as acting with all the noble simplicity of nature and common reason carries a man with ease and honour through all the scenes and offices of ordinary life, so the same principles, which in friendship, love, and common converse and society, go to the composition of the person, whom both sexes agree to call by the good-natured name of *the generous honest Man*, must necessarily contribute to the forming of the best servants of a prince, and the truest patriots.

But as in doing this you took a proper season to expose some of those brutish notions of government, and vile arts of wretched pretenders to politics, which are the certain bane of national felicity, you have provoked your adversaries (while I was studying a compliment of thanks to you) to give you so high an encomium, that 'tis impossible for me, with all the affection and veneration I have for you, to go beyond them. The writer of the Letter to the Examiner, comparing you to Cato the censor, and forgetting (as men of his vivacity of imagination may be allowed to do, without bringing their reading in question,) that there were two Catos, applies to you Lucan's famed saying of the last,

Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.

That however Providence disposed of events, he adhered to the just, though vanquished cause. And the Examiner pursuing the same thought, reminds you, by a sneering application of some words of Virgil,

——*Tua Cœlo*
Præcipitant, suadentque cadentia sydera somnos,

that you have chosen a time to declare your sentiments, when the patrons of both them and you are removing from court.

Thus, sir, I have staid till nothing is left me but only to congratulate you on the very great honour they have done you: And, to confess the truth, I am glad I can so easily acquit myself of the most troublesome part of a visit, salutes, and compliments.

Permit me now to enter into free conversation with you. We see a change of the ministry, and are informed of the motives and reasons of this alteration by a person who has the marks of being in the secret of the prevailing side. The Letter to the Examiner bespeaks the writer to be conversant at court, and with the principles of his party; and this not only by some particular passages, but by the tenour of it: So that, in short, it seems to be the sum and quintessence of what can be said for them. We must have been content, sir, if they had not given the public any reasons at all for their admission into royal favour; but I suppose, if they vouchsafe to give us reasons, we are not obliged to be content with them implicitly, but may examine them freely. This I have done, and you will presently see in what manner, and why I chuse to address myself thus publickly to Mr Bickerstaff.

This writer's deduction of the actions that sunk the old ministry, and brought in the new, is so thick embroidered with oratory, that the ground of facts is very hard to be distinguished clearly, and must in great measure be ever subject to his own interpretation; which (by the way) is the usual artifice of his party. I must therefore quote his own words at length:

"Let us survey the present state of our domestic affairs, and examine whether from the conduct of the ministry, and the factious whigs, the French king has not good grounds to expect to see us in confusion, and by consequence the great band of the confederacy dissolved.——

"Notwithstanding all the pains which have been taken to lessen her character in the world, by the wits of the Kit-cat, and the sages of the Cellar, mankind remains convinced, that a queen possessed of all the virtues requisite to bless a nation, or to make a private family happy, sits on the throne.

"By an excess of goodness she delighted to raise some of her servants to the highest degree of riches, of power, and of honour; and in this only instance can be said to have grieved any of her subjects.

"The rule which she had prescribed to these persons, as the measure of their conduct, was soon departed from. But so unable were they to associate with men of honester principles than themselves, that the sovereign authority was parcelled out among a faction, and made the purchase of indemnity for an offending minister. Instead of the mild influences of a gracious queen governing by law, we soon felt the miserable consequences of subjection to the will of an arbitrary junto, and to the caprice of an insolent woman.

"Unhappy nation, which, expecting to be governed by the best, fell under the tyranny of the worst of her sex! But now, thanks be to God, that fury, who broke loose to execute the vengeance of heaven on a sinful people, is restrained, and the royal hand is already reached out to chain up the plague.

"One would expect, that on the first appearance of the queen's displeasure, these little tyrants should have had recourse to submission and to resignation. But they believed the whole nation as debauched and corrupted as those profligate wretches who were in their confidence; they imagined, that under the name of their prince, they should be able to govern against her declared intention; and having usurped the royal seat, resolved to venture overturning the chariot of government, rather than to lose their place in it. They set their mistress at open defiance; neither the ties of gratitude, nor the bands of allegiance, were any restraint to them.

"Their first attempt was to take that privilege from her, which the meanest of her subjects enjoy, and slavery was to pursue her even into her bed-chamber.

"Here the nation in general took the alarm; a spirit of loyalty began to rise, which the faction foresaw would no longer bear to have the meanest submission shewn to the ministers, whilst common decency was hardly used towards the throne. The conspirators resolved therefore to precipitate their measures, and a rash intemperate sermon was made the pretence of their clamour. Those who prove themselves friends to this government by avowing principles inconsistent with any, presumed daily to try the title of the queen, and to limit the allegiance of the subject. The party-agents of every rank were employed to declaim in publick places, and we had the mortification to see cabals of upstarts sit in judgment on the right and authority of the crown, who, had it not been for the profusion of royal favour, could have had no pretence to be common triers in any cause.

"By long insipid harangues and fulsome panegyric, the merits of the ministers were exalted: The whole success of the administration, both at home and abroad, was singly attributed to them; and lest the queen should think fit to declare them dangerous, she

was by necessary consequence, from the positions laid down, declared herself to be useless.

"This attempt had likewise an effect contrary to what the projectors of it expected. The ferment, instead of abating, increased; the bulk of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and commonalty of Britain, declared themselves loudly in the cause of their prince; and those disorders which the faction had raised for their security threatened their destruction."

You see, sir, our author pushes very gallantly, and with all the warmth and liveliness he could muster up; yet I fancy he may be disarmed, without putting one's self into any violent agitations.

In the first place, I must observe to you, that the gentlemen who triumph at court are very desirous to have the visible means of their getting thither forgotten. They would not have it in the least imagined, that they owe any thing to Dr Sacheverell and his friends.[1] Our author tells us his sermon was rash and intemperate; and the writer of the Essay upon Public Credit says, p. 26, "the doctor should have been kicked from the bar for a lunatic." Which harmony in these two friends does not proceed from ingratitude to any the meanest instrument of their elevation, but from a secret consciousness, that the principles and designs of the faction, on whose shoulders the new courtiers were borne to court, are too pernicious to be directly avowed by men who are to acquire credit from the whigs as well as tories, till they are rid of some incumbrances. Such caution is used therefore, that her majesty's hereditary title and absolute non-resistance are not once mentioned by our author in all his letter; and yet so uncapable is he of concealing his game, that the new counsellors, and the bulk of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and commonalty of Britain, declaring themselves by their addresses, on occasion of the trial of Dr Sacheverell, are represented by him to be all in one interest, and actuated by the same spirit of loyalty; seeing he describes the former, p. 5, by "persons who appeared at the queen's call, and in her defence," and says, the latter declared themselves in "the cause of their prince." There seems to be so close an alliance between these two writers, that I know not whether it be properly digressing to pass sometimes from one to the other, and therefore I make no apology for it.

The principal cause which our author has alledged for the fall of the old ministers and their party, is, "The most undutiful treatment of her majesty by those very subjects of hers whom she had raised to the highest honours." And upon this stock he grafts "the conspiracy of the junto with those servants and others, to overturn the chariot of government, &c. their setting their mistress at open defiance, taking from her that privilege which the meanest of her subjects enjoy, and pursuing her with slavery even into her bed-chamber." And our new courtier is pleased to represent the helpless queen suffering this inhuman usage, without daring to assert the royal majesty; only that he might with the better flourish introduce to her relief the nation in general (by which he would have us understand his party) taking the alarm, and a spirit of loyalty beginning to rise.

To this 'tis impossible to answer without some emotion, and her majesty has a heart so entirely English, and has such an innate idea of her imperial dignity, that the grossest affront and indignity everyet offered her, was this writer's audacious invention of so wretched a picture of her. How much more suitable to her sacred and real cha-

[1] It is said, when Dean Swift begged from Harley a living for Sacheverell, he was roundly refused. Upon which he told the minister a story of a sailor during an engagement, who escaped a cannon-ball by stooping at the moment to catch a louse, and then out of gratitude permitted the insect to have his liberty. "The louse shall have the living for the sake of the story," answered the prime minister. It may easily be believed, that neither Harley nor St John were willing to adopt the trash of Sacheverell and his supporters, though the clamour which his prosecution excited, was one of the chief causes of the change which brought them into power.

racter does the author of the Essay upon Publick Credit describe her? That abler gentleman, tracing the causes of the great credit the government has had since her majesty's accession to the throne, observes, p. 19. "That after the first session of parliament in this reign, her majesty gave constant assurances that every thing given should be rightly applied; and to encourage her people, generously threw in a hundred thousand pounds of her own money, appropriated to the civil list, to ease the nation so much in that year's burden: These were steps no prince ever was known to take before. After this you never heard a complaint of the heavy burden of the taxes, though greater far than in the former reigns; on the contrary, the more you raised, the easier they were paid; the more the nation ran in debt, the higher their credit rose every day. After this you never had any commissioners of accounts asked for, or any question about misapplication. No man need go far for a reason for this; the credit centered all in the queen, whose concern was so visible for her people's good, that she would suffer no misapplications; that she would employ none but in whom she could place entire confidence; whose probity and exactness her majesty could answer for to herself, &c."

But if we could be so irreverent, to suppose the queen forgot herself, and her character so far, as to suffer her own servants to deprive her of any privilege the meanest of her subjects enjoy, our author must have a contemptible opinion of mankind, if he hopes to impose so gross a fable upon them, as that the junto entered into a conspiracy to support that insolence, and keep the queen under such subjection; and that the whig party entering into so foolish a project, proposed to give the finishing stroke to it by the impeachment of Dr Sacheverell.

For the rest of his romance; when our author can find men credulous enough to swallow so palpable a falsehood, as that her majesty was ever hindered by the junto from governing by law, and that the nation ever felt the miserable consequences of subjection to their arbitrary will, he may hope to persuade them in the same breath to believe his contradictory and poor assertion, that this will of the junto was not so arbitrary as not to be controled by the caprice of an insolent woman, and that 'twas her tyranny the nation had the unhappiness to fall under. But I suppose such dreams of the nation's having been under illegal servitude of any kind for some years past, never entered into any brain but our author's, charged with the fumes of his own oratory.

I am mistaken, or the very particulars he instances of the old party at court, betray the practices of the contrary faction. Nothing is more probable than that some female attendant of the queen might be instigated to undermine and supplant a lady, on whom the long favour of her royal mistress, and the merits of her lord's services, with her own undisguised zeal for the British liberty, had drawn the envy and hatred of the adverse party. And that this lady having the judgment to discern the persons and principles that prompted such inferior attendant, and the spirit and honesty to do her duty, by remonstrating (with all modesty, yet with all plainness) against such slavish insinuations of the power of princes, as tend, in their natural consequence, to the impairing her majesty's true title and interest, might easily acquire from the party, so opposed in their agent, the civil appellations of insolent woman, the worst of her sex, a fury, and a plague. Nothing is more common in courts than calumny; and 'tis no wonder those persons should pursue that lady with the utmost malice, who could have the disingenuity to suggest to her majesty, that the wits of the Kit-cat and the sages of the Cellar have taken pains to lessen her character in the world. Nor can it well be doubted, that those who could descend to such pitiful artifices, as to tell her majesty she was defrauded of her glory, the whole success of the administration, both at home and abroad, being singly attributed (in fulsome harangues and panegyrics) to the ministers (though the public proofs to the contrary are numerous) might carry their servile flattery so far as to insinuate, that the permitting the old ministers (each in his proper station)

to speak their free sentiments to her majesty on all affairs that fell under their cognizance, and to act accordingly in the ordinary and legal methods, was in effect to let them parcel out the sovereign authority among themselves. In a word, what is it indeed that party can be supposed incapable of attempting privately by their principals and agents, who, in their public addresses to her majesty, offer her the powers and authority of an eastern sultan, rather than of a British queen; and brand, with the names of atheists and republicans, all those who assert the principles which put the crown upon her majesty's head; and which, if they had not been asserted in and by the Revolution, her majesty must at this day have been a private subject, notwithstanding that hereditary title, which they make the ground and reason of their proffered unlimited obedience?

Turning the perspective thus, we see a real conspiracy, not of the whigs to enslave their sovereign, but of the tories to enslave the nation; and all we can gather from our author's coarse invectives against the old ministers and their friends, is, that there was a woman in the bed-chamber, as well as men in the council and chief officers of the state, who constantly and vigilantly discharged their trust and conscience towards their queen and country, by remonstrating against, and rendering ineffectual, the private insinuations and intrigues of a restless faction, who would deprive us of the inestimable benefits of the Revolution; and whose public attempts towards it cannot be more dishonourable and base, though they may be more successful, than their secret machinations. For, not daunted by the parliament's solemn discussion and condemnation of their slavish tenets, but resolving to convince her majesty of the truth of Mr Stanhope's assertion in her presence, that Dr Sacheverell was the tool of their party, the doctor was encouraged to make a triumphant progress about the country, and to turn to a solid use the delusion of his crowds of admirers, by recommending persons to their choice for the next parliament. In the mean time abundance of addresses were procured from all quarters, avowing the very doctrines he had preached, aspersing with the vilest language all those who place her majesty's legal title, and their own legal rights, on one and the same foundation, and soliciting a new parliament.

Thus the general voice of the party seconded the long fruitless effects of their agents at court: And though the queen's plain speech, at the close of the last session, will not permit one to doubt, that the new counsellors owe their advancement to causes subsequent to that speech, though no other cause is visible than these motions and addresses of the tories, and though the desires of those addresses seem to be in a way to be gratified by the dissolution of this parliament, yet the writer of the Essay upon Publick Credit shews himself very solicitous to clear the new counsellors of any manner of communication with Dr Sacheverell and his adherents. He proposes, p. 26, "the long accounts which" (for a reasonable colour of their fears of a bad parliament) "some give of that doctor's progress," as an objection to men's putting entire confidence in the new ministry, and is so ingenuous to acknowledge, that objection could not be fairly answered otherwise than in these words: "As if the folly and impolitick vanity of that gentleman could influence the people of England to send up men as mad and foolish as himself." To this, what is more natural than to reply, that not a few of those people have sent up addresses, as mad and foolish as the doctor's sermon, and promised to send up members who shall repeat their language? And this may likewise serve for an answer to his grave question, p. 25, "Why should it be suggested, that a new parliament shall not be equally zealous for the liberties of Britain with the present?"

But to return to our author of the Letter to the Examiner. As he is conscious, that if a new parliament be chosen according to the mind of the bulk of the addressers, he may leave it to others to judge, whether it will be equally zealous for the British liberties with the present; so having no doubt upon him, (for he tells us, p. 4, he writes against a vanquished cause) that the majority of the new parliament will truly represent

those addressers, he gives sufficiently to understand, that they will not be equally zealous with the present for the liberties of Europe, by discovering the sentiments of the chiefs of his party on the management of the war and the negociations of peace. Take him in his own words:

"Paint, sir, with that force which you are master of, the present state of the war abroad, and expose to publick view those principles, upon which, of late, it has been carried on, so different from those upon which it was originally entered into.——

"To restore the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, who, by their own supineness, and by the perfidy of the French, had lost it; and to regain a barrier for Holland, which lay naked and open to the insults of France, were the wise and generous motives which engaged Britain in the present war. We engaged as confederates, but we have been made to proceed as principals: Principals in expence of blood and of treasure, whilst hardly a second place in respect and dignity is allowed to us.

"In the year 1706, the last of these two motives was effectually answered by the reduction of the Netherlands; or might have been so, by the concessions, which 'tis notorious that the enemy offered. But the first motive remained still in its full force; and we were told, That though the barrier of Holland was secured, the trade of Britain, and the balance of power in Europe, would be still precarious. Spain therefore was to be conquered, before we laid down our arms, and we were made to expect, that the whole attention of our ministers would be applied to that part of the war. Like men of resigned understandings, we acquiesced, and flattered ourselves, that since Holland had been secured in the first place, Britain would be taken care of in the second. But, alas! these expectations, like many others, have failed us.

"From that point of time to this hour, France has continued like a great town invested indeed on every part, but attacked only on one. In Spain, in Savoy, on the Rhine, enough, and but just enough, has been done, to serve as a pretence for estimates and demands of supplies: But nothing decisive, nothing which had the appearance of earnest, has been so much as attempted, except that wise expedition to Thoulon, which we suffered to be defeated before it began. The whole stress of the war has been wantonly laid where France is best able to keep us at bay, as if we fought only to make ostentation of our value and of our riches. Towns have been taken, and battles have been won, the mob has huzzaed round bonfires, the Stentor of the chapel has strained his throat in the gallery, and the Stentor of Sarum has deafened his audience from the pulpit. In the meanwhile, the French king has withdrawn his troops from Spain, and has put it out of his power to restore that monarchy to us, was he reduced low enough really to desire to do it. The Duke of Anjou has had leisure to take off those whom he suspected, to confirm his friends, to regulate his revenues, to increase and form his troops, and, above all, to rouse that spirit in the Spanish nation, which a succession of lazy and indolent princes had lulled asleep.

"From hence it appears probable enough, that if the war continues much longer on the present foot, instead of regaining Spain, we shall find the Duke of Anjou in a condition to pay the debt of gratitude, and support the grandfather in his declining years, by whose arms, in the days of his infancy, he was upheld. The Dutch will have a larger and a better country than their own, at the expence of Britain, conquered for them, by those ministers, who once thought it impolitick to consent, that even Ostend should be made a part of their barrier. The emperor has already Bavaria, the duchy of Mantua, the state of Milan; and the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, and some other places dependent on these, may be added to his portion; and by the little care he now takes to support King Charles, we may easily judge how great his concern will be, if that prince should be deprived of all the rest.

"Britain may expect to remain exhausted of men and money, to see her trade divided amongst her neighbours, her revenues anticipated even to future generations, and

to have this only glory left her, that she has proved a farm to the bank, a province to Holland, and a jest to the whole world.

"If the facts I have mentioned are true, and the consequences I have drawn from them are naturally deducible from such causes, may not the King of France reasonably hope, though Holland should be aggrandized, that Britain will be in proportion weakened? May he not hope to exchange for a few towns, which he either bought or stole in former wars, to secure the Spanish monarchy to the house of Bourbon for ever, by happily concluding this?"

This is a very fair specimen of the intentions of our new politicians. And indeed no thinking man could ever doubt, that those who come into play upon the foot of complimenting the queen with the liberties of Britain, would secure themselves from an after-reckoning, by sacrificing those of Europe. One might have expected, however, that some art should have been employed to disguise this design. But such contempt of the understanding of the people of England have the prevailing addressers given our new managers, that they seem to think it needless to use any ceremony with so silly and profligate a generation.

Thus our author sets himself to open view, in the complete figure and character of a professed jacobite. One sees the true distinctions and spirit of that whole party united in his person: He declaims in the same tone, and on the same topics, with which they seek to keep themselves in heart, and to discourage and delude the unthinking populace. The whole management of the war, on the part of the allies, is treated with all contempt and ridicule; the emperor and the States-General are maliciously traduced, and the British nation are represented as bubbles to those potentates, lavishing their blood and treasure to make acquisitions for them, and only entailing debts on their own posterity. Meantime, the conduct of the King of France, and of the Duke of Anjou, is applauded to the highest degree; nothing is comparable to their wisdom and foresight; their measures are so well laid, that they must infallibly produce the effects they propose; they are so clear in their projects, that they see events gradually ripening, long till they break forth with eclat. But I doubt not, the world will be soon made sensible, that the bringing the weight of the war into the Netherlands (which our author makes the chief subject of his raillery) was concerted upon the maturest counsels, that the true state of things on the side of Savoy; the experienced impossibility of penetrating into France from the Rhine or Moselle; the certainty and facility of drawing almost all the French force down to the Netherlands, and yet of distressing them, and continually advancing upon them there; the measures taken in the meantime for duly and effectually supplying King Charles, and in consequence the fatal blow given the Duke of Anjou, will prove the French monarch at last to have been the grand dupe; and that impartial posterity will view with astonishment the glorious event of the patient labours and masterly projects of the allies; while they blame the most Christian king's conduct, in venturing too hastily to withdraw his troops from his grandson,—a fault he doubtless regrets now from every vein of his heart, and is endeavouring to repair, if possible.

Nor has our author a less opinion of the sincerity of the French court, in treating of peace, than of their conduct in carrying on the war. He affirms directly, p. 5, that "the French did not break off the conferences at Gertruydenberg, as shall one time or other," he says, "be made out to the world." He also tells us, that in the year 1706, one of the motives which engaged Britain in the present war, namely, "the regaining a barrier for Holland, was effectually answered; or might have been so, by the concessions which 'tis notorious the enemy offered." I will not dispute his intelligence, and shall always be attentive to whatever can be made out; but I am persuaded, that whoever (before that time of proof comes) will ground any argument on the sincerity of the French offers in 1706, or in any years since, will render himself notorious.

Judge, sir, from this gentleman's high opinion of the enemy, and from his kind sentiments of the emperor, the Dutch, and the bank, whether, if he had been in the ministry some years ago, we might not be now enjoying a glorious and safe peace.

As to the emperor, our author in his singular good judgment may fancy as long as he pleases, that he is of little significancy to the alliance, and that having served his own turn, he is indifferent what becomes of his brother; but I believe the King of France will not be able to think of him without a qualm at heart, till he sees him change his generals, and those councils, which for fifty years together have kept his father and him steady in the interest of Europe.

As to the Dutch, our author has taken an admirable method to render them odious to the British nation; he is very positive that the French offered them all the barrier they contend for in Flanders, so long ago as 1706. Very wel, and why would they go on with the war? Truly, that the interest of Britain might be secured as well as theirs. What a self-interested people are these Dutch! they won't be content even with a larger and better country than their own, but obstinately insist, from 1706 to this hour, that the interest of Britain be served, before they will agree to sheath the sword.

And as to the bank, does our author really think that England is farmed to it? I confess I have always thought some such thing; that is to say, I have ever been persuaded, that the liberties of England ought to be maintained inviolably, till not only the bank, but all others who have advanced money to the public service, upon annuities, lotteries, or other funds, are fairly repaid, and upon the same foot those liberties were when the money was lent. And surely no alteration can honestly be made in their true and only security, namely, a free government of equal laws, (without a firm persuasion of which they would not have lent a groat) till the longest term of the loans be expired at least. After that, if our author's successors will lend money to a king of England upon his own personal security, we cannot hinder them. But the present generation have Monsieur Bernard, with the rest of the bankers and merchants of Paris, Lyons, &c. too fresh in their memory, to be willing to be made bankrupts ever so illustriously.

Upon the whole, sir, the world will do our author the justice to own, that the abstracts he has given of the sentiments of his party, is faithful, and as particular as was necessary; and must take in good part this condescension of the new ministers, in declaring themselves by the mouth of this gentleman so intelligibly. For their honour, a refugee of my acquaintance has translated it into French, and sent it abroad, that both our allies and enemies may have the satisfaction to see they have not, on either side, in the least misunderstood their designs. But the jest on't is, that after the party have acted so bare-faced and spoken out so plain, years together, that 'twas impossible they should be mistaken by any court or nation in Europe, they will make the apprehensions, which the emperor and the States-General cannot help entertaining of them the ground of a new clamour against the old ministry and the whigs. And this obliges me to explain to you, sir, the following passage at the close of our author's letter. "Not daunted (by the bulk of the addressers) they resolve to try a new expedient, and the interest of Europe is to be represented as inseparable from that of the ministers: The Dutch and the court of Vienna are called in as confederates to the ministry, and such an indignity is offered to the crown, as no man, who has the honour of his country at heart, can with patience bear."

When the seals of secretary of state were taken from the Earl of Sunderland, her majesty was pleased to order that it should be signified to the ministers of the emperor and States-General here, "that though her majesty had thought fit to remove the Earl of Sunderland, 'twas only a personal affair, and not with design to proceed to a change of the ministry."

In return to this voluntary signification from her majesty, their high mightinesses sent order to M. Vrybergen, "to thank her majesty in the best manner possible, and to acquaint her, that they rejoiced extremely for the assurances she had been pleased to give them that she would not change the ministry; and that those assurances had delivered them from the great disquiet given them by the rumour which the enemy and ill-designing people had industriously spread abroad of her intention to change the ministry and dissolve the parliament, they being persuaded that the same reasons which had induced her majesty not to do the one, might determine her not to do the other."

To much the same purpose, 'tis said, the emperor has written from Vienna; and that the elector of Hanover (to whose minister at the Hague my Lord Townshend was ordered to make the like signification) has returned his thanks to her majesty, expressing likewise his desires of the continuance of the ministry and parliament as pathetically as the other two potentates.

I think, sir, I have more real zeal for maintaining in every point her majesty's prerogative, than this gentleman and his party affect to boast of; as believing her to have the very same title to her crown, and to all the prerogatives of it, that I or any of her subjects have to breathe in English air, and to enjoy the properties we lawfully acquire, (which is a loyalty not founded on jargon, that flutters in the head, and cannot sink down into the heart, but on the most natural and rational, and consequently the most solid and lasting principles,) and therefore I shall treat this subject very seriously.

The emperor and the States-General are the two chief potentates engaged in an alliance with her majesty against France. Among the causes for which this war is made, one (and that the principal specified in the declaration on the part of Britain) was the French king's declaring and acknowledging the Pretender to be King of England by the name of James III. And accordingly, by the preliminaries concerted by the plenipotentiaries of those three potentates, 'twas stipulated that the French king should own her majesty for queen of Great Britain, and that the Pretender should depart France. Now if, in the course of the war, reports spread by the enemy, and by the Roman catholicks, professed non-jurors, and other disaffected persons in Britain, give the emperor and the States-General ground to apprehend that the present dissensions may have a very bad influence on the common cause in general, and particularly on account of the Pretender, should the ministry be changed and a new parliament chosen in the heat of those dissensions; and if her majesty, being sensible that those potentates were under disquiet and apprehension, think fit voluntarily to signify to them that she had no intention to change her ministry, may not those potentates return thanks to her for such her voluntary communication of that her intention, and express their hopes and even their desires, that the same reasons which had prompted her to make them easy by those assurances with respect to the ministry, might also induce her not to dissolve the parliament? I shall be told this is a domestic affair; but is it not such a domestic affair as immediately affects the common cause, of which the keeping out of the Pretender is a part? Let those to whom it belongs pronounce upon this case; but as our author, and after him the Examiner, have taken upon them to pass sentence upon it, and the latter to censure the Dutch very heavily for this proceeding, though he confesses he never saw their memorial, I will say this for the Dutch, that whether they can justify the terms of their memorial or not, all the world must justify them in their apprehensions of a new parliament, when so great a number of electors have declared they hold such principles as are utterly inconsistent with those that effected the Revolution, and established the government subsequent thereto. The British nation will possibly have the benefit of the word *abdication*, if ever the Pretender carry his point: There was no force used on our part (or at least none ought to have been used) against King James, if Dr Sacheverell and his adherents may be believed; but the States are conscious, and I

suppose scorn to deny, that they did employ force on that occasion. And now, towards the end of a most burthensome war, if they see a party in England insulting and vilifying a parliament, which but a few months ago so solemnly justified the Revolution, and the means of bringing it about, condemning Sacheverell's contrary doctrines; if they see the conferences of peace broke off by the enemy, in hopes of some event to their advantage from our dissensions; it must be allowed they have more than sufficient reasons to dread the consequences, not only to Europe in general, but to their own state in particular. And what consequences may not we apprehend at home, if neither the fears of the allies, nor the hopes of the enemy, can prevail with our new counsellors to forbear advising the dissolution of the present parliament, when they themselves would be thought to design or desire nothing, (if we may take the word of the writer of the Essay on Publick Credit) but what this parliament will surely and thoroughly enable them to do? Nay, that writer says, the best that can be expected from a new parliament, is, that they will be but equally zealous with the present for the liberties of Britain and carrying on the war; nor does he himself expect even that from them, if the electors should chuse men as mad and foolish as Dr Sacheverell.

Here, sir, I end with this writer; and, applying myself to you, recommend it to your inimitable pencil to describe the progress of the war till now in the most shining colours: Describe the vast extent of the kingdoms and provinces undertaken to be wrested out of the enemy's hands; pass leisurely from the battle of Blenheim to that of Saragossa; and all the way observe, that heaven, to prevent our undervaluing the glorious cause which the allies contend for, has suffered no acquisition to be made but by true military conduct and fortitude; and permitted disgrace to fall on those only of their commanders, who have acted rashly or carelessly, and without counsel or discipline. Place in the clearest light those generals, who, faithful to their sovereigns, just to themselves, pursuing honour with an honest affection, not irregular lust, have by the sword in open day recovered almost all the Spanish dominions in Europe;

Non cauponantes bellum, sed belligerantes.

Describe them negotiating with caution and probity in the cabinet, equal to their generosity and vigilance in the field; and give them the same superiority in one as in the other, over the boastful vain pretenders to mastery in both. Then set to view in all magnificence, the head and soul of the alliance, the pious royal Anne; and next her those ministers and patriots who have given so many illustrious and immortal proofs of their duty and zeal for her person, and love to their native country. You cannot want shade sufficient for all this bright scene of beauteous images: The black hypocrisy and prevarication, the servile prostitution of all English principles, and the malevolent ambition of a perverse and arrogant faction, will serve to make the strongest contrast And from the whole piece the world shall judge and own, in spite of senseless flattery, that the personal glory of monarchs is built upon the ability and integrity which their generals, ministers, and councils shew, in discharging their respective trusts with just regard, as well to the laws as to the prince.

A true Narrative of what passed at the Examination of the Marquis de Guiscard, at the Cock-Pit, the 8th of March, 1710-11. *His stabbing Mr Harley, &c. Printed in the Year* 1711.

This pamphlet has been imputed to Swift, and is usually printed in his works, as at least corrected and revised by him. A late editor has prefaced it with the following remarks:

"The hero of the following tragedy was originally called the Abbe de la Bourlie. He was brother to the Compte de Guiscard, a lieutenant-general in the French service, who was governor of Namur, when that fortress surrendered to King William. The abbe joined a wild and ill-regulated imagination to a daring temper and extravagant habits, and a family quarrel easily determined him upon embarking his fate with that of the Camisars, a sect of protestants, who had taken up arms in the Cevennes, where they long maintained a predatory and desultory warfare. Having established some correspondence among their chiefs, he visited Vienna and the Hague, under the name of the Marquis de Guiscard, and received encouragement both from the Imperial and Dutch governments. In England his success was still greater, for he was named lieutenant-colonel of a refugee regiment, and sent, holding the commission of a lieutenant-general, along with a large body of British troops, destined to land on the southern coast of France. But the British general, Lord Rivers, finding the account which Guiscard gave of his expected support greatly too vague to justify his hazarding a British army in the adventure, held a council of war in Torbay, which came to resolutions so disadvantageous to Guiscard, that the enterprize was altogether abandoned. Being discountenanced by the ministry, after this event, he subsisted chiefly by his art as a gambler, although he was still received into company, and was particularly intimate with Mr St John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, who then led a very dissipated life. It has been supposed, that Guiscard had expectations, from this intimacy, altogether inconsistent with the manner in which it had arisen, and that this disappointment greatly aggravated his resentment of the desperate circumstances to which he was soon reduced. The queen, indeed, ordered him a provision not exceeding 500l. a-year, which the economy of the lords of the treasury reduced to 400l. But even this was uncertain and ill-paid. The conclusion was his opening a treasonable correspondence with France, his apprehension, and his attempt to assassinate Harley.

"How much Swift felt for the danger of his friend, we learn from his expressions of agonizing distress, in his private journal to Stella. Nor would he have omitted so good an opportunity to shew his zeal for his political party, as this event afforded, had there not occurred a delicacy in drawing up the narrative, which, in fact, occasioned the first coldness between St John and Harley. The former affected to regard himself as the primary object of Guiscard's violence. This was probably true; for Guiscard considered himself as deserted, and even betrayed by St John, who had been formerly his intimate, and against Harley he had no personal subject of animosity. Indeed the whole story tends to confirm the opinion of those who held that St John was the principal object of the assassin's vengeance: But still Harley had suffered the effects of it; and as he and his party unanimously ascribed the frantic violence of a desperate man to a serious intention of relieving France from her most dangerous enemy, Harley and his friends resented St John's attempt to deprive him of a merit acquired at the risk of his life. To avoid committing himself on so ticklish a point of competition, Swift entrusted Mrs Manley, author of the "New Atalantis," with the task of composing the following narrative, from the facts with which he furnished her. This appears from the following passages in his journal:

"Yesterday was sent me a narrative printed, with all the circumstances of Mr Harley's stabbing. I had not time to do it myself; so I sent my hints to the author of the Atalantis; and she has cooked it into a sixpenny pamphlet, in her own style; only the first page is left as I was beginning it. But I am afraid of disobliging Mr Harley or Mr St John, in one critical point, about it, and so would not do it myself. It is worth your reading, for the circumstances are all true."

Journal to Stella, April 16, 1711.—"Guiscard, and what you will read in the narrative, I ordered to be written." In the "Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry," Swift says that he furnished some materials to the editor of this tract. And in the Journal to Stella, 3d November, 1711, he terms the pamphlet "An Account of Guiscard, by the same Woman," (Mrs Manley) but the Facts sent by Presto himself."

"It is needless to observe, that the tawdry and declamatory style of the narrative is very different from that of Swift."

THERE is nothing received with more pleasure in history, than the minute passages and circumstances of such facts as are extraordinary and surprising; we often lament to see an important accident nakedly told, stript of those particularities which are most entertaining and instructive in such relations; this defect is frequent in all historians, not through their own fault, but for want of information. For while facts are fresh in memory, nobody takes care to record them, as thinking it idle to inform the world in what they know already; and by this means the accounts we have of them are only traditional, the circumstances forgotten, and perhaps supplied with false ones, or formed upon probabilities, according to the genius of the writer.

But, besides the informing posterity on such occasions, there is something due to the present age; people at a distance are curious and concerned to know the particulars of great events, as well as those in the metropolis; and so are the neighbouring nations. And the relations they receive are usually very imperfect, or misrepresented on purpose, by the prejudice of party in the relaters.

I shall endeavour to avoid both these errors in the fact I am going to relate; and having made use of some good opportunities, to be informed from the first hands, of several passages not generally known, I hope it will be in my power to give some satisfaction to the publick.

About six years ago there came into England a French papist, the younger brother of a noble family in that kingdom, called Antoine de Guiscard, abbot de Borly, near the Cevennes in France. And as it is the usual custom for cadets of quality there to betake themselves to the army or the church, Guiscard chose the latter, and had an abbey given him of a considerable revenue; but being of a vicious and profligate nature, he fell into the most horrible crimes that a man can commit. Among other instances, it is said, that he seduced a nun: It is likewise reported, that he and his younger brother, suspecting their receiver had cheated, got the poor man to their house, and put him to the torture, to force a discovery from him. Besides keeping a *serail* in his abbey, when he used to receive a sum together from his revenue, his custom was to go to Thoulouse and lavish it in all sorts of excesses. A young lady of a good family was so unhappy to be prevailed on, to her dishonour, by his brother. Monsieur de Guiscard was afterwards employed to steal her from her father, but falling in love with her himself, he carried her off from his rival into Switzerland. Satiety not long after succeeding, he was so inhuman to poison the poor unfortunate young lady. After his flight he was hanged in effigy by the magistrates at the principal town in Rouergue, for his intended rebellion. 'Tis agreed on all hands, that upon account of his many enormities (but as himself terms them in his memoirs,[1] private domestic concerns, and the crying injustice done his family) he withdrew to his own lands, in the province of Rouergue, contiguous to that part of Languedoc, called the Cevennes, where he endeavoured to raise insurrections amongst the discontented people, of which he has pub-

[1] "Authentic Memoirs, being secret Transactions in the Southern Provinces of France, to rescue that Nation from Slavery. Dedicated to the Queen of Great Britain. By the Marquis de Guiscard, Lieutenant-General of the Forces gone upon the present Descent." This, Archbishop King, in a letter to Swift, calls, justly, a very foolish narrative.

lished a very foolish account; but having neither credit nor ability for such an undertaking, his success was answerable. He was forced to fly into Switzerland, without taking any measures for the safety of those poor wretches involved with him, and who had been so unhappy to be wrought upon by his insinuations: Thirty of the Roman catholic persuasion, seduced by Guiscard into the design of rebelling for liberty, not for religion, fell under the sentence of the magistrate, and were broke upon the wheel; though, 'tis said, if Monsieur de Guiscard, upon whom they depended for intelligence, had but delayed his flight only so long as to send notice to those gentlemen of the danger impending, they might all, or at least the greater number of them, have escaped as well as himself.

The Marquis de Guiscard had an early, an undoubted propensity to mischief and villainy, but without those fine parts, useful in the cabinet; he had not capacity to conduct a design, though he might have brain enough to form one; was wholly unacquainted with war, had never been in an army, a profligate abbot, who knew nothing of the soldier; yet this man we find immediately made a colonel of a regiment of horse, and a lieutenant-general, with a pension, as 'tis said, from Holland, as well as from us: To do all this for one wholly ignorant of a camp, was foolish as well as scandalous.

Nor had adversity made any impression upon his manners; his behaviour here was expensive, luxurious, vicious, lavishing at play, and upon women, what was given him for his own support. Besides his continual good fortune with other ladies, he kept two in constant pay, upon whom he made a profuse and regular expence: One of those creatures was married, whom, that he might possess with the greater ease, he procured her husband to be pressed and sent away into the service: A transcript of that state-cunning sometimes practised by great politicians (when they would disencumber themselves of an incommode) in affairs of the like emergency.

At first there was none more caressed than our foreign favourite: A late minister seldom saw a levee without him, though we may admit that is not always a proof of being a favourite of those to whom they make their court; there are who crowd themselves where they have done the most sensible injuries, and against whom they have been guilty of the highest offence: But want of shame is one part of an ill man's character, as another is, that he can submit to the meanest things.

Monsieur de Guiscard had the misfortune to sink under his character, even to those great men who at first most indulged him: His parts were too mean to uphold him against a just contempt: He was found an useless villain, whose inferior understanding could not answer expectation: Proving unserviceable, he was consequently discountenanced, dropped by degrees, and afterwards totally neglected; his pension ill-paid, and himself reduced to extremity.[1] This put him upon making his peace with France; a common practice of such villains, whose only business being to support an infamous life, in fulness of luxury, never weigh what stands between them and the end.

[1] Boyer, after telling us that Guiscard vainly solicited the continuance of a pension he had for some time enjoyed from Holland, gives the following account of his declension:—"Hereupon the marquis returned to England, where, what with the small stock he had not yet squandered away; what with the scanty supply of 200l. he received from the government; what by the generosity of some noble persons and foreign ministers, who still admitted him to their tables, though with more caution in their discourses than before; he made a shift not only to live, but to keep his equipage. The death of Count Briançon, envoy extraordinary from the Duke of Savoy, with whom he lived in strict amity, and confederacy of pleasures, and who contributed most towards the expences of their amorous intrigues, was a sensible mortification to Mr de Guiscard, who, soon after, was obliged to lay down his coach, and dismiss part of his servants; and, at last, to pawn his plate and run into debt to keep himself from starving. He was indeed reduced so very low, that, for two or three months before he was apprehended for high treason, he hardly ate at his own house; being forced to live upon such common and cheap food as his housekeeper was able to provide for him out of her small stock; and only supporting his spirits by a plentiful repast, or a bottle of wine, now and then, free cost."—*Political State of Europe*, p. 299.

The Marquis de Guiscard had no religion, knew nothing of principles, or indeed humanity: Brutish, bold, desperate, an engine fit for the blackest mischief; revengeful, busy to design, though full of inconsistencies, and preposterous in his management: His schemes impracticable to any less rash and inconsiderate, as may be seen in those his ill-formed projects of rebellion against his prince: His aspect gloomy and forbidding, no false indication of the malignancy within. Nor could the evil in his nature be diverted by benefits. The present ministry regarding him as a man of family, one who had been caressed in England, though they liked neither his principles nor his practice, thought it against the glory of the queen (who is the sanctuary of distressed foreigners) to let such birth want the supports of life; and therefore entered upon measures to pay him four hundred pounds a year, as part of that pension which at first was granted him, and had been for some time discontinued. He could no longer with any pretence be a malecontent: But he would not forego his treacherous design, nor his desire to make his peace at home. Mr Harley discovered his correspondence: He knew he had wrote three letters to France, with advice of our affairs. This discovery was made a fortnight before Monsieur de Guiscard's seizure.[1] Mr Harley was willing to convict him under his own hand; and accordingly took all necessary precaution to have what letters he should write brought to the secretary's office. In the mean time persons were employed who should give an account of all his motions; such who played with him, drank with him, walked with him; in a word, those who, under the pretence of diversion and friendship, should never lose sight of him till that day, when he went to a merchant of his acquaintance in the city, and gave him a letter, with this request "That he would be pleased to forward it, and let it be sent away with his own foreign leters."

This letter was brought to Mr Harley, where he read Monsieur Guiscard's advice to the ministers of France, "That they should invade England as soon as possible,

[1] The account of the discovery of Guiscard's treason is more particularly given in the "Political State of Europe," for which reason the passage is here extracted.

"You have already been informed, that the way he made use of to write to France, was that of Lisbon, whither he sent his letters, under the cover of the Earl of Portmore, to a person who afterwards conveyed them from Lisbon to Paris. His lordship suspecting something, thought fit to open one of those packets; and finding in it a letter directed to a Mr Moreau, a banker in Paris, unsealed that too, and found in it the confirmation of his suspicions. Hereupon, his lordship sent back that letter to his lady, the Countess of Dorchester, with instructions withal, That as she had, by chance, been the happy instrument of the Marquis of Guiscard's treason, she should continue receiving his letters, which might contain further proofs of it, and deliver them to the ministers of state; which her ladyship did accordingly.

"For I am credibly informed, that on Monday the 5th of March, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Marquis of Guiscard sent a packet of letters to the Countess of Dorchester, directed, in French, to the Earl of Portmore, at Lisbon; but the countess being then abroad, the packet was left upon the table. Upon her ladyship's coming home, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, she was told that the marquis had sent her a packet; but after she had been in her chamber, she said the packet was missing; upon which she appeared extreme angry; examined all her servants about the matter, and promised two guineas reward to any one that should find the said packet. Moreover, the next morning, she sent to the marquis to let him know, that she would be at his house about three in the afternoon; where, being come at the hour appointed, she acquainted him with the loss of his packet. The marquis seemed somewhat surprised and concerned at it; telling her ladyship, "that he wrote to my Lord Portmore with the same freedom he used to speak to him, particularly about the troops that had been promised him, which he doubted would not be sent him; that he also wrote to a person in Portugal that was due to him, which he would have paid to an officer of his acquaintance; but that having sent only copies of the notes, and kept the originals, this loss was not material; but, however, though there was no harm in his letters, yet he should be sorry they should fall into the hands of some people, there being hardly any thing so innocent in itself, but what may be made criminal by misconstruction!" He afterwards told her ladyship, how improbable it was that his packet should be lost, or that any of her servants should presume to meddle with it, and earnestly desired her to look for it; which the countess promised to do, and so departed. On Wednesday the 7th, the marquis waited upon the countess, to enquire after his packet; but hearing no news of it, he went away without taking leave of her ladyship; and could not forbear telling one of her servants, his suspicion, that she had herself conveyed it away, at which he was much disturbed."—*Political State of Great Britain for April* 1711, p. 301.

whether they succeed or no; because the mischief it would do us would be irreparable: 'Twould disconcert and divide us, ruin our credit, and do us a vast deal of hurt," &c.

On the 8th of March, the queen's inauguration-day, Monsieur de Guiscard, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, was seized in the Mall in St James's Park, by a warrant of high-treason from Mr Secretary St John, and carried by the queen's messengers to the Cock-Pit. He seemed then to have taken his resolution, and to determine that his ruin should be fatal to those who occasioned it, by desiring leave to send for a glass of sack, some bread and butter, and a knife; the woman of the coffee-house sent him all but the knife, which was accidentally omitted: He was brought into the clerk's room, and kept there till the cabinet council was assembled; in that room he found a penknife, and took it away unperceived, which, as 'tis supposed, he hid in his sleeve, for there was none found in his pockets, which were searched before his examination.

There were present at the committee of cabinet-council, the lord keeper, lord president, Duke of Ormond, Duke of Newcastle, Duke of Buckingham, Duke of Queensborough, Earl Powlet, Lord Dartmouth, Mr Harley, Mr Secretary St John.

[Mr Tilson, Mr Hare, under secretaries, sat at a little table by themselves.]

Monsieur de Guiscard being brought in to be examined, Mr Secretary St John, whose business it was to interrogate him, asked him some questions about his corresponding with France, and whether he had not sent letters thither? Monsieur de Guiscard denied it boldly: Mean time his colour came and went. Earl Poulet, before he was brought in, had desired Mr St John to change places with Mr Harley, that Guiscard's face might be full in the light, and his countenance better perceived, in any alteration that might happen, at the questions that should be asked him.[1]

The presence of that august assembly, the obligations the criminal had to some in particular, who had honoured him with their favour, and to all in general, as they were of the first rank, amongst a people who had so generously refuged him in his misfortunes, his own guilt and dread of being detected, might well cause an emotion in the mind and face of the most resolved, most hardened person; he flushed and turned pale, the posture of his feet restless and unassured, his hands in perpetual motion, fumbling in his pocket; which some of that noble assembly reflecting on, could yet well account for, by remembering it was his usual manner: A French air, which has long since received in England, among some of our fine gentlemen, to a great degree of imitation.

Could one have looked into Guiscard's guilty soul, how terrible at that moment had been the prospect! His dread of conviction, his ingratitude, his treachery, his contempt or desire of death, his despair of Heaven, his love of his native country, his spirit of revenge, embroiled his thoughts, fermented his blood, roused his shame, and worked up his resolution to a pitch of doing all the service to France, and mischief he could to England: Like falling Sampson, to involve in his fate the strength of the enemy; yet he would make one push for life, and, till proof was produced, not give up a cause he could defend so easily, as by denying the crime he was charged with; which he did with an undaunted assurance, till Mr Secretary asked him if he knew such a gentleman, naming the merchant with whom he had left the letter? At that

[1] This circumstance (as we have already said) gave the first occasion to a rupture between Harley and St John. The latter, envying probably the great credit which accrued to Harley from Guiscard's attempt, was willing to have it supposed, from this circumstance, and from the assassin's request to speak with the secretary apart, that he, and not Harley, was the chief object of his vengeance. The treasurer, on the other hand, who had sustained both the pain and danger of the wound, was unwilling to be deprived of the merit attached to being the premeditated object of the vengeance of France. It was to avoid offending one or other of these statesmen, in the mode of drawing this narrative, that Swift delegated the task to Mrs Manley.

Guiscard rolled his eyes, assured of his ruin, yet surprised and shocked at the approach: The same question being repeated, he answered "Yes, what of that?" Being pressed again to discover what he knew of his corresponding with France, he continued obstinate in his pretended ignorance; when Mr Secretary St John produced his letter, and with a force of eloquence inseparable from what he speaks, represented to Monsieur de Guiscard the baseness, the blackness of his crime; to betray the queen his benefactress; Britain, the country that had refuged, supported, trusted, honoured him by the command of her troops with such noble confidence, that made it double villainy in him to be a villain; exhorting him yet to be sincere, and give up to their information what he knew of the treacherous design he had formed.

Whilst the secretary's words were making an irresistible impression upon every mind, but his to whom they were addressed, the criminal formed to himself the destruction of those two dreadful enemies of France, Mr Harley and Mr St John: It seemed to him too hazardous to attempt the design at the full board; not in regard of his own life, that was already devoted, but lest they should not be both involved. It appeared reasonable to him, that if, upon the pretence of discovery, he could get Mr St John to withdraw, Mr Harley might possibly be of the party, and he have a chance to murder both before they could be assisted; accordingly, when he was pressed to discover, he desired to speak with Mr St John apart. The secretary told him, that was impracticable: He was before the whole committee as a criminal, and what he had to say, must be said to all. Upon Guiscard's persisting to speak only to the secretary, they went to ring the bell to call in the messengers, to carry him away; which he observing, cried out, "That's hard, not one word," *Pas un mot*, and stooping down, said, *J'en veux donc a'toy;* then have at thee; so stabbed Mr Harley. Redoubling the stroke, the knife broke, which he was not sensible of; but rushing on towards Mr St John, overthrew the clerk's table that stood between Mr St John, saw Mr Harley fall, and cried out, "The villain has killed Mr Harley:" Then he gave him a wound, as did the Duke of Ormond, and the Duke of Newcastle. Mr St John was resolved to have killed him, but that he saw Mr Harley got up and walking about, and heard Earl Powlet cry out not to kill Guiscard. The messengers laid hold of him, and tore his coat; he raged, he struggled, he overthrew several of them, with the strength of one desperate, or frantic, till at last they got him down, by pulling him backwards by the cravat. Like a lion taken in the toils, he foamed, he grinned, his countenance seemed despoiled of the aspect of any thing human; his eyes gleamed fire, despair, and fury: He cried out to the Duke of Ormond, whilst they were binding him, amidst his execration and his raving, My Lord Ormond, *Pour quoy ne may depeches vous;* "Why don't you dispatch me?" The noble duke made this memorable answer, *Ce n'est pas l'affaire des honestes gens; Cest l'ffaire d'une autre:* "'Tis not the work of gentlemen, 'tis the work of others."

Let us turn our eyes from so detestable an object, to another not less surprising, though of a quite different kind, where we shall behold a gentleman, arrived, by long practice, to that difficult attainment of possessing his soul in all conditions, in all accidents, whether of life or death, with moderation: This is the man who may be truly said to know himself, whom even assassination can't surprise; to whom the passions are in such obedience, they never contend for sway, nor attempt to throw him from his guard. Mr Harley falling back in his chair, by the redoubled stroke that was given him, and seeing them busy about taking Guiscard, by whom he imagined himself killed, did not call or cry for help, but getting up as well as he could of himself, applied his handkerchief to the wound, to stop the blood, and keep out the air, walking about the room, till they had time to come to him, not complaining nor accusing, nor encouraging them to revenge him upon Guiscard; his countenance serene, unaltered, so that from his own behaviour all his friends, particularly his tenderest, Mr St

John, hoped he was but slightly hurt: When Bussier the surgeon searched the wound, they were all surprised to find it so dangerous; the penknife was struck aslant, and buried in the wound, which Mr Harley himself took out, wiped, called for the handle, and said, They belong to me: He asked if the wound were mortal, he had affairs to settle. Even in our incredulous age, we may term his escape a miracle; the blow was struck exactly upon his breast bone; which broke the knife; had it been an inch lower, it had touched the *diaphragma*, and all the world could not have saved his life; or a nail's breadth deeper, 'twould have reached his heart. I have heard it affirmed, that if one should attempt a thousand times, at an imitation of Guiscard's design, without his rage and force, not once in that thousand times would it be probable that a life could escape the blow, as Mr Harley's has done. He had a double deliverance, first from the knife striking upon the breast-bone, and then from its breaking there; he must else have infallibly been murdered by the repetition of the blow; neither was the cure less doubtful, the contusion was more dangerous than the wound itself: About a week after the bruised blood fell down, which held his life in suspense.[1] He had been ill for some time before, and was not as yet recovered.

As soon as Mr Harley was dressed, he ordered the surgeon to take care of Monsieur de Guiscard; and was himself carried home in a chair, followed by the lamentations and prayers of the people for his recovery, who attended him to his own door with their sighs and sorrows.

The bold marquis, though subdued, was still untamed: His fury, despair, and desire of instant death, made him use his efforts to prevent the good intentions of the surgeon and the assistants; they were forced to keep him down by strength of hand, whilst his wounds were searched and dressed; after which he was sent to Newgate, where he continued in the same violence of mind: He begged to die, he strove to die, by rubbing the plaisters from his wounds; which to prevent, there were persons perpetually employed to watch on each side of the bed.[2]

If we read his sentiments in his own memoirs, we may find they are always disposed to violence. Speaking to those whom he would draw into a confederacy against the king, "That it was better to die once for all, than to die in a manner a thousand times a day, always at the mercy of men who made it their business to imbitter their life, and make it insupportable." In another place, (p. 14,) "How can we better spend some few and uncertain days, which every moment are ended by some disease, by misfortune, or old age, than by making our name famous and immortal?" And thus, (p. 46,) "Pusillanimous men, who for want of courage dare not attempt any thing at their peril, will never see an end of their misfortune."

These being his avowed tenets, may give us some light into a design so execrable, that 'twere sin to look into it, with any other eyes but detestation. Monsieur de Guiscard was to reconcile himself to France, which could not probably be done but by something more notorious than his disaffection: Upon his death-bed examination, he told the lords, "There was something horrible he had to tell them!—for which he

[1] Boyer resents the dismissal of his countryman, Bussiere, from the charge of attending Harley, and imputes the slowness of the cure to that circumstance. "It is observable, that, contrary to the usual custom, Mr Bussiere was not sent for any more to attend Mr Harley, which, however, did not proceed from an ill opinion of his known abilities, either by Mr Harley himself, or any of his honourable family; but only from the jealousy of a physician, who refused to consult with Mr Bussiere, though Mr Green, Mr Harley's chirurgeon in ordinary, earnestly desired his assistance. The report then went, that some fault was found with Mr Bussiere, for having made too great an incision when he laid the first apparel; but, whoever raised that report, it soon appeared that Mr Bussiere, who designed to have even enlarged the said incision at the next dressing, was in the right; the not doing of it having gone near to have cost Mr Harley his life. For, not having yet fully recovered a late illness, the humours gathered with the extravasated blood, and keeping running that way for above five weeks, his cure was rendered desperate."—*Political State of Great Britain*, Apr. 1711, p. 310.

[2] Boyer insinuates that he refused to lie in the dirty and mean bed which was provided for him, and kept on his clothes for three days.

ought to be torn in pieces!—something inconceivable!—exceeding all barbarity!"—there stopt, as if for breath, a reanimation of spirits, or to recollect what he had to say; after a while, seeing he did not proceed, they reminded him to go on—He repeated those, and many more such expressions. Being pressed to proceed, he fell into something very trifling, which he knew they knew already; said, "It was no matter—Content—content"—meaning to die.

Upon their examination of him in Newgate, he seemed to boast his resolution and performance; bid them judge what he was able to do in a good cause, had they thought fit to employ and trust him, since he could go so far in an ill one. The vanity of his nation kept him company to the last; he valued himself upon his intrepidity, his contempt of death, and thirst of honour, &c. The last time the lords were with him, he desired Mr St John's hand, and said "*Pardonne, Pardonne.*" Mr St John replied, "*Je vous pardonne—Dieus vous pardonne!*"—Guiscard repeating, "Content,—Content,"—he became delirious.

The roughness of his nature seems to have hindered him from encouraging that remorse which approaching death might occasion, else we should doubtless have had disclosed the blackest scene that aby age has shown; 'tis very well known the eager desire he had for some time expressed to see the queen alone; the pretence of that audience he so earnestly importuned was to get his pension assured: He was of late often found in the anti-chamber and at the back-stairs; he generally carried a bottle of poison about him, supposed to answer the disappointment of some foreseen event. This, compared with his own words, and several letters from France and Holland, at that time, mentioning, it was expected they should hear of a *coup d'eclat en Angleterre*, makes it almost past doubt that he did design to kill the queen;[1] and failing of his attempt there, stabbed Mr Harley, as by his own confession he would have done Mr St John, because they were the two important lives that gave dread and anguish to that monarch, who has so long and often been the terror of others.

The queen, all-merciful and saint-like as she is, had herself the goodness (notwithstanding appearances were against him in the supposition of his horrible intentions to destroy her) to appoint two surgeons and two physicians to attend him in Newgate, with whatever was befitting a man of family. This gracious treatment could depart only from a mind so conversant with Heaven, so near of kindred, as that of our pious queen.

Her cares and prayers were the balm that healed Mr Harley's wound. The honour that was done him by the address of parliament shall never be forgotten; nor her majesty's gracious answer. 'Tis remarkable, that when it was brought into the House of Lords the whigs all went out, except one, who raised a weak objection, that Monsieur de Guiscard was not a papist-convict.

Notwithstanding the surgeons' and physicians' art and care, Monsieur de Guiscard died in Newgate. His wounds, of which he received four in the forepart of his body, were cured; the fifth was in his back, which the surgeons deposed was not mortal. The jury gave in their verdict, that his bruises were the cause of his death. It appeared upon the examination of Mr Wilcox, the queen's messenger, that it was he that wounded the marquis in the back, and gave him those bruises of which he died. Monsieur de Guiscard, in struggling with Wilcox, threw him against a window, which caused him to void above a quart of blood the same night.

His resolution, or rather obstinacy, continued to the last: He would not permit his wounds to be dressed, nor accepted of any nourishment, but what was forced upon him:

[1] Mr St John informed Swift, that the queen did not go to church, or see company, on the day of Guiscard's being arrested, although it was the anniversary of her accession. From this we may infer, either that the ministers believed her person in danger from Guiscard's machinations, or that they wished to impress such an opinion on the public.—*See Swift's Letter to Archbishop King, 8th March*, 1710-11.

He made no profession of religion, had no shew of remorse or contrition, nor desired the assistance of a priest. He was privately interred, [aged 52.] by order from the court,—a mercy no nation but ours would have conferred upon a spy, a traitor, and an assassin.

Is it not obvious to all England, what had been our distress in the confusion wherein so long a run of mismanagement has plunged us, if Heaven had permitted the knife of a barbarous foreigner to have robbed us of a minister, whose conduct, wise, stedfast, vigorous, extricates our affairs, and embroils the enemies! Does not the flourishing church of England owe him all things for her deliverance from presbytery and atheism? A miracle no less seasonable than when she was assaulted by all the force of Rome. Were he not a sincere worshipper at our increasing altars, would he not reduce rather than multiply? Is not even our gracious sovereign indebted to him for scattering those persons from about her, whose excessive tyranny strove to ruin all those who aimed to come at the queen but by them? Does he not sacrifice his quiet to the good of his country, without enriching his own family with her treasures, or decking himself with her honours, though she has none but what, with pride and joy, she is ready to bestow upon him? Was not his blood (even now devoted to the restless genius of France) spilt in dread of his pursuits and endeavours to reduce that monarch to humanity and reason? Is not his modesty so excessive, that he conceals from those persons who have treated him as a traitor the extent of his power, lest he should seem to insult their disgrace? Free from that false delicacy which so often makes people uneasy at what either the mistaken or our enemies say of us, his actions have their foundation on solid judgment, propped by a most extensive genius, unlimited foresight, and immoveable prudence. France records her Richlieu, Mazarine, and Louvoy; we talk with veneration of the Cecils; but posterity shall boast of Harley as a prodigy, in whom the spring is as pure as the stream; not troubled by ingratitude or avarice, nor its beauty deformed by the feature of any vice: The coming age will envy ours, a minister of such accumulated worth; they will see and know how happy we were. Why then should we ourselves be wilfully blind, or wilfully ignorant of it? Is it not his distress to be born among a people so divided? Could he in any other country have failed of universal love and veneration? How long shall our divisions make us the sport and proverb of the neighbouring nations? Monsieur Quillet, by the purity of his Latin, has diffused our character throughout the world, and when the curious would be informed of the genius of the British people, the learned refer to him: It is thought to be the most beautiful part of his Calipædiæ; and however the spirit of the author may have suffered by the change, I will present it the reader in the English translator's words:

At Calais, if you cross the streight, you'll find
The cruel English from the world disjoin'd;
Cruel indeed, with royal blood defiled,
A rabble, rash, untameable and wild.
With holy lunacy they're all possest,
And every man's a prophet, or a priest.
Humour's with them religion's only guide,
And each that fatal rule pursues with pride.
Each on his neighbour would his own impose,
And thence this sect to that are mortal foes.
Hence wars and woes, whilst each his dreams would spread,
Mislead the rest, as he's himself misled.
Each by the sword his doctrine would defend,
Which each believes he has a right to mend.

To kings alike rebellious, and the skies,
All ancient rites and worship they despise.
This madness to a thousand others leads,
Soon as it springs, a new opinion spreads.
By every sex and age with heat espoused,
Till tired by that, they're by the next abused.

Is it not time to redeem our character, that the world, in applauding our courage, may no longer object our divisions? Though we disagree in religion, yet for common good, we should, methinks, be glad to unite in politicks: Our ceremonies may differ, but our essentials are the same; and to people of reason, one would imagine there needed not much persuasion to join in those advantageous particulars, reputation and interest.

Parties break their force against one another, do the work of our foes, are weakened by perpetual animosities, hate their adversary at home much more strenuously than a foreign enemy, incapacitate themselves from doing all the injury they should to France, all the good they ought to England: Our piques and distastes for trifles have run us up to phrenzy; the world beholds the hatred and aversion amongst us, as lunacy in our blood, incurable but by letting forth; they foresee and long for a civil war, to reduce us to misery and reason; they flatter themselves, that our dissensions tend that way, and prophesy they can have no end but with our ruin.

'Tis ourselves only can disappoint the hopes of our enemies, and extricate ourselves: The very Mahometans claim our pity, for being misled by their grand imposture; and shall a fellow-Christian be hated? Have we no arguments but bitterness and reproach? Must we continue as violent against our neighbour at home as brave in the field abroad? If we were not all Britons, or had different interests, something might be said for that eager desire of ruin so conspicuous in the contending parties.

How ridiculous it appears to a reasonable man, who reflects how greatly our happy constitution is envied by our enemies, and how little valued or enjoyed by ourselves; we boast of liberty, and yet do all we can to enslave others to our opinions; meanwhile the common interest of the island is lost or forgotten in the desire of gratifying our particular revenge and aversions.

We have now a queen and ministry of consummate piety, prudence, and abilities, who know the true interest of England, and will pursue it. The church is delivered from oppression and fears, religion secured, according to every Englishman's heart's desire; what should we next consider, but the interest of the body-politick? Which way can that be so effectually carried on, as by calming our heats and animosities, by taking off the veil of prejudice and party, which so long has blinded us? To have every individual consider what would be for the good of the whole, and sincerely to give into it? Were these measures faithfully pursued, France could never be formidable to England; nor the protestant religion here under any apprehension from the restless and encroaching spirit of the Roman.

Secret Transactions during the hundred Days Mr William Gregg lay in Newgate, under Sentence of Death for High-Treason, from the Day of his Sentence to the Day of his Execution. Printed 1711.

The following three Tracts, of which the last is written by the celebrated Dean Swift, refer to the execution of one Gregg, who suffered for high-treason. His story was briefly this. He was a vicious and necessitous person, incautiously admitted by Mr Harley, when secretary of state, into his office as a clerk. The lowness of this man's salary, and the negligence with which papers of consequence were left exposed to his inspection, prompted him to open a treasonable correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, to betray to France the secrets of the British government. Being almost immediately detected, a committee of seven lords, all zealous whigs, were appointed for his examination. These were the Dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and Bolton, the Earl of Wharton, Lord Viscount Townshend, Lord Somers, and Lord Halifax. As the intrigue, by which Harley was placed in opposition to the whig interest, was already concocted, there can be no doubt that the committee were desirous to fix upon him some accession to the crime of his clerk. For this purpose, Gregg was repeatedly examined while in Newgate. Nay, after he had been tried and condemned for high treason at the Old Bailey, (19th January 1708-9,) he was respited from time to time till the 28th of April following. But during this space, having, as it were, life and death before his eyes, Gregg never varied from his original declaration, that he had no accomplices, and had committed the crime merely from private mercenary motives. Even his dying speech, in which he fully and explicitly exculpated Harley, by name, from any participation in his guilt, was, contrary to custom and to justice, with-held from the public by the sheriff, until a direct application was made to Lord Sunderland, which he was probably ashamed to refuse. The committee of nobles evinced so much anxiety to extort a farther confession from this criminal, that they lost the advantage which they had gained over Harley. In resenting the undue exertions made to implicate the secretary in a crime of which he was innocent, the public forgot the culpable negligence with which the secrets of the state had been exposed in his office to the meanest clerks, and his want of caution in chusing inferiors unfit to be trusted in that station.

When Harley came into office, and was wounded by Guiscard, the history of Gregg was again brought up by Swift in the Examiner, as a parallel attempt upon that statesman's life, although conducted by other means. See two Examiners on this subject, Nos. XXXII. and XXXIII. An answer was made to this accusation on the whig party, by their professed champion, the conductor of the Medley, in No. XXVI. But the charge of subornation was still more directly urged against the lords of the committee by one Francis Hoffman in the following Tract.

Published,

For the better information of such as have been deluded, misinformed, or imposed on by the dishonest abettors of a late set of men, whose power and prevalency occasioned many to take up with such reports as malice and interest dictated. While (through their suppression of the truth) abundance of others remained wholly ignorant, or have imbibed nothing but the partial suggestions of the party they side with,

This impartial account

Is dedicated to all honest men, who will (doubtlessly) consider, and be convinced hereby.

How truly bright and spotless the Right Honourable Mr Robert Harley's reputation must be, which the subtilty, lies, venom, and unprecedented malignancy of the last mighty party (he has overturned) could no ways blast.

Apology.

There is a satisfaction, which none but good and honest men can feel, in vindicating virtue, merit, and innocence, from the most abandoned imputations of inveterate and unjust men; especially when it is done for no other cause, but for the love and for the sake of justice and humanity; the only principle and sole motive of my present undertaking.

I was abroad at the time of Mr William Gregg's trial, insomuch, that till very lately, (though it made so much noise in the world) I had neither a just account of it, nor seen his dying speech, only by the common vogue, the great esteem people had of the Duke of Marlborough, on account of his glorious successes abroad, occasioned them to think very hardly of the Right Honourable Mr Robert Harley, then one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, when (as was reported) they heard his grace would have laid down, unless the other was removed.

And this report, indeed, was the heaviest pressure Mr Harley's reputation lay under; to have so much merit opposed to his own, which, notwithstanding, has at length redounded to his honour.

Hearing some people very lately reflect on Mr Harley, on Gregg's account, even since his being made a peer and lord high treasurer, I thought myself obliged, by truth and justice, to remove their prejudices, which I did effectually, by giving them the following account, as I received it from Mr Lorrain himself, who, as I told them, had the best opportunity in the world to know the very bottom of Gregg's heart; and whom all that know him will attest to be a very good, pious, honest man.

I have myself known him a long time, and have neither ever heard, or had reason to think his conduct in the least blameable; which is a character none ever maintained in his station, (or especially of late.) And very few clergymen have discharged the duty of their function so well, in stations more agreeable and beneficial, beyond compare.

Mr Lorrain did, in a most solemn and ready manner, declare to me, not only his being fully convinced of Mr Harley's innocence, but told me of so many endeavours to corrupt Gregg's conscience, not only with repeated offers of life, but of great preferments and advantages, that indeed, on his relation of it to me, I felt as much uneasiness, lest he should betray his master, as if it had been then my own case.

'Tis apparent from hence, that some persons stabbed as directly and villainously at Mr Harley's life then as Guiscard did since.

As a proof of what I have said, I have printed, and caused to be published, a true copy of a letter written to me by Mr Lorrain himself, (which I keep by me) of what relates to Mr William Gregg while he was under Mr Lorrain's care of his soul.

As Mr Lorrain's letter is full of piety, moderation, and honest truth, without any mixture of bitterness, or prejudice, 'tis a sufficient evidence that it is impartial and true.

So that I only desire the reader thoroughly to peruse and consider it, with Gregg's own dying speech, reprinted word for word, and subjoined to it, and refer it to every honest man's conscience, to be the guide of his belief, discourse, and conduct, in relation to persons and parties, for the future, being herein

To our queen,
A most faithful and dutiful subject;
And of my native country,
An affectionate lover and servant,
FRANCIS HOFFMAN.

A true Copy of the Ordinary of Newgate, the Reverend Mr Paul Lorrain's Letter to Francis Hoffman.

My good Friend,

When you were with me yesterday, you know I was in haste to go to St Andrews, and could not, for that reason, give you the account you then desired; but promised it you against this morning.

That I may be as good as my word, I have (being now engaged in business from home) left this to refresh your memory, in what I once, and more than once, told you, about Mr William Gregg.

When that unfortunate person was under sentence of death for high-treason, I (according to the duty of my place) constantly visited him, prayed with him, examined him, and applied such directions and exhortations to him, as I thought most suitable for the well-disposing him, and preparing him for another world.

I found him to be a man of parts, and very sensible of his heinous crime, which he readily confest, and for which, he expressed great horror, sorrow, and repentance.

I often pressed him to discover who (if any) were concerned with him in that treasonable fact.

And pressed him also, (in an especial manner, upon his eternal salvation, and as he should answer it at the great tribunal of God) freely to tell me, whether Mr Harley did know any thing of it, or was any ways concerned, or to be concerned in it.

To which he answered me, with the greatest and solemnest asseveration and protestation imaginable, (he being all the while upon his knees, and calling the great God to witness) that that honourable gentleman, Mr Robert Harley, knew nothing of it, neither was to know, nor to be concerned in it.

Which he having said, and often repeated to me, I then grew jealous of those people that frequently came to him, who (as he told me) were so far from offering him any thing to quiet his conscience, that, on the contrary, they gave a great disturbance to it.

It seems, that among the rest, some friends of that honourable gentleman's coming to see this prisoner, I then expressed some dislike of his being so much disturbed, by persons that resorted to him, even at those hours, when myself was to be at prayer with him; but I knew not who those persons were that thus came to him, and my endeavouring to keep them from him, was with no other design, than for the good of that poor man's soul, who did all along express to me his great desire of being in the chapel, and privately in his room, with me, as much possible.

And as he also told me, that he was proffered his life, and a great reward, if he would accuse his master, so I must own to you, I was very uneasy at his frequent visitors, especially when I considered how they disturbed his mind, and how much they took up of his precious moments, and hindered him from his devotions, and my assistances to him therein.

I urged him, many and many times and ways to clear his conscience, and not violate it for the whole world, telling him, that it was infinitely better to die with a good conscience, than make shipwreck of it, and save his life here; yea, and gain the whole world, by laying a false accusation on that honourable person, or any other he knew to be innocent, for that would certainly make him miserable, both here and ever, &c.

With such-like expressions and admonitions (God's grace intervening) I fixed his (then unsettled) conscience, weaned him from the vain hopes and desires of this life,

and directed his thoughts and affections to far better things, which I told him, it was possible for him to obtain, if he earnestly and entirely laboured after them.

He thanked me for my good advice, and the great concern I shewed for his eternal welfare, and said, he would now give the deaf ear to the world, and so hoped God's ear would be open to his prayers, &c.

At the place of execution, he thanked me publickly for all my pains with him, which had proved so happy to his soul, praying God to bless me and my family.

Then he delivered a paper into my hand for me to publish; in which paper he (among other things) acknowledged God's mercy to him, in preventing him from prostituting his conscience to save his life.

Now the reason why I did not presently publish that paper, was this,

That it was commanded, and kept from me by the then present sheriffs, Sir Benjamin Green, (to whom I was then chaplain) and Sir Charles Piers, even from the time of its delivery, which was the 28th of April 1708, to the 6th of May then next ensuing, at which time, having received it again, I waited with it on the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland, then one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, who immediately gave me leave to publish it.

Telling me withal, that I was the properest person to authorize such papers as were thus delvered to me.

Upon this, I forthwith sent it to the press, and it then appeared under my name, as you may see by the printed copy here enclosed.

I am,

Dear sir,

Your very humble servant, and

Affectionate servant,

PAUL LORRAIN.

Christ's Hospital, Tuesday Morning,
June 13, 1711.

A Copy of William Gregg's Paper, delivered by him to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, Sir Benjamin Green and Sir Charles Piers, and Paul Lorrain, Ordinary of Newgate, at Tyburn, the Place where he was executed for High-Treason, on Wednesday the 28th of April, 1708. Printed from the Original, and published by Authority.

The crime, I am now justly to suffer for, having made a great noise in the world, a paper of a more than ordinary length will be expected from the criminal; who, therefore, takes this last opportunity to profess his utter abhorrence and sincere repentance of all his sins against God, and of the heinous crime committed against the queen, whose forgiveness I most humbly implore, as I shall heartily pray for her majesty's long life and happy reign over her united people, and success against her enemies, with my parting breath.

This being all the satisfaction I can make injured majesty.

I declare, in the next place, the reparation I would make (were it in my power) to those of her majesty's subjects I have wronged in any kind.

And particularly, the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq. whose pardon I heartily beg for basely betraying my trust. Which declaration, though of itself sufficient to clear the said gentleman, yet for the sake of those whom it was my misfortune not to be able to satisfy in my life-time, I do sacredly protest, That as I shall answer it before the judgment seat of Christ, the gentleman aforesaid was not privy to my writing to France, directly nor indirectly.

Neither I, his unworthy clerk, any ways accessary to the miscarriage before Thou-

lon, nor the losses by sea; all which happened before the first of my letters, which was written the 24th of October, 1707.

As for my creditors, as I am in no condition to satisfy them, so I earnestly beg they would forgive me, and I pray God to make up their losses to them seven-fold.

For my own part, I do freely forgive all men, and die in perfect charity with them, not without humble hopes of finding forgiveness, through the merits of Jesus Christ, with God, who in mercy touched my conscience so powerfully from the beginning, as to prevent my prostituting the same to save my life; for which instance of his love, (to be preferred before life itself) I bless and magnify his holy name, with unspeakable joy and comfort, at my death, nothing near so ignominious as would have been such a life.

After this confession, the duty of a dying man leads me to profess the religion in which I was brought up, and do now die, which is the protestant.

The scandal given whereunto, by my enormous practices, cannot be better taken away, than by my publishing to the world my hearty sorrow for those sensual pleasures which have proved my bane.

Wherefore, let all that shall read this poor paper take warning by me, to shun the like youthful lusts, to which, whoever gives up himself, cannot tell how far they may (when indulged) carry him, even to the committing of such crimes as he thought himself incapable of some time a day.

Of which said truth, I (to my woful experience) am a melancholy instance; but, at the same time, I appeal to the great God, before whom I am now going to appear, that, notwithstanding all the pains taken to make me out an old offender, by fastening on me the crime of counterfeiting the coin, this is the first fault that ever I ventured upon, which was not out of zeal for the Pretender, whom I not only disown at my death, but solemnly declare, that in all my life I never thought he had any right to these realms, how foolishly soever I may have rendered myself obnoxious in this particular.

But the only motive of my mad undertaking was money, of which I never received any, on account of the ship pass, though I have met with the more just reward of such secret services, intended by

W. Gregg.

All that the sessions paper says of his trial is, that

William Gregg, of the parish of St Martins in the Fields, gentleman, was indicted for high-treason against the queen and government, in corresponding with her majesty's enemies.

The proceedings of which will be printed by itself, and published in a few days.

But the proceedings at his trial were never printed.

Here it is evident, that he lay in Newgate after sentence of death passed on him for high-treason, in corresponding with her majesty's enemies, from the nineteenth day of January, 1707-8, to April the 28th, 1708, which was the day of his execution, as a traitor, at Tyburn.

So that in the whole, he laid under sentence of death, from the time of his sentence to the day of his execution, one hundred days.

All which time, Mr Lorrain laboured very diligently and devoutly with him, by good admonitions, and frequent prayers to God for him, and with him, that he might not violate his conscience, nor betray his master.

While, on the other side, Gregg often declared to Mr Lorrain, no manner of solicitations, or offers of life, preferment, and great advantages, were wanting to induce him to bring Mr Harley's innocent blood on his head.

So long a respite from death, as one hundred days, was enough to make any man so

unwilling to die, as to make him to do any thing to save his life, right or wrong, and Mr Lorrain said Gregg so often wavered in his mind about it, being put so much and so often in hopes of living with splendour by certain persons, that he almost resolved to say and do any thing Mr Harley's enemies would have him.

Against which Mr Lorrain fortified his mind with all manner of upright industry, and at length with final success. So that Gregg gave a deaf ear to all their farther attempts.

Here was one hundred days hard struggle between life and death, innocence and party-malice.*

Who those persons were that offered Gregg his life, with great preferments and advantages (if he would but accuse his master) may not uneasily be guessed at; for most of the time he was locked up, none but people of note were permitted to come near him, who made him strange promises, and often repeated them. However, it is not improbable but we may see them taken in the very same net they so inhumanly spread for the life of another, and deservedly fall into their own mischief.

And here it would be worth while to examine how, and why, a certain person got out of Newgate, who was justly confined there for life by act of parliament.

But cunning as they were, all their councils were of none effect; all their attempts against Mr Harley's life were baffled.

Neither one hundred days time to contrive something specious against him.

Not all their tamperings with the conscience of a man of an ill life, under the fear of death, and horrible dread of something worse.

Nor the assistance of so many long-headed iniquity-mongers, could prevail against Mr Harley's single innocence.

This seems astonishing, to see so mighty, so rich a party come off so poorly.

Reduced to their last shifts, little tricks, like the after-drops of a shower.

Submitting to stop Gregg's dying speech for eight days only.

And then, when it was published by another hand, for the two sheriffs of London to send Mr Lorrain to the Earl of Sunderland, to ask leave to print a dying speech, they had commanded, and kept from him, till to keep it any longer, or indeed so long, was a burning shame to them, but of no manner of farther service.

From hence you may conclude, how generous it was to say to Mr Lorrain,

You are the proper person to give authority to this paper, and I will give you my word you shall come to no trouble for the printing and publishing it.

This, I say, was a generous liberty indeed, when they had concealed as long as they could, a truth, which trumpeted out their own injustice and dishonour, at the same time as it gave an unextinguishable lustre to the innocence and loyalty of the man whose life they sought.

The Committee of Lords appointed to examine Gregg were,

Devonshire,	Dukes.	Earl of Wharton,
Somerset,		Lord Visc. Townshend,
Bolton,		Lord Somers,
		Lord Halifax.

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More secret Transactions relating to the Case of Mr William Gregg. By the Author of the former Part. Printed in the Year 1711.

So soon as the preceding pamphlet appeared it was answered by a tract, entitled "A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine Gregg," the purpose of which was to clear those noblemen of the foul inuendo ascribed to them by "The Examiner," and by Hoffman's treatise, and obscurely to resume the original insinuation against Harley as an accomplice of his treacherous secretary. To which letter the present tract is a reply.

To the Author of the Letter to the Seven Lords.

WERE ever seven lords so blest, so honoured, in a letter before, as by yours, intituled, A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine Gregg? In which you tell them, with unusual confidence and self-conceit, that the public writers treat them as rogues, rascals, cheats, villains, enemies of the nation, affronters of the queen, subverters of the constitution, &c.

I am amazed at your assurance, in applying these terms to them; none but yourself would have been so mad as to do it.

Neither could I any ways think otherwise, but that you was hired by some implacable enemies of their lordships, to render their honours as odious to mankind as possible, by publishing to the whole nation, that when any eminent writers treat of ill-designing men, you can apply it to none but themselves, in a parenthesis; thus, *i. e.* Your seven lordships.

No other enemy of their lordships but yourself would so insolently presume to point at them, and cry, they mean, *i. e.* Your lordships certainly.

But as to your being hired, though it may be possible for their lordships to have enemies as viperous as yourself, I cannot think any rational creature could be so void of common sense and prudence as to hire so vain, so wretched a scribbler as your performance shews you to be.

I find you would fain have the "Examiner" condescend to take notice of you, but no such honour will fall to your share.

I am sorry to find you so disturbed in your mind on account of my paper of Secret Transactions, during the hundred days Gregg lay in Newgate after sentence of death, which, you say, cannot well be afforded at so cheap a rate as a penny, as the lord-booksellers informed you. I find they can very easily impose on you, and I doubt not but they made you pay through the nose for printing your three-penny letter, to which a penny answer is more than sufficient, which is a plain proof that we who write on the behalf of the manifestly clear and untainted honesty of Mr Harley, take example by the present ministry, and do not put the publick to three times more charge than is necessary, as you have done in your three-penny letter, and as your party have often, but most notoriously done, for no other cause but out of strange extravagance, vanity, and pride, instead of erecting new temples in honour of the Most High.

In honour of whom, and by whose grace, men preserve a good conscience, the happy effects of which are a chearful countenance, and an inward satisfaction, which it is not in the power of man to take away: This is what our Saviour alluded to, when he thus expressed himself to his disciples.

And your joy no man taketh from you.

Among other discourses which we had in company of some strangers at Mr Lorrain's, just on the publishing of my paper of Secret Transactions, &c. Mrs Lorrain gave us the following relation of what she observed in a particular manner of Gregg, viz.

" That during the time Gregg had offers made him of his life, and he continued in suspense, whether he should bring Mr Harley's innocent blood on his head or no, he laboured under very strange and violent agonies of mind; which violence had so great an effect on his countenance and bodily health, that he not only looked like death itself, but wasted away beyond expression; as his soul was full of unutterable trouble between the desires of life and fear of death, the struggles of his conscience in behalf of innocence, and the strong temptations not only to save his life, but of living with splendour, that he might justly be said to be most exquisitely tortured on the very rack of nature itself.

" So in this his extreme perplexity, Mr Lorrain did all that a sincere and pious minister could do; as, first, he set before him the impossibility of being ever happy here or hereafter, after so black crimes and so heinous a murder as that of his master, and the multitude of enormous perjuries by which he must bring it to pass, with a thousand other evils at the heels of it; and, lastly, added, that as the best of men could not be depended on in any measure like a good God, so the promises of the persons who offered him his life were infinitely less to be depended on; since, without regard to heaven, conscience, or the innocence of the person whose life they sought, they tempted him to so foul a deed. On these considerations, Mr Gregg took a firm resolution to die with a good conscience; and from that time, his countenance and bodily health returned to their former chearfulness and vigour faster than they declined before."

You do, and must allow (because malice itself can do no otherwise) Mr Harley to be untainted and manifestly innocent; and yet you will not have it to be a proper expression to say, Betray no innocent person, though Judas betrayed his master, who was a person the most innocent.

However, your exception or criticism on the word *betray*, betrays who set you at work, if you are not that very person (as I have reason to think you are) who told me in positive terms, nobody made Gregg any offers but Mr Harley himself; though you affirm in your letter, Mr Harley was manifestly clear and untainted; but you can say and unsay as you please, with your own peculiar air.

As to my uneasiness (lest innocence should be betrayed) seeming to you ill-timed. Now Mr Harley is safe and great, if you had read the Secret Transactions (while in those lord-guiding hands of yours, as you were pleased to acquaint their lordships) you would have found, that I, having been in foreign parts from the time of Gregg's trial till very lately, could not have timed it sooner, nor more seasonably, than at a time when Mr Harley's conduct began to be applauded, even by his enemies, or rather those honest men who had sided with them in behalf of liberty of conscience, liberty of the subject, &c. for which the ruined party seemed so zealous.

I appeal to yourself, whether what I published was not seasonable (though you and your party have cause to think it ill-timed on your own accounts) at a critical juncture, when honest men began to suspect your party's treacheries, and to be sensible that Mr Harley was really that lover of his country, whom the best of your friends could only pretend to be, who had suppressed Gregg's dying speech, and imposed in-

veterate and malicious accounts thereof on the publick, instead of the truth you have confessed and published in your letter.

Now I appeal to you again, whether or no I could have timed any truth better, or more seasonably, than at a juncture when truth and humanity began once more to find a fair and sincere reception among the higher powers, and from their great examples, among all the inferior ranks of the people.

But nothing can be more mortifying to you and your greatest ministers of state, as you term them, than to behold all those honest men, whom by your artifices you had deluded and misinformed, leaving you, and flying from your snares of disloyalty and hypocrisy, and entertaining a just affection and veneration for the man whom you cannot but affirm to be innocent; though your party, by suppressing Gregg's dying speech, did all they could to leave ill impressions in people's minds against him.

The Examiner may well call yours a ruined party; since you (like desperate people) take all opportunities to rush headlong to your final ruin.

You fell headlong in your attempt to make the resistance of your sovereign lawful, in her reign, who deserved all manner of obedience and gratitude at your hands.

You fell headlong in your attempts against the life of the loyal favourite she delights to honour.

And you are now falling headlong from the esteem of all good and honest men, down to the lowest degree of ignominy and confusion.

And all truly conscientious dissenters begin to be sensible, that in the present lord high treasurer they have a true friend, in relation to liberty, property, and conscience, who does not like your friends to make an outcry in behalf of the liberty of the subject, and at the same time engross almost all the places of profit into his own family or hands, to the exclusion of the rights of his sovereign, as well as the very rights of their fellow subjects, of which they pretend to be such patrons.

But the most infamous piece of ingratitude of which your party are guilty, is their endeavouring to tax their sovereign with want of sense, for no other cause but her munificence, patience, and indulgence towards them; of whom her late she-favourite cannot but own her delight was to be always the same.

Kindly her domesticks using,
Loving all beneath her care;
When accused, their faults excusing;
These her private pleasures are.

Never to a change inclining,
Till she found the case so plain;
(Mercy in her justice shining)
Other methods were in vain.

Your taxing so good a queen with want of sense, is the horrible gulf, down which your party are tumbling headlong, finally and irrecoverably for ever; the eyes of all Europe see you, every loyal and honest heart condemns you, and your ingratitude renders it impossible to preserve the least pity or compassion for you.

In the upper part of your 20th page, you question, whether your sovereign will make any observations at all; at the bottom of the same page, you say, your sovereign will not recall her old servants, whose looks you affirm your sovereign cannot bear; (what strange looks must they have) because, as you say, wrongfully suspected, and for fear of her being taxed with inconstancy; and then sum up the whole in the most treasonable and traitorous manner you can express it.

In your 21st page, beginning line the third, only putting *she* instead of *he*: For you

must allow me to point out one meaning of yours, who have pointed out so many for other people. You affirm, meaning the queen.

She will much less think of discarding her new choice upon finding her mistakes, viz. That she wrongfully suspected them.

Which is not only calling her sense of right and wrong in question, but is a barefaced insinuation, that she has no disposition in her, either to justice or humanity.

And here I will appeal, in your own words, to the French king and his counsellors, to the Pretender, and all the rest of your friends his abettors, whether is greater, your folly or your impudence.

And I am sure the King of France would have hanged you up immediately, had you been his subject, as you are his votary, for saying half so much against him, notwithstanding you have done what you call the fairest thing in the world, (*i. e.* your appealing to him and the Pretender) in giving them precedence before your lawful sovereign, and all the other princes of Europe, in your grand appeal.

I shall conclude the whole with this final remark on you in your own phrases,

That no sovereign had ever so base, so audacious a wretch of a subject, nor did seven noble lords ever receive a letter from such a hedge-writer as yourself, and so unskilful a sycophant.

Postscript.

July 22, 1711.

Sir Charles Piers told me, Mr William Gregg desired him to give his dying speech into the queen's own hands; but it being a matter of high treason, he thought it not proper to deliver it to her majesty any otherwise than by the hands of the then principal secretaries of state; but he has quite forgotten, as he says, to which of them.

Sir Charles readily owned, that Gregg's dying speech, printed by Mr Lorrain, was according to his and Mr Lorrain's copy, which agreed with his, and that there was a third copy, which Gregg told him he had delivered to another hand, who published it several days before Mr Lorrain's came out.

And Sir Charles Piers' lady said, Sir Charles read the copy Gregg gave him of his dying speech to her, which she remembered so well, that she could safely give her oath as to the truth of what was published.

This confirmation of the dying speech of Mr William Gregg, published by Mr Lorrain, by two such eminent persons, will, I hope, satisfy some certain persons, who seemed to me very unwilling to be convinced, that Mr William Gregg did in his dying speech fairly, freely, publickly, and solemnly, clear and justify the Right Honourable Mr Robert Harley from any manner of concern with him in his treason.

Sir Charles Piers does not deny but that he received Mr Lorrain's copy, and kept it in his hands several days, during which the other was published, and might, on business, be from home once or twice when Mr Lorrain came for it, and does not know but Mr Lorrain might have had it the next day if he would; but the whole being a trifling concern, has quite forgot whether it was so or no. All which forgetfulness of Sir Charles proceeded, as I suppose, from his little thinking at that time Mr Harley would ever have been so great as now; as indeed, who would ever have thought, much less have believed, that as matters were then carried, the most excellent queen herself could ever have given so particular a proof of her wisdom and power, as in advancing the present lord high treasurer; or, with so much glory to herself, have vindicated the dread and awfulness of her sacred majesty, by casting down the audacious Phaetons, to the surprise and astonishment of all Europe?

Sir Charles Piers said, though Mr Lorrain had kept minutes of Gregg's affairs, and he had not, he would keep very severe and exact minutes, when he came to be lord mayor; and that persons had best take care what they spoke of him; was angry with Mr Lorrain for mentioning his name without conferring with him first; and then informed me, that his word, as a Christian, would go as far as Mr Lorrain's *verbum sacerdotis*, for all he was a priest; and said, he told Mr Lorrain as much before the present lord mayor and the judges this last sessions at the Old Bailey.

FRANCIS HOFFMAN.

Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet, entitled, A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine Gregg. By the Author of the Examiner. Printed in the Year 1711.

As, in the contest concerning Gregg, the character of the tory minister of state, and those of the leading nobles of the whig party, were put at issue in opposition to each other, it was thought necessary that Swift should enter the combat in reply to the Letter to the Seven Lords. In his Journal, August 24, 1711, he informs Stella, with his usual affectation of reserve, "there is a pamphlet come out in answer to a Letter to the Seven Lords who examined Gregg.—The answer is by the real author of The Examiner, as I believe, for it is very well written."

THOSE who have given themselves the trouble to write against me, either in single papers or pamphlets, (and they are pretty numerous) do all agree in discovering a violent rage, and at the same time affecting an air of contempt toward their adversary; which, in my humble opinion, are not very consistent; and therefore it is plain, that their fury is real and hearty, their contempt only personated. I have pretty well studied this matter, and would caution writers of their standard, never to engage in that difficult attempt of despising, which is a work to be done in cold blood, and only by a superior genius to one at some distance beneath him. I can truly affirm, I have had a very sincere contempt for many of those who have drawn their pens against me; yet I rather chose the cheap way of discovering it by silence and neglect, than be at the pains of new terms to express it: I have known a lady value herself upon a haughty disdainful look, which very few understood, and nobody alive regarded. Those common-place terms of infamous scribbler, prostitute libeller, and the like, thrown abroad without propriety or provocation, do ill personate the true spirit of contempt; because they are such as the meanest writer, whenever he pleases, may use towards the best. I remember indeed a parish fool, who, with a great deal of deformity, carried the most disdainful look I ever observed in any countenance; and it was the most prominent part of his folly; but he was thoroughly in earnest, which these writers are not: For there is another thing I would observe, that my antagonists are most of them so, in a literal sense; breathe real vengeance and extend their threats to my person, if they knew where to find it; wherein they are so far from despising, that I am sensible they do me too much honour. The author of the Letter to the Seven Lords takes upon him the three characters of a despiser, a threatener, and a railer; and succeeds so well

in the two last, that it has made him miscarry in the first. It is no unwise proceeding which the writers of that side have taken up, to scatter their menaces in every paper they publish; it may perhaps look absurd, ridiculous, and impudent, in people at mercy to assume such a stile; but the design is right, to endeavour persuading the world that it is they who are the injured party, that they are the sufferers, and have a right to be angry.

However, there is one point wherein these gentlemen seem to stretch this wise expedient a little farther than it will allow. I, who for several months undertook to examine into the late management of persons and things, was content sometimes to give only a few hints of certain matters, which I had charity enough to wish might be buried for ever in oblivion, if the confidence of these people had not forced them from me. One instance whereof, among many, is the business of Gregg, the subject of a letter I am now considering. If this piece hath been written by direction, as I should be apt to suspect, yet I am confident they would not have us think so; because it is a sort of challenge, to let the world into the whole secret of Gregg's affair. But I suppose they are confident it is what I am not master of, wherein it is odds but they may be mistaken; for I believe, the memorials of that transaction are better preserved than they seem to be aware of, as perhaps may one day appear.

This writer is offended, because I have said so many severe things with application to particular persons. The Medley has been often in the same story: If they condemn it as a crime in general, I shall not much object, at least I will allow it should be done with truth and caution; but by what argument will they undertake to prove, that it is pardonable on one side, and not on the other? Since the late change of ministry, I have observed many of that party take up a new stile, and tell us, That this way of personal reflections ought not to be endured; they could not approve of it; it was against charity and good manners. When the whigs were in power, they took special care to keep their adversaries silent; then all kind of falsehood and scurrility was doing good service to the cause, and detecting of evil principles. Now, that the face of things is changed, and we have liberty to retort upon them, they are for calling down fire from Heaven upon us; though, by a sort of indulgence which they were strangers to, we allow them equal liberty of the press with ourselves; and they even now make greater use of it against persons in highest power and credit, than we do against those who have been discarded for the most infamous abuse of both.

Who encouraged and rewarded the Observator and Review for many years together, in charging the whole body of the clergy with the most odious crimes and opinions? In declaring all who took oaths to the government, and called themselves tories, to be worse than papists and non-jurors? In exposing the universities, as seminaries of the most pernicious principles in church and state? In defending the Rebellion, and the murder of King Charles I., which they asserted to be altogether as justifiable as the late revolution? Is there a great man now in power, or in any credit with the queen, whom those unworthy undertakers have not treated by name in the most ignominious manner? Even since this great change of affairs, with what amazing licentiousness hath the writer of the Medley attacked every person of the present ministry, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the whole senate? He has turned into ridicule the results of the council and the parliament, as well as the just and generous endeavours of the latter to pay the debts and restore the credit of the nation, almost ruined by the corruption and management of his own party.

And are these the people who complain of personal reflections? Who so confidently invoke the men in power, whom they have so highly obliged, to punish, or silence me, for reflecting on their exploded heroes? Is there no difference between men chosen by the prince, reverenced by the people for their virtue, and others rejected by both for the highest demerits? Shall the Medley and his brothers fly out with impunity

against those who preside at the helm? And am I to be torn in pieces, because I censure others, who, for endeavouring to split the vessel against a rock, are put under the hatches?

I now proceed to the pamphlet which I intend to consider; it is a letter, written to seven great men, who were appointed to examine Gregg in Newgate. The writer tells their lordships, that the Examiner hath charged them for endeavouring, by bribery and subornation of that criminal, to take away Mr Harley's life. If there be any thing among the papers I have writ, which may be applied to these persons, it would have become this author to have cleared them fully from the accusation, and then he might at leisure have fallen upon me as a liar and misrepresenter; but of that he has not offered a syllable; the weight of his charge lies here; that such an author as the Examiner should presume by certain inuendoes to accuse any persons of such a crime. My business in those papers was to represent facts, and I was as sparing as possible of reflecting upon particular persons; but the mischief is, that the readers have always found names to tally with those facts, and I know no remedy for this. As for instance, in the case here before us. An under clerk in the secretary's office, of 50*l.* a year, is discovered to hold correspondence with France, and apprehended by his master's order, before he could have opportunity to make his escape, by the private warning of a certain person, a profest enemy to the secretary. The criminal is condemned to die; 'tis found, upon his trial, that he was a poor, profligate fellow; the secretary at that time was under the mortal hatred of a violent prevailing party, who dreaded him for his great abilities, and his avowed design to break their destructive measures. It was very well known, that a secretary of state hath little or no intercourse with the lower clerks, but with the under-secretaries, who are the more immediate masters of those clerks, and are, and ought to be, as they then were, gentlemen of worth; however, it would pass well enough in the world, that Gregg was employed in Mr Secretary Harley's office, and was consequently one of his clerks, which would be ground to build upon it what suggestions they pleased. Then for the criminal, he was needy and vicious: He owed his death to the secretary's watchful pursuit of him, and would therefore probably incline to hearken to any offers that would save his life, gratify his revenge, and make him easy in his fortune: So that if a work of darkness were to be done, it must be confest here were proper motives, and a proper instrument. But ought we to suspect any persons of such a diabolical practice? Can all faith, and honour, and justice, be thus violated by men? Questions proper for a pulpit, or well becoming a philosopher, but if it were *regnandi causa,* (and that perhaps in a literal sense) is this an age of the world to think crimes improbable because they are great? Perhaps it is: But what shall we say to some of those circumstances which attended this fact? Who gave rise to this report against Mr Harley? Will any of his enemies confess in cold blood, that they did either believe, suspect, or imagine, the secretary and one of the under clerks to be joined in corresponding with France? Some of them, I should think, knew better what belonged to such a correspondence, and how it ought to be managed. The nature of Gregg's crime was such, as to be best performed without any accomplices at all: It was to be a spy here for the French, and to tell them all he knew; and it appears by his letters, that he never had it in his power to let them into any thing of importance. The copy of the queen's letter to the emperor, which he sent to the enemy, and hath made such a noise, was only to desire, that Prince Eugene might be employed to command in Spain, which for six weeks before had been mentioned in all the gazettes of Europe. It was evident from the matter of his letters, that no man of consequence could have any share in them. The whole affair had been examined in the cabinet two months before, and there found and reported as only affecting the person of Gregg, who, to supply his vices and his wants, was tempted to engage in that correspondence; it is therefore hard to conceive, how that

examination should be resumed after such a distance of time, with any fair or honourable intention. Why was not Gregg's examination published, which was signed by his own hand, and had been taken in the cabinet two months before the committee of the House was appointed to re-examine him? Why was he pressed so close, as to cry out with horror, "Good God, would you have me accuse Mr Harley, when he is wholly innocent?" Why were all the answers returned to the queries sent him immediately burnt? I cannot in my conscience but think, that the party was bound in honour to procure Gregg a pardon, which was openly promised him, upon condition of making an ingenuous confession, unless they had some other notions of what is ingenuous, than is commonly meant by that word. A confession may be never the less ingenuous, for not answering the hopes or designs of those who take it; but though the word was publickly used, the definition of it was reserved to private interpretation, and by a capricious humour of fortune, a most flagitious, though repenting villain, was hanged for his virtue. It could not indeed consist with any kind of prudence then in fashion, to spare his life, and thereby leave it in his power at any time to detect their practices, which he might afterwards do at any time, with so much honour to himself.

But I have the luck to be accused by this author in very good company; the two houses of parliament in general, and the Speaker of the House of Commons in particular; whom he taxes with falsehood and absurdity, as well as myself, though in a more respectful manner, and by a sort of irony. The whole kingdom had given the same interpretation that I had done, to some certain passages in the address from both houses, upon the attempt of Guiscard; friends and enemies agreed in applying the word faction. But the Speaker is much clearer;, talks (as I have mentioned in another place) of some unparalleled attempts, and uses other terms that come pretty home to the point. As to what the parliament affirms, this author makes it first as absurd and impracticable as he can, and then pretends to yield, as pressed by so great an authority, and explains their meaning into nonsense, in order to bring them off from reflecting upon his party. Then for the Speaker, this writer says, he is but a single man, and because his speech was in words too direct to avoid, he advises him to save his honour and virtue, by owning a solecism in speech, and to write less correctly, rather than mean maliciously. What an expedient this advocate hath found to remove the load of an accusation! He answers, the crime is horrible, that great men ought not to be thus insolently charged: We reply, that the parliament and Speaker appear, in many points, to be of the same opinion; he rejoins, that he is pressed by too great an authority; that perhaps those wise assemblies, and that honourable gentleman (who besides is but a single man) may probably speak nonsense; they must either deliver a solecism, or be malicious, and in good manners he rather thinks it may be the former.

The writer of the Letter having thus dispatched the Examiner, falls next upon a paper called Secret Transactions, &c. written, as he tells us, by one Francis Hoffman and the ordinary of Newgate, persons whom I have not the honour to be known to, whatever my betters may be, nor have yet seen their productions; but by what is cited from them in the Letter, it should seem, they have made some untoward observations; however, the same answer still serves not a word to controul what they say, only they are a couple of daring, insolent wretches, to reflect upon the greatest and best men in England; and there's an end. I have no sort of regard for that same Hoffman, to whose character I am a perfect stranger; but methinks the ordinary of Newgate should be treated with more respect, considering what company he has kept, and what visitors he may have had. However I shall not enter into a point of controversy whether the lords were acquainted with the ordinary, or the ordinary with the lords, since this author leaves it undecided. Only one thing I take to be a little hard; it is now confessed on all hands that Mr Harley was most unjustly suspected of joining with an under

clerk in corresponding with France: The suspicion being in itself unreasonable, and without the least probable grounds, wise men began to consider what violent enemies that gentleman had; they found the report most industriously spread, the whigs in common discourse discovering their wishes that he might be found guilty; the management of the whole affair was put into the hands of such as, it is supposed, would at least not be sorry to find more than they expected; the criminal's dying speech is unfortunately published, wherein he thanks God he was not tempted to save his life by falsely accusing his master, with more to the same purpose: From all this put together it was no very unnatural conjecture, that there might have been some tampering. Now, I say, it is a little hard that Mr Harley's friends must not be allowed to have their suspicions as well as his enemies. And this author, if he intended to deal fairly, should have spent one paragraph in railing at those who had the impudence and villainy to suspect Mr Harley, and then proceed in due method to defend his committee of examiners: But that gentleman being, as this author says of the Speaker, but a single man, I suppose his reputation and life were esteemed but of little consequence.

There is one state of the case in this letter, which I cannot well omit, because the author, I suppose, conceives it to be extremely cunning and malicious; that it cuts to the quick, and is wonderfully severe upon Mr Harley, without exposing the writer to any danger. I say this to gratify him, to let him know I take his meaning, and discover his inclinations. His parallel case is this: "Supposing Guiscard had been intimate with some great officer of state, and had been suspected to communicate his most secret affairs with that minister; then he asks, whether it would have been subornation, or seeking the life and blood of that officer, in these great lords of the council, if they had narrowly examined this affair, enquired with all exactness what he knew of this great officer, what secrets he had imparted to him, and whether he were privy to his corresponding?" &c. In this parallel, Guiscard's case is supposed to be the same with Gregg's; and that of the great officer with Mr Harley's; so that here he lays down as a thing granted, that "Gregg was intimate with Mr Harley, and suspected to communicate his most secret affairs to him." Now did ever any rational man suspect that Mr Harley, first principal secretary of state, was intimate with an under clerk, or upon the foot of having "most secret affairs communicated to him" from such a counsellor, from one in so inferior a station, whom perhaps he hardly knew by sight? Why was that report raised, but for the uses which were afterwards made of it? Or why should we wonder that they, who were so wicked to be authors of it, would be scrupulous in applying it to the only purpose for which it could be raised?

Having thus considered the main design of this letter, I shall make a few remarks upon some particular passages in it.

First, Though it be of no consequence to this dispute, I cannot but observe a most evident falsehood, which he repeats three or four times in his letter, that I make the world believe I am set on work by great people. I remember myself to have several times affirmed the direct contrary, and so I do still; and if I durst tell him my name, which he is so desirous to know, he would be convinced that I am of a temper to think no man great enough to set me on work; nay, I am content to own all the scurrilous titles he gives me, if he be able to find one *innuendo* through all those papers, that can any way favour this calumny: The malice of which is not intended against me, but the present ministry, to make the world believe, that what I have published, is the utmost effort of all they can say or think against the last; whereas, it is nothing more than the common observations of a private man, deducing consequences and effects from very natural and visible causes.

He tells, with great propriety of speech, "That the seven lords and their friends are treated as subverters of the constitution, and such as have been long endeavouring to

destroy both church and state." This puts me in mind of one, who first murdered a man, and afterwards endeavoured to kill him: And therefore I here solemnly deny them to have been subverters of the constitution: But that some people did their best endeavours I confidently believe.

He tells me particularly, that I acquit Guiscard, by a blunder, of a design against Mr Harley's life. I declare he injures me, for I look upon Guiscard to be full as guilty of the design, as even those were who tampered in the business of Gregg; and both (to avoid all cavilling) as guilty as ever any man was that suffered death by law.

He calls the stabbing of Mr Harley a sore blow, but I suppose he means his recovery; that indeed was a sore blow to the interest of his party: But I take the business of Gregg to have been a much sorer blow to their reputation.

This writer wonders how I should know their lordship's hearts, because he hardly knows his own. I do not well see the consequence of this: Perhaps he never examines into his own heart; perhaps it keeps no correspondence with his tongue or his pen: I hope at least it is a stranger to those foul terms he has strewed throughout his letter; otherwise, I fear I know it too well: For "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." But, however, actions are pretty good discoveries of the heart, though words are not; and whoever has once endeavoured to take my life, if he has still the same, or rather much greater cause, whether it be a just one or no, and has never shewn the least sign of remorse, I may venture, without being a conjurer, to know so much of his heart, as to believe he would repeat his attempt, if it were in his power. I must needs quote some following lines in the same page, which are of an extraordinary kind, and seem to describe the blessed age we should live in, under the return of the late administration. "It is very well," saith he, "that people's heads are to stand on their shoulders as long as the laws will let them; if it depended upon any thing besides, it may be your lordships' seven heads might be as soon cut off as that one gentleman's, were you in power." Then he concludes the paragraph with this charitable prayer, in the true moderation-stile, and in Italick letters, "May the head that has done the kingdom the greatest mischief fall first, let it be whose it will." The plain meaning of which is this: If the late ministry were in power, they would act just as the present ministry would, if there were no law, which perhaps may be true: But I know not any ministry upon earth that I durst confide in without law; and if at their coming in again, they design to make their power the law, they may as easily cut off seven heads as one. As for the head that has done the greatest mischief to the kingdom, I cannot consent it should fall, till he and I have settled the meaning of the word mischief. Neither do I much approve this renewing an old fashion of whipping off heads by a prayer; it began from what some of us think an ill precedent. Then that unlimited clause, "let it be whose it will," perplexes me not a little: I wish, in compliance with an old form, he had excepted my lord mayor: Otherwise, if it were to be determined by their vote, "whose head it was that had done the greatest mischief," which way can we tell how far their predecessors' principles may have influenced them? God preserve the queen and her ministers from such undistinguishing disposers of heads!

His remarks upon what the ordinary told Hoffman are singular enough. The ordinary's words are, that "so many endeavours were used to corrupt Gregg's conscience," &c. "that he felt as much uneasiness lest Gregg should betray his master as if it had been his own case." The author of the Letter says to this, that "for aught the ordinary knew, he might confess what was exactly true of his master; and that, therefore, an indifferent person might as well be uneasy, for fear Gregg should discover something of his master that would touch his life, and yet might have been true." But if these were really the ordinary's thoughts at that time, they were honest and reasonable. He knew it was highly improbable that a person of Mr Harley's character and station

should make use of such a confederate in treason: If he had suspected his loyalty, he could not have suspected his understanding; and knowing how much Mr Harley was feared and hated by the men in power, and observing that resort to Gregg at unseasonable hours, and that strange promises were often made to him by men of note; all this put together, might naturally incline the ordinary to think, the design could be nothing else, but that Mr Harley should be accused in spite of his innocence.

This charge of subornation is, it seems, so extraordinary a crime, that the author challenges all the books in the new lord's library (because he hears it is the largest) to furnish us with an instance like this. What if this charge should be true? Then I, in my turn, would challenge all the books in another lord's library, which is ten times larger (though perhaps not so often disturbed) to furnish us with an instance like this. If it be so monstrous a thing to accuse others of subornation, what epithet is left to bestow upon those who are really guilty of the crime itself? I think it beyond controversy, that subornation was practised in the business of Gregg; this manifestly appears from those few facts I have mentioned: Let the whigs agree among them where to fix it. Nay, 'tis plain by the great endeavours made to stifle his last speech, that they would have suborned the poor man even after he was dead! And is this a matter now to be called in question, much less to be denied?

He compares the examination of Guiscard with that of Gregg, talks of several great persons who examined the former in prison, and promised him the queen's pardon if he would make a full discovery. Then the author puts the case, "How wicked it would be to charge these honourable counsellors with suborning Guiscard by promises of life, &c. to accuse the innocent, and betray his friends." Does it any where appear that those noble persons who examined Guiscard put leading questions to him, or pointed out where they would have him fix an accusation? Did they name some mortal enemy of their own, and then drop words of pardon and reward, if he would accuse him? Did Guiscard leave any paper behind him, to justify the innocence of some great person whom he was tempted to accuse? Yet perhaps I could think of certain people who were much more likely to act in concert with Guiscard than ever Mr Harley was to be confederate with Gregg. I can imagine several who wished the penknife in Mr Harley's heart, though Guiscard alone was desperate enough to attempt it. Who were those that, by their discourses, as well as countenances, discovered their joy when the blow was struck? Who were those that went out, or stood silent, when the address and congratulation were voted? And who were those that refined so far as to make Mr Harley confederate with his own assassin?

There is one point which this author affirms more than once or twice in a transient way, as if he would have us suppose it a thing granted, but is of such a weight, that it wants nothing but truth to make the late change of ministry a very useless and dangerous proceeding: For so it must be allowed, if, as he affirms, "affairs are still under the like management, and must be so, because there is no better; that this set of men must take the same courses in their ministration with their predecessors, or ten times worse; that the new servants go on in the old methods, and give the same counsel and advice, on the like occasions, with the old ones;" with more to the same purpose. A man may affirm, without being of the cabinet, that every syllable of this is absolutely false; unless he means, that money is still raised by parliament, and borrowed upon new funds; that the Duke of Marlborough still commands the army; that we have a treasurer, keeper, president, and secretaries, as we had before; and that, because the council meets much about the same times and places as formerly, therefore they give the same advice, and pursue the same measures. What does he think of finding funds to pay the old unprovided-for debt of the navy, and erecting a company for the South-Sea trade? What does he think of Mr Hill's expedition to preserve our trade in the West Indies? What of the methods taken to make our allies pay their quotas to the war,

which was a thing so scandalously either neglected, connived at, or encouraged? What of the care to retrench the exorbitant expences of the Spanish war? What of those many abuses and corruptions at home which have been so narrowly enquired into, and in a good part redressed? Evils so deeply radicated must require some time to remedy them, and cannot be all set right in a few months. Besides, there are some circumstances known by the names of honour, probity, good sense, great capacity for business; as likewise, certain principles of religion and loyalty, the want or possession of all which will make a mighty difference even in the pursuit of the same measures. There is also one characteristick which will ever distinguish the late ministry from the present. That the former sacrificing all regards to the increase of their wealth and power, found those were no otherwise to be preserved but by continuance of the war; whereas the interest, as well as inclinations of the present, dispose them to make use of the first opportunities for a safe and honourable peace.

The writer goes on upon another parallel case, which is, the modern way of reflecting upon a prince and ministry. He tells us, "That the queen was brought to discard her old officers through the multitude of complaints, secret teazings, and importunate clamours of a rout of people, led by their priests, and spirited under-hand by crafty emissaries." Would not any one who reads this imagine, that the whole rabble, with the clergy at their head, were whispering in the queen's ear, or came in disguise to desire a word with her majesty like the army of the two kings of Brentford? The unbiassed majority of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom are called, by this son of obscurity, a rout of people, and the clergy their leaders. We have often accused that party for their evil talent of railing perpetually against the clergy, which they discovered at first without any visible reason or provocation, as conscious of the designs they had in view, and therefore wisely began by vilifying those whom they intended to destroy. I have observed formerly, that the party-malice against the clergy hath been so blind and furious as to charge them with crimes wholly inconsistent. I find they are still in the same disposition, and that this writer hath received direction from his superiors to pursue the old style upon that article. Accordingly, in the paragraph I am now upon, he represents that reverend body as leaders, cullies, and tools. First he says, "That root of secret teazers," (meaning the nobility and gentry of the kingdom) "were led by the priests;" then he assures us, that the queen will, in a year or two, begin to consider "who it was that cheated those poor priests." And in case her majesty should have a mind to bring in the old ministry again, he comforts his party, that "the priests are seldom wanting to become the tools of cunning managers." I desire to know in what sense he would have us to understand, that these poor priests have been cheated? Are they cheated by a fund established for building 50 churches? Or by the queen's letter, empowering them to proceed on the business proper for a convocation? What one single advantage could they possibly lose by this change? They are still indeed abused every day in print, but it is by those who are without the power to hurt them; the serpent has lost his sting, is trodden under foot, and its hissing is contemned. But he confidently affirms, that when it shall be thought fit to restore the old ministry "the priests will not be wanting to become the tools of their cunning managers." This I cannot by any means allow, unless they have some hidden reserve of cunning, which hath never yet been produced. The cunningest managers I ever knew among them, are of all others most detested by the clergy: Neither do I remember they have been ever able to make any of them tools, except by making them bishops; even those few they were able to seduce, would not be their tools at a lower rate.

But because this author, and others of his standard, affect to make use of that word tool, when they have a mind to be shrewd and satirical, I desire once for all to set

them right. A tool and an instrument, in the metaphorical sense, differs thus: The former is an engine in the hands of knaves, the latter, in those of wise and honest men. The greatest ministers are instruments in the hands of princes, and so are princes themselves in the hands of God; and in this sense the clergy are ready to be instruments of any good to the prince or people. But that the clergy of England, since the Reformation, have at any time been the tools of a party, is a calumny which history and constant experience will immediately confute. Schismatick and fanatick preachers have indeed been perpetually employed that way with good success; by the faction against King Charles I. to murder their prince, and ruin the monarchy; by King James II. to bring in popery; and ever since the Revolution, to advance the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth, among a set of profligate upstarts. But in all these three instances, the established clergy (except a very few, like tares among wheat, and those generally sown by the enemy) were so far from being tools, that in the first, they were persecuted, imprisoned, and deprived; and in the two others, they were great instruments, under God, for preserving our religion and liberty.

In the same paragraph, which contains a project for turning out the present ministry, and restoring the last, he owns, that the queen is "now served with more obsequious words, more humble adorations, and a more seeming resignation to her will and pleasure, than she was before." And indeed, if this be not true, her majesty has the worst luck of any prince in Christendom." The reverse of these phrases I take to be "rude expressions, insolent behaviour, and a real opposition to her majesty's most just and reasonable commands," which are the mildest terms that the demeanour of some late persons towards their prince can deserve, in return of the highest favours that subjects ever received, whereof a hundred particulars might be produced. So that, according to our author's way of reasoning, I will put a parallel case in my turn. I have a servant to whom I am exceeding kind, I reward him infinitely above his merit: Besides which, he and his family snap every thing they can lay their hands on; they will let none come near me but themselves and dependants; they misrepresent my best friends as my greatest enemies; besides, they are so saucy and malepart, there is no speaking to them; so far from any respect, that they treat me as an inferior. At last I pluck up spirit, turn them all out of doors, and take in new ones, who are content with what I allow them, though I have less to spare than formerly; give me their best advice when I ask it, are constantly in the way, do what I bid them, make a bow when they come in and go out, and always give me a respectful answer. I suppose the writer of the Letter would tell me that my present domesticks were indeed a little more civil, but the former were better servants.

There are two things wherewith this author is peculiarly angry. First, at the "licentious way of the scum of mankind treating the greatest peers in the nation." Secondly, that "these hedge writers" (a phrase I unwillingly lend him, because it cost me some pains to invent) "seldom speak a word against any of the late ministry, but they presently fall to compliment my lord treasurer, and others in great places." On the first, he brings but one instance, but I could produce a good many hundred; what does he think of the Observator, the Review, and the Medley? In his own impartial judgment, may not they as fairly bid for being the "scum of mankind" as the Examiner? And have they not treated at least as many, and almost as great peers, in as infamous a manner? I grant, indeed, that through the great defect of truth, genius, learning, and common sense, among the libellers of that party, they being of no entertainment to the world, after serving the present turn, were immediately forgotten. But this we can remember in gross, that there was not a great man in England, distinguished for his love to the monarchy or the church, who, under the appellations of tory, jacobite, high-flyer, and other cant words, was not represented as a publick enemy, and loaden by name with all manner of obloquy. Nay, have they not even disturbed

the ashes, and endeavoured to blast the memories of the dead, and chiefly of those who lost their lives in the service of the monarchy and the church? His other quarrel is at our "flattering my lord treasurer, and other great persons in power." To which I shall only say, for every line written in praise of the present ministry, I will engage to furnish the author with three pages of the most fulsome panegyricks on the least deserving members of the last; which is somewhat more than by the proportion of time, while they were in power, could fall to their share. Indeed, I am apt to think that the men of wit at least will be more sparing in their incense of this kind for the future, and say no more of any great man now at the helm, than they believe he deserves. Poems, dedications, and other publick encomiums, might be of use to those who were obliged to keep up an unnatural spirit in the nation by supplying it with art, and consequently, the authors deserved, and sometimes met encouragement and reward. But those great patriots, now at the head of affairs, are sufficiently supported by the uncompelled favour of the queen, and the natural disposition of the people. We can do them no service by our applauses, and therefore can expect no payment; so that I look upon this kind of stock to have fallen at least 90 per cent. since the great changes at court.

He puts a few questions, which I am in some pain to answer. "Cannot," saith he, "the successors be excellent men, unless the predecessors be villains? Cannot the queen change her ministers, but they must presently be such as neither God nor man can endure? Do noblemen fall from all honour, virtue, and religion, because they are so unhappy as to fall from their prince's favour?" I desire to say something, in the first place, to this last question, which I answer in the negative. However, he will own, that men should fall from their prince's favour, when they are so unhappy as to fall from all honour, virtue, and religion: Though I must confess my belief at the same time, that some certain persons have lately fallen from favour, who could not, for a very manifest reason, be said, properly speaking, to fall from any of the other three. To his other questions I can only say, that the constant language of the whig-pamphleteers has been, this twelvemonth past, to tell us how dangerous a step it was to change the ministry at so nice a juncture; to shake our credit, disoblige our allies, and encourage the French. Then this author tells us, that those discarded politicians were the greatest ministers we ever had: His brethren have said the same thing a hundred times. On t'other side, the queen, upon long deliberation, was resolved to part with them: The universal voice of the people was against them; Her majesty is the most mild and gracious princess that ever reigned: We have been constantly victorious, and are ruined; the enemy flourishes under his perpetual losses. If these be the consequences of an able, faithful, diligent, and dutiful administration; "of that astonishing success," he says, "Providence hath crowned us with," what can be those of one directly contrary? But, not to enter into a wide field at present, I faithfully promise the author of the Letter, his correspondents, his patrons, and his brethren, that this mystery of iniquity shall be very shortly laid open to the view of the world; when the most ignorant and prejudiced reader will, I hope, be convinced by facts not to be controulled, how miserably this poor kingdom has been deluded to the very brink of destruction.

He would have it, that "the people of England have lost their senses; are bewitched and cheated, mad, and without understanding;" but that all this "will go off by degrees," and then his "great men will recover their esteem and credit." I did, in one of my papers, overthrow this idle, affected opinion, which has been a thousand times urged by those who most wished, and least believed it: I there shewed the difference between "a short madness of the people, and their natural bent or genius." I remember when King James II. went from England, he left a paper behind him, with expressions much to the same purpose; "hoping," among other things, that "God would open the eyes of the nation." Too much zeal for his religion brought us then

in danger of popery and arbitrary power; too much infidelity, avarice, and ambition, brought us lately into equal danger of atheism and anarchy. The people have not yet opened their eyes, to see any advantage in the two former; nor I hope will ever find their senses enough to discover the blessings of the two latter. Cannot I see things in another light than this author and his party do, without being blind? Is my understanding lost when it differs from theirs? Am I "cheated, bewitched, and out of my senses," because I think those to have been betrayers of our country, whom they call patriots?

He hopes his seven correspondents "will never want their places;" but is in pain for the poor kingdom, lest "their places should never want them." Now I have examined this matter, and am not at all discouraged. Two of them hold their places still, and are likely to continue in them. Two more were governors of islands; I believe the author does not imagine those to be among the places which will want men to fill them. God be thanked, a man may command the beef-eaters without being a soldier; I will at any time undertake to do it myself. Then, it would be a little hard, if the queen should be at a loss for a steward to her family. So that, upon the whole, I see but one great employment which is in any danger of wanting a sufficient person to execute it. We must do as well as we can: Yet I have been told, that the bare business of presiding in council does not require such very transcendent abilities; and I am mistaken, if, till within these late years, we have not been some ages without that office. So that I hope things may go well enough, provided the keeper, treasurer, and both the secretaries will do their duties; and 'tis happy for the nation that none of "their seven lordships" left any of those places to want them.

The writer of the Letter concludes it with an "appeal to all the princes and states of Europe, friends and enemies by name, to give their judgment, whether they think the late ministry were wanting in faithfulness, abilities, or diligence to serve their prince and country." Now, if he speaks by order of his party, I am humbly of opinion, they have incurred a præmunire for appealing to a foreign jurisdiction, and her majesty may seize their goods and chattels whenever she pleases. In the meantime, I will not accept his appeal; which has been rejected by the queen and both houses of parliament. But let a fair jury be empannelled in any county of England, and I will be determined by their verdict. First, he names the King of France, and all his counsellors, with the Pretender, and all his favourers and abettors. These I except against: I know they will readily judge the late ministry to be faithful, able, and diligent in serving their prince and country. The councils of some people have, in their way, served very much to promote the service of the Pretender, and to enable the French king to assist him; and is not he, in that monarch's opinion, as well as his own, their lawful prince? I except against the emperor and the States; because it can be proved upon them, that the plaintiffs and they have an understanding together. I except against any prince who makes unreasonable demands, and threatens to recall his troops if they are not complied with; because they have been forced of late to change their language, and may perhaps be shortly obliged to observe their articles more strictly. I should be sorry, for the appealers sakes, to have their case referred to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, who infallibly would decree them to be all hanged up for their insolence to their sovereign. But, above all, the King of Spain would certainly be against them, when he considers, with how scandalous a neglect his interests have been managed; and that the full possession of his kingdom was made a sacrifice to those whose private or party interests swayed them to the continuance of the war. The author had reason to omit the Grand Signior and the Czar in the list of his judges; the decrees of those princes are too sudden and sanguinary, and their lessons to instruct subjects in behaviour to their princes, by strangling them with a bow-string, or flinging them to be

devoured alive by hogs, were enough to deter him from submitting to their jurisdiction.

A Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the Resolution of the House to settle a Trade from Great Britain to the South-Sea of America. 1711.

This Tract relates to Harley's South-Sea scheme, extolled by Swift as the masterpiece of his ministry. The dean thus expresses himself in his 'History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne:'—"The new treasurer's chief concern was, to restore the credit of the nation, by finding some settlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the public as a load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any prospect of being removed, and which former ministers never had the care, or courage, to inspect. He resolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and summed up the debt of the navy and victualling, ordnance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures, made out for the service of the last war, of the general mortgage tallies for the year 1710, and some other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this; which being applied to other uses, could not raise present money for the war, but in a very few years would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the treasurer of the navy; and as a farther advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a company for trading to the South-Seas, and for encouragement of fishery.

"The overtures made by this minister, of paying so vast a debt under the pressures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding supplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illness, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and visionary project; and when, upon his return to the house, he had explained his proposal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed on to oppose it, although the obtaining this trade, either through Old Spain, or directly to the Spanish West-Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill passed; and, as an immediate consequence, the navy bills rose to about twenty per cent., nor ever fell within ten of their discount."

Sir,

The unanimous resolution of your honourable house, in the agreeing to the Right Honourable Mr Harley's proposal of providing effectually for the payment of the publick debts of the nation, and of establishing a trade to the South-Sea of America, hath filled the hearts of all good subjects with joy; and I, in particular, cannot avoid to give you my grateful acknowledgments for the same, and also my thoughts of the happy effects that must necessarily attend what hath been thus resolved.

The provision made for the payment of the national debts cannot but produce a lasting credit; and an establishment of a South-Sea trade must tend exceedingly to the good of all degrees and ranks of men amongst us: The poor will be more employed in manufactures, the product of the estates of our landed men will become more valuable, and the trading part of the nation will be greatly encouraged; and thus all will have inducements cheerfully to contribute to the support of the publick charge.

I have been for a long time of opinion, that a trade to the South-Sea of America would be of the greatest importance to us: And I presume herewith to send you some reasons that I committed to writing for its encouragement. And thereunto annext is

a list of the several commodities that will be shipped from hence in the commerce now designed, and which will be in very great quantities, the country of Peru and Mexico being of a vast extent.

The returns from those countries are only gold and silver, and the richest dye-stuffs.

No trade so effectually answereth the great end of trade as this doth; the nation will be enriched thereby, to the lasting honour of this House of Commons, who hath so prudently resolved to settle and establish the same.

I am,
Sir,
Your most humble servant.

The 3d of May, 1711.

Reasons to encourage a Trade from Great Britain to the Countries situated in the South-Seas of America.

Trade is become absolutely necessary to all the people of Europe, for the support of their present established way of living, and more especially for their defence against the ambitious encroachments of one neighbouring kingdom or state against another; for war in the later ages of the world, both offensive and defensive, hath been, and is carried on by force of gold and silver, and whatever be the virtue of a nation, if treasure be wanting, it is in danger of being over-run by its neighbours.

It is a maxim agreed to by all men, that that trade is chiefly, if not only beneficial that exports the superfluity of the growth and manufacture of a nation, and brings back in returns, a real treasure, such as gold and silver, and other commodities not to be consumed in luxury at home, but to be employed in trade, and so exported again, as indigo, cochineal, dying woods of all kinds, &c.

Gold and silver are not found in Europe in any quantity, but are only procurable by a foreign trade.

And South America is indeed the only inexhaustible fountain of those treasures, and from its first discovery and possession by the Spaniards, immense sums have been from time to time brought from thence, in returns of the goods of Europe; but the Spaniards, from their slothful temper, and from their innate pride, or from an inaptness to manufactures, have not had the advantages that they might have had, by the possession of those treasures, but have taken from all the other nations of Europe, those goods, in return of which the treasures have been brought home; so that they have had little more than the benefit of being carriers and factors for other nations.

But France, since the death of Charles II. of Spain, and the intruding the Duke of Anjou on that throne, hath, under pretence of supplying the necessities of the Spanish Americans, during the interruption of the Spanish galleons in this present war, engrossed that trade to itself; and from the abundance of its native commodities, and the disposition of its people to manufactures of all kinds, assumes to itself the whole treasure of America, the fatal consequences of which are obvious to every thinking man. The French perform those voyages in ships of 500 tons, 40 guns, with cargoes of one hundred thousand pounds a piece, in eighteen months.

It seems high time for Great Britain, for its safety and its interest, to vie with France in this matter, before it be too late.

Great Britain is more capable of undertaking this trade than any other nation whatsoever, from its abounding with all the commodities proper for this trade either native and manufactured here, or acquired from abroad.

And it is the interest of Spain itself, that Great Britain be admitted into this trade, exclusive of France, until the trade may be settled again, in its ancient channel from Old Spain: For Great Britain gives no jealousy of designing a universal monarchy, as

doth France; but contents itself with the honour of giving a just and equal balance to the powers of Europe.

It appears, by what hath been premised, that no trade can be so necessary and beneficial at this time to Great Britain as this. It is so extensive, that every man amongst us may some way or other reap a benefit by it, for there is hardly any thing manufactured in Great Britain, but is valuable in South America.

Another encouragement to this undertaking is, the healthfulness of the climate, which in this exceeds the north side of the Spanish America, to the greatest degree imaginable.

Here under is a List of Commodities proper for a Trade to the South Sea.

ALL sorts of woollen goods are very valuable in those countries.

Cloth, coarse and fine, sells in the most southerly parts of Peru towards Chili, and in the northern parts of Mexico.

Colchester bays is universally worn all over the country, white and dyed, and some of those goods are dyed of the richest scarlets.

Flannels, cottons, serges, commonly called perpetuanos, made in Devonshire, and sold at Exeter, and some made at Colchester, and dyed into all kind of colours, and some of rich scarlets.

Mixed serges made in Somerset, and sold at Taunton.

Shalloons, says, druggets made in several counties.

Worsted stuffs of all kinds, made at Norwich, and other places.

Stuffs mixed with silk, worsted crapes, silk crapes, silks of all kinds, velvets, silk handkerchiefs, worsted hose, silk hose for men and women, thread hose for men and women, hats, beavers, and carolins, Flanders and English lace, silver and gold lace, sisters thread, sowing silk of all colours.

Linens of all kinds, from the coarsest to the finest.

The vermillions and cotton goods of Lancashire.

Callicuts and goods of India.

All sorts of iron ware necessary in buildings, and in country affairs.

All sorts of household goods that are made of iron.

Stilliards, scales and weights for gold and silver, shears for cutting gold and silver.

Tools of all kinds for carpenters, joiners, smiths, &c.

Arms, clocks, watches, and many curiosities of iron and steel.

Glass ware of all sorts.

Round coral for necklaces and beads.

Paper, sealing-wax, white wax for tapers, Castile soap, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, mace, nutmegs, Cheshire cheese, pickles, and sauces, oil.

The Allies and the late Ministry defended against France, and the present Friends of France. 1711.

Nulla salus bello? Capiti cane talia demens
Dardanio, rebusque tuis——

This piece is intended as an answer to Swift's celebrated treatise, entitled "The Conduct of the Allies and of the late Ministry, in beginning and carrying on the present War," of which Swift's last editor has given the following account:—

"The composition of this Tract was one of the most effectual services which Swift rendered to Oxford's administration. The brilliancy of a long and unvaried current of success, and a tacit feeling of shame, had hitherto withheld the tories from openly opposing the Duke of Marlborough, or gravely impeaching the conduct of a war, which, under his guidance, had added so many victories to the military annals of England. But the most successful general that ever lived was doomed finally to experience, that even a long train of victory will, like manna, pall upon the public taste. Envy, and malignant faction, whom the glare of successful services had long dazzled, at length claimed their victim. The tories were inimical to the cause for which Marlborough fought, and still more to the domestic influence of his duchess, on which his greatness had arisen. The nobles felt themselves overshadowed; the new ministry were conscious of a controul which they durst not own. While the war lasted, it was impossible to dismiss Marlborough without the most awful responsibility; and the only alternative which remained, was to render the war unpopular. With this view Swift's Conduct of the Allies was published, and produced the deepest sensation upon the public mind. It was immediately regarded as an annunciation of the minister's disposition to make a separate peace, which some papers in 'The Examiner' had already hinted at. It continued to be a sort of Shibboleth of party so late as the days of Dr Johnson, who declares that it tore the veil from the eyes of the people, 'who, having been amused with bonfires, and triumphal processions, looked with idolatry on the general and his friends,' and were confounded between rage and shame, when they found that 'mines had been exhausted and millions destroyed,' to secure the Dutch, or aggrandize the emperor, without any advantage to ourselves; that we had been bribing our neighbours to fight their own quarrel, and that among our enemies we might number our allies. But the whigs viewed the influence of the pamphlet as equally dishonourable and baleful to the nation. They exclaimed, that the designs of Harley's ministry were now manifest; that a separate peace was their object, which, while it detached Britain from her continental allies, lost the fruits of a long war, and threw her into the arms of France, was, in fact, to prepare the road for the restoration of the exiled family of Stuart. It was strongly insisted, that nothing but foreign assistance could secure the protestant succession. But the reason assigned, though plausible in itself, was not at all palateable to the nation. Again it was said, that France's disclamation of supporting the Pretender could not be depended upon; and that if she chose to enforce his claim, England was unequal, single-handed, to cope with France. This is an argument which the experience of modern times has fully confuted, and although long urged to keep Britain in a miserable dependence upon petty continental alliances, was never in unison with the feelings of the British people. Yet it may be well doubted, whether the tories, in their precipitate resolution to make peace, did not forfeit the advantages they had derived from the victories obtained during the war.

"The progress of this pamphlet can be plainly traced in the Journal to Stella:

"30th October, 1711, Swift declares himself busy about something to open the eyes of the nation, who are half bewitched against a peace; and is in great hopes to prove, that Britain is the most undone nation in Europe. And from that time, down to the 24th of November, are several allusions to the same task. On that day he writes, that the pamphlet is finished, and on the 27th he announces that it is finally published.

"30th November, Stella is informed, that the pamphlet makes a world of noise, and communicates many most important facts, not before known. On the same day the second edition was published, a third upon the 2d, and a fourth upon the 6th of December following.

"The Tract was not long unanswered. The most forward in the contest was Dr Hare, the Duke of Marlborough's chaplain, who published 'The Allies and the late Ministry defended against France, and the present Friends of France, in Four Parts.' But there are many other answers to the Conduct of the Allies, and it is mentioned in all the whig tracts of the day, with an appearance of irritation suitable to the injury it had done their cause."

THE pamphlets that have been hitherto published in favour of an insecure and false peace, have been most of them so meanly writ, that I have of late thought it lost time to look into them; and by that means this curious piece of the Conduct of the Allies and the late Ministers had escaped me, had it not been for the mighty commendations Abel[1] gives it in his Post-Boy of the 29th past; for whose judgment I have so much deference, that I could no longer delay looking into a paper, in which I was to expect an infinite number of undeniable truths, and truths indeed they are in Abel's stile, who has inverted the sense of words, and with his friends is teaching the nation a new language, and to call things by the contrary names to those they have hitherto been known by. I could not read even a few pages of this great performance, without thinking of the Medley's story of the Colliers and the Sailors, and methinks I see this writer in almost every page engaging to his friends in the Colliers' words, that "though we can't make ourselves as clean as they are, we shall quickly make them as black as ourselves." This is plainly the design of this elaborate piece, with what success we shall see by going over it. But my concern is not so much with the late ministry, and the arts used to blacken them, which are all in vain, and can only serve to make their merit shine brighter in the end, which will infallibly be the consequence of such an unjust and violent persecution, as that with which they have been and are still pursued. What affects me in this and the like attempts made upon the reputation of the late ministry, is the purpose all this is chiefly intended to serve; and that is, to persuade us out of our senses, to change all the notions we have had of things for these twenty years and more, and to give up contentedly all the fruits of a most successful war in a mean inglorious peace. I don't know what effect this master-piece of the party may have on other people, but I must confess, a very hasty reading of it has convinced me, that if what is advanced in it be the sense of the nation, a peace is indeed necessary; for 'tis high time to make peace with our enemy, when we declare open war against all our friends: Nay, could I suppose the sense of the nation would not be first asked in parliament upon so important a subject, the spirit of this pamphlet would convince me of what some people have a good while suspected, that our peace was already made, and that a congress was to be held for no other end, but for us to act the mediators, and tell our allies what terms we expect each of them should be contented with. For, if we were not sure of terms for ourselves, to insult our allies in so open a manner, and to expose the weakness of the nation, and our inability to continue the war, "would," to use this author's words, "not only be very indiscreet, but might perhaps be dangerous." Which is one of the reasons this writer gives, p. 78, for "not publishing his discourse sooner;" but sure 'tis even now too soon, if the bargain be not already made. Another reason for his coming out so late is, he says, "because he would give way to others, who might argue very well upon the same subject from general topicks and reason," (that is, declaim well) "though they might be ignorant of several facts, which he had the opportunity to know," from which alone a true judge-

[1] Abel Roper, a factious tory journalist of the period.

ment can be made, and which he therefore knew how to misrepresent; for I hope to convince every impartial reader, that is all the use this writer has made of his great knowledge.

These are the two reasons this author thinks fit to give for not publishing his discourse sooner, to which I will venture to add a third, as true a one as the last, and much truer than the first; for nobody can believe he declined appearing sooner, because it might be dangerous at this juncture to expose the ill condition we are in, for that his friends have already done in very ample manner; and if that were a reason for not publishing two months ago 'tis as good a reason still, unless, as I have said, the bargain be made. The principal reason therefore for publishing his discourse no sooner, was to wait the critical minute, which might be most likely to give it its effect. The great skill of dealers in political lies consists in knowing how to time them nicely, and to proportion the strength of the colours to the length of the time 'tis intended they should last. How much the welfare or misery of this nation depends on the first resolutions of the next session, nobody wants to be told; on them depends a good or bad peace, provided it be not a thing already done. 'Tis therefore of great consequence to the promoters of an ill one, to have a flood of lies in readiness to let out of a sudden on those whom 'tis so much their interest to surprise into wrong measures, by the most artful disguises they can use. It was with this view this book did not make its appearance till the day appointed for the session; in hopes the members, deluded by the false lights of so many pretended facts, would go whither they should lead, without suspecting they were going wrong: And because there was, for reasons of state, a possibility that the session might still be put off a few days longer, as it has proved in the event, it was contrived to be of such a length, as might find many readers work for some days, or at least make it impossible to give a timely answer to it before the resolutions were taken, which it was designed to influence.

But the strength and force of argument, with which the opposite side of the question has been maintained in many pamphlets, the evident goodness of that cause, the gross misrepresentations of this writer and his friends, and the many marks that appear throughout of malice and falsehood; the great court that is made to France, and the strange rude treatment of our best allies, make me greatly hope, that these new politicians will find themselves extremely disappointed; and that a British parliament will not, in a matter of the utmost consequence, believe what comes from so suspected a hand, without hearing both sides, and examining into the facts themselves.

As this writer finds his account in coming out late, and in saying a great deal to serve an ill cause, I shall, to serve a good one, take the contrary course, and be as short as possible, that I may not appear too late in the defence of that, which, when 'tis once gone, is never to be retrieved.

I shall therefore pass over many pages of this book, which contain nothing in them but general reflections and repetitions of the same thing; of which, in this elaborate piece of scandal, there are many instances, as if it were not enough to misrepresent one fact once, but it must be made, by repetition, two or three; by which artifice, all the dirt that is thrown is multiplied, that the allies and the late ministry might be sure to look black enough.

After many wise reflections upon war in general, in order to tincture the unwary reader's mind with useful prejudices of what is to follow, this author descends to consider those wars England has been engaged in since the Conquest; upon which he wisely observes, That while we make war in our own country, we carry no money out of it; a great commendation this of civil wars! Even the Dutch wars, in Charles II.'s reign, did not carry out any money, nor did it leave any debts upon the nation: And thus this reign is passed over, without any other remark on't, but that those wars were carried on under a very corrupt administration; so corrupt an one, that I hope this na

tion, in many years to come, will not have seen above one more such: 'Tis to this administration we owe the change of the balance of Europe, and the great difficulties which the exorbitant power of France has since reduced us to. Those Dutch wars, as this writer observes, were "much to the dishonour of the crown;" and so Dutch wars very probably will always be, though this author, in many places, is sounding an alarm, raising all the ill blood he can, and infusing jealousies between the two nations, whose interest it is to be in the most inseparable union. Speaking of our successes in Flanders, p. 28, he says, "We are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting all our substance, not for our own interest, not for a thing indifferent, but perhaps to our own destruction: We may live to feel the effects of our valour more sensibly than all the consequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain in the Duke of Anjou: We have conquered a noble territory for the States," &c. And, p. 71, "We, instead of labouring to make them safe (the Dutch) must beggar ourselves to render them formidable."

Had King Charles, instead of those scandalous wars against the Dutch, exerted himself with vigour against France, the expence of a few millions then would have saved us a hundred since; but by his treaties with France, and his wars with Holland, he shewed he was not in the true interest of his country; nor can any prince be so, who, in succeeding times, shall tread in the same steps; even his parliaments, as corrupt as they were, could not be brought to give countenance to such ruinous measures; much less can any other ministry expect a British parliament will desert the interest of the nation, when its liberties are established upon so much a better bottom than they were at that time.

From the Dutch wars, our author passes to the Revolution, when "a general war broke out to check the ambitious designs of France; and here the emperor, the Dutch, and England, were principals." A little after we are told, "That the ground of this war, as to the part we had in it, was to make France acknowledge the late king, and to recover Hudson's Bay." That these were two of the particular ends we proposed by the war is true; that it was the whole is not true; for, as he says himself, the war was general to check the ambition of France, who had been for thirty years encroaching upon their neighbours, and had shewn they could be bound by no treaties; to check this ambition, therefore, was a general concern, and a just cause of entering into the war, to prevent that universal monarchy, which had been compassed long since, if we had tamely sat still; for the King of France had begun the war by the invasion of the empire the summer before the Revolution, and had the Revolution been prevented or disappointed, there had then been an end of the liberty of Europe, and of our own too; and therefore I beg leave to observe by the way, that the end of that war was not chiefly to settle the Revolution, which the enemies of it would insinuate; 'twas necessary for the preservation of ourselves, and the powers in alliance with us, who, without us, would have made no stand against France, and we must have necessarily been involved in the same ruin with them. And to pretend, the "sea was neglected, and the greatest part of six millions annually employed to enlarge the Dutch frontier, because the king was a general and not an admiral, and although King of England, a native of Holland," is all ill-grounded scandal, has at the bottom no foundation; the increase of the power of France upon the continent made it necessary to make the greatest efforts against him there; and all that were made, were, as appeared by the event, too little: Nor did that service, after all, employ the greatest part of six millions, as any body may see by the estimates laid before the Commons every session for the Flanders war. As to the fleet, 'twas so far from being neglected, that we not only recovered the disgrace we received in the beginning of the war off Beachy, but afterwards in a successful engagement we made such a destruction of the naval strength of France, that they never appeared again at sea all that war. But let us see what an account is given of the end of this war. "After the loss of an hundred thou-

sand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions, a peace was concluded with great advantages to the empire and Holland, but none at all to us, and clogged soon after by the famous Treaty of Partition." I would be glad to know, whether England has no advantage in a war they engage in to check the ambition of France, if France be considerably weakened by the advantageous terms given to the empire and Holland? Whether those terms are not transferring so much strength from the side we would weaken to those we would support? And if so, whether the reason of going into such a war is not answered, and we may not properly be said to find our account in it? But had it not been to raise an odium against the late king, this author would not have said, "that war was concluded with great advantages to the empire and Holland, but none at all to us;" for he very well knows, it was a very disadvantageous peace to the allies, very short of what they proposed, and the natural effect of an unsuccessful war; and why that war succeeded no better, he can tell us too if he pleases: It was the effect of the opposition of a discontented party, of unhappy misunderstandings between prince and people, of late sessions, and ill trade, and a bad credit, which was the necessary consequence of the rest. These and the like causes made it impossible for the king to carry on the war with vigour; and if France made better offers to put an end to it than the confederates from their ill successes could expect, 'twas no secret what that was for, 'twas that he might be at leisure to pursue his design upon the Spanish monarchy, which succeeded but too well by his management of the Partition-Treaty, which this author knows the king was forced into, as the lesser of the two evils, the nation, in all appearance, being neither in temper, nor, as he was made to believe, in condition to begin a new war; and having no body of troops that could be able to make head against France upon the King of Spain's death, who was in a most languishing condition at the time the Reswick-Treaty was made, which was the true reason the King of France was in so much haste to put an end to that war, and promised so readily to give up many places to Spain, which, if his design on that monarchy succeeded, was in effect giving to himself. But as to the advantages to the empire and Holland, I know none he gave the last but an advantageous tariff, of which he never executed one article; and for the empire, people must have short memories to forget, how he embroiled them by the fourth article about religion; with what contempt he treated the emperor about Strasburg; and how he, after the peace, refused to surrender Old Brisac, till he had built New Brisac just over against it, which was to all purposes defeating the design of the restitution of that important place. But to comfort ourselves for the loss of men and money in this war, this writer could have told us, that Monsieur Vauban in his *Disme Royal* reckons France at the end of that war weaker by two millions and more than before, and gives us such a miserable account of the poverty of the people, and of the increase of the king's expence beyond what the kingdom could bear, as might be some consolation to us at the end even of such a war; if the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy had not been built upon the peace that concluded it. In this war "began the custom among us of borrowing millions upon funds of interest." This is represented in this and other places of this book as a most detestable project, a plot to ruin the landed interest, and there is nothing bad enough to be said of it. Sometimes 'tis imputed to the security of a new prince not firmly settled on the throne, sometimes to a design of a few cunning men to involve the nation in debt and enrich themselves, sometimes to the ambitious views of a ministry. Any reason, in short, is given for it but the true one; for 'tis certain, this method of raising money was not taken up by choice, but necessity: There were a set of men in parliament at that time, whose merit it was to oppose the court right or wrong; and there was nothing these patriots so much abhorred as any thing that looked like an excise, which the nation has insensibly in great measure come into since; and had they done so at first, there might have been almost the same sums rai-

sed without any debt upon the nation. And after all, there is nothing in this method of raising money by funds of interest, but what all other nations engaged in these wars have come into as well as ourselves, and before us; so that in this respect we are upon the same foot with other people; but so much better, as our debts are less than those either of France or Holland, as every body knows that is acquainted with foreign affairs, and has any insight into political arithmetick.

Our author having brought down his history to the present war, and spent six pages in raising as much dust as he thought necessary to shew his tricks in without being presently discovered, which, considering how ignorant most readers are of foreign affairs, how generally we love scandal, how weary we all are of a long war, and how pleasing that has made the very name of peace, to those whom sounds persuade as well as sense, is no very hard matter for a person much less skilled in the arts of juggling than this writer must be allowed to be. After a prologue of 20 pages, this farce of a history opens with this noble proposition, "that no nation was ever so long or so scandalously abused by the folly, the temerity, the corruption, the ambition of its domestic enemies, or treated with so much insolence, injustice, and ingratitude by its foreign friends." And this he undertakes to make appear by plain matters of fact.

Though I can't by any means consent my country should be ruined by an ill peace, when we have so fair a prospect of a good one, which is the plain design of this writer and his friends, yet if this proposition can be proved, I will readily consent the late ministry should be given up to the fury of their enemies, provided the same justice may be done on their accusers, if it cannot.

The proposition to be proved, is indeed, at first sight, so strange a paradox, that the undertaker must have a great opinion of his skill in secret history to venture at it; and I have reason to think this is not his first essay; he is much improved since this time twelvemonth, and now boldly affirms the grossest falsities, which he then scarce dared to hint at. Then the ministry only were attacked, and that upon some points only, the allies were spared, or rather good words were given them; but now there is nothing too bad to be said of the late ministry; all is wrong in their administration from beginning to end; and, for their comfort, the allies are as bad as themselves. In short, both allies and ministers are fools and knaves, and all the virtue and wisdom in the world lies in two or three hands, where nobody before ever thought there was any; but with this surprising difference, that affairs have for many years succeeded to a miracle under this sottish and corrupt management, when 'tis next to a miracle if this new virtue and wisdom do not ruin us. But to come to our author's proofs of what he has with so much truth and modesty advanced; he will make his proposition good by proving these three points:

"First, that against all manner of prudence or common reason we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

"That we spent all our vigour in pursuing that part of the war which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning it; and made no efforts at all where we could have most weakened the common enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves.

"Lastly, that we suffered each of our allies to break every article in those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burden upon us."

Every one of which propositions I will shew to be scandalously false, and consequently the proposition they are to prove is no less so. And the hard words of folly, temerity, corruption, and ambition, can properly belong to none but those from whom they come.

His first proposition, that "to engage in this war as principals, is against all manner of prudence and common reason," is so very new and extraordinary, that I heartily congratulate him upon this great discovery. He is the first writer I have

met with of his side, who has had the hardiness to speak so plain, though 'tis what I have long suspected to be their meaning; and 'tis no wonder they are in so much haste to get out of the war any how, since they now openly declare 'twas wrong to go into it. This is a key to the whole book, and nothing that follows, no reflections on the late ministry, no ill usage of our allies, no endeavours to explain away treaties, no absurd opinion about credit, not even his thinking the fall of stocks upon the change of the ministry, a good omen, can seem strange after such an extravagant declaration as this, which contradicts the sense of all the parliaments we have had, since the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy, the unanimous and constant sense of the queen and her allies, the sense even of the present parliament, nay, what's more, the sense even of these writers themselves a year ago. For then they had not brought themselves to think at this absurd rate, or did not think it time to tell the nation so. That the justice and necessity of the war has been all along allowed and insisted on by the queen and her allies, and by all our parliaments till this last, has been shewn by so many collections of speeches, addresses, and votes, as well as by the articles of the several treaties made with our allies, that I shall not repeat any thing that has been already published of this kind, but shall take notice rather of what has not been so much observed, and that is, the sense of the present parliament, especially of the lords in their representation presented to her majesty the 10th of February last, in the second paragraph of which, they applaud her majesty's "engaging generously in this war for asserting the liberties of Europe, and the rights of the house of Austria to the Spanish monarchy, which had been wrested from them by the artifices and usurpations of the French king, when a prince of that illustrious family came to her majesty for refuge against oppression; and that her majesty had received him into her protection, moved thereunto, not only by her own innate goodness, but by the voice of her people too, who were ready to sacrifice their lives and treasure for the support of her majesty in defence of so righteous a cause: And as the fruits of a successful war they mention the honour of her majesty, the safety, wealth, and prosperity of her own dominions, and the lasting peace of Europe." And the Commons, in the second paragraph of their representation, speak of the absolute "necessity of carrying on the war," to say nothing of the assurances both houses gave her majesty in their addresses at the opening of the sessions. So that our author's first proposition is directly contrary even to the present parliament, which I recommend to the consideration of those gentlemen, who have in due veneration and esteem the sentiments of this parliament, how much soever they may undervalue all preceding ones; though I can't but put them in mind that there has been even in their own opinion one parliament in this reign as good as the present; I mean the first, which yet declared their sense of the justice of the war, and the necessity of pushing it with vigour, as much as any that came after them; but this writer's assertion is not only contrary to the sense of the present parliament, but I presume I may add of the present ministry last session, since nobody can have any pretence to suspect that their sentiments upon this point differed at that time, whatever they may do now; but what makes the monstrous absurdity of this proposition still more evident is, that 'tis inconsistent with the sense of these writers themselves a year ago. For in the many scandalous pamphlets of that memorable year, which came no doubt out of the same mint with that now before me, there is not one word to condemn our manner of engaging in the present war, as imprudent or unreasonable, or ill advised; and yet those writers have sufficiently shewn they wanted no inclination to blacken the late ministry, their malice was worked up to the last pitch, and 'twas extremely for their purpose to say all the ill of them they could devise, true or false; and by what they have said, one may be sure they left nothing unsaid which they thought could hurt their reputation; and the silence of such keen adversaries must be allowed to be a considerable argument, that

they did not then think the engaging the nation in the present war any crime; and that such an accusation was at that time too gross to pass upon the nation.

But how now comes that which was right a year ago to be exclaimed against as imprudent and against all reason, and to be made a capital crime in the late ministers? How comes it to be now declared, that the restitution of the Spanish monarchy was none of the ends that engaged Britain in the present war, that her majesty by the grand alliance is not obliged to it, and that 'tis madness to think of it? How can this mighty difference in the same persons in so short a time be reconciled? Is it that they have really changed their sentiments, and by the force of wrong thinking for a twelvemonth together, have at last brought themselves to be in love with such absurd notions, in opposition to their own sense, as well as to that of all mankind besides? Or are they indeed not in these sentiments themselves, but think it convenient to impose them on the people, as soon as they are prepared by the poison they have with so much diligence for some time infused into them? If this last be the case, I confess a twelvemonth is but a reasonable time to prepare a nation for such absurdities; a nation, not trained up in ignorance and slavery, can't bear to have all the notions they have been bred to, with respect to publick affairs, contradicted at once; a free people, that have been used to reason about liberty, and trade, and alliances, and peace and war, can't of a sudden resign their understandings implicitly to the strange dictates of their new masters; 'twill require time to manage such a people to their own turn; and if this mighty change can be compassed even in a year, they must be allowed to be able politicians. And this, I confess, I take to be the true reason why these secrets in politicks have not been produced sooner. Things were not ripe for it; and even now it seems, they don't think fit to bring these monstrous propositions into the light, without a guard of reasons, such as they are, before to make way for them, and another to secure the rear. To judge of the strength and goodness of these reasons, I shall take them out of the confused order they are in, which is not confused by chance, 'tis the most proper for the nature of deceit, and most agreeable to the genius of the author, if I am not extremely mistaken in my guess of him. The substance then of what he argues in proof of his first proposition is this: Upon the Duke of Anjou's succeeding to the monarchy of Spain, in breach of the Partition-Treaty, the question here in England was, Whether the peace should be continued, or a new war begun? Let me add, that the king had a little before changed hands, and taken in a tory ministry, but was thought to be still influenced very much by those he had parted with. The new ministers and their friends were against beginning a new war, by reason of the debts and difficulties we laboured under, that France was now much more formidable than in the last war, by the accession of the whole Spanish monarchy, and the alliance of Cologn and Bavaria: By which means he reckons the allies would be weaker upon the balance by one hundred and twenty thousand men than last war, the success of which we had no reason to boast of. He might have added, that besides Cologn and Bavaria, France had engaged on their side the Duke of Mantua, the Duke of Savoy, and the King of Portugal; but the first perhaps was passed over, because the mention of it would make too much for the honour of the then emperor, who had the courage to begin this war alone, and made a successful campaign in Italy against the whole power of France, and made his way into the Milanese, between the Duke of Mantua on one side, and the Duke of Savoy on the other. 'Tis hard to say, whether the courage or wisdom of the court of Vienna in this enterprise was most wonderful; for 'twas impossible to begin a war under greater disadvantages; it put the emperor to a vast expence, which his condition could very ill bear, and ruined a body of the bravest troops and best officers then in Europe; but he thought all was at stake, and therefore was resolved to venture all: The justice and necessity of his case, which would draw the fate of all Europe after it, made him wisely judge, that England and

Holland would not be idle spectators, while France was grasping at universal monarchy, and, I may say, had it in her hands. Thus he judged, and thus it proved: And to that glorious enterprise of his we owe it, that there was room for beginning a new war, without which the liberty of Europe had been long since lost without retrieve; and therefore if some of the failures charged on the house of Austria, in the sequel of this libel, were as great as this author would have them thought, this first and wonderful campaign in Italy makes no small amends, and at the same time accounts for them; for it wasted so much of the emperor's treasure, as he has no way been able to make up; and that great but necessary expence there has unavoidably made all their efforts weaker ever since.

This impartial writer sinks this campaign upon us; and, that we might not think of it, declines mentioning the Duke of Mantua and the Duke of Savoy here in their proper place. But there was another reason for his not mentioning the last and the King of Portugal. 'Twas very much to his purpose to tell us, they were in alliance with France, since that increased so much the more the danger of the war; but then it would have led his reader to reflect on the wisdom and abilities of the ministry he was to run down, that they were able to bring off from France two such considerable allies; and it would at the same time have furnished an answer to the objections he makes to the treaty entered in with Portugal; for can any body suppose a prince actually engaged in alliance with France could be brought off without offering him very favourable articles, or engaging to secure him as effectually as we could against the resentments of the side he left, whose nearness and naval force he had great reason to be apprehensive of; and therefore if such an alliance was worth having, as I dare say every body then thought it was at any rate, 'twas not only just and reasonable, but absolutely necessary, to give him all possible assurances of protection; which could no way be done but by a squadron of ships at his service. This was the least we could promise, and nobody but a fool can imagine, that this was giving up a part of our fleet to his caprice or humour, as this author would insinuate, so as that the queen or her admirals would not use their own discretion, if he pretended to send our ships upon ridiculous or unreasonable services, which could not be supposed to be within the meaning of these articles.

The Portugal alliance, when rightly understood, is highly for the honour of the late ministry, and therefore the true state of it is concealed. And there was also a good reason for taking no notice in this place of the Duke of Savoy. This was another great service of the late ministry; but 'tis plain this author acts with still further views with regard to that prince, for this is not the only proper place in which he omits to mention him; he might have found, had he been in humour, as many faults in our treaty with Savoy as in that with Portugal; for as the gaining him from France was a great point, so very advantageous articles were granted for it; how then could he escape the lash of this unmerciful censor? This we may be sure is not for nothing; there is a mystery in it which perhaps I may explain before I end these papers; but at present I shall only say, that in this author's scheme some use is hoped to be made of him towards divesting the house of Austria of their right to the Spanish monarchy, and by that means facilitating an ill peace.

Having thus accounted for our author's silence, with respect to the Duke of Mantua, the Duke of Savoy, and the King of Portugal, when the mention of them was so much for his purpose, they being all in alliance with France at the beginning of the war, I proceed now to consider the force of his argument. The debts of the nation, and the power of France, were the arguments the tories used against engaging in a new war. Very well; and they were the same arguments that frightened the king into the Treaty of Partition. Yet his ministers were impeached upon a bare presumption of their having advised it. But France, by the actual possession of the Spanish monarchy, and

the alliances it had made, was so much an over-match for us, "that human probability ran with mighty odds on that side; and in that case," says our author, "nothing under the most extreme necessity should force any state to engage in a war." I say so too; but then I affirm, that was our case, and so thought all those who advised entering into the war: They alledged how dangerous it would be for England that Philip should be King of Spain, that we could have no security for our trade while that kingdom was subject to a prince of the Bourbon family, nor any hopes of preserving the balance of Europe, because the grandfather would in effect be king, while his grandson had but the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever of pursuing his design of universal monarchy.

The arguments for entering into the war may be set in a stronger light, but I am content to take them in his own words: The preservation of our trade, of our establishment, and of the balance of Europe, which could none of them be tolerably safe while the Spanish monarchy was suffered to be in the house of Bourbon, were of the utmost concern for the welfare of the nation, and "nothing," to use this author's words, "but the most extreme necessity should force a nation tamely to submit to such a usurpation, as, in all human probability, must in a few years bring on them certain destruction." But that we were not under that extreme necessity, the event, God be thanked, has sufficiently shewn. To set now this matter in a true light, whether we should enter into a new war or not, was a point that deserved the most careful consideration; a great deal might be said on both sides: The danger of suffering France to continue in the quiet possession of the Spanish monarchy was allowed on all hands; the dispute was, Whether there was a possibility of preventing by a war the danger that threatened us? Those who were against a war, thought of two evils the least was to be chosen; that if we kept quiet, the danger was at some distance, and the greater the distance the more room for some lucky chance that might alter the face of things; and with these reasons and fears, party and passion mixed themselves, as it almost always happens in free countries. The tory ministry the king had taken, found they were but upon a very uncertain foot, and that he did not heartily come into their measures. This made them apprehensive he would in a little time change hands again, as in effect he began to do before he died, that then the administration would return into the hands of that set of men that they had the greatest aversion to. All the ill consequences that arose from the ill humour of the parliaments, from their slowness to give money, and the insufficiency of the funds, which unavoidably occasioned high interest and great discounts, were imputed solely to these ministers; and while credit was in such an ill state at home, 'twas impossible any thing could go well abroad; the differences would have continued between the king and his parliaments, and the publick credit and the management of the war, must have been upon the same ill foot as before, in spite of all the ministry could do. This made wise and honest men exceeding fearful of the consequences of entering into a new war; in which 'twas impossible to succeed, without credit and union at home, and that under these appearances there was little hopes of. Besides, the extreme ill state of the king's health made it impossible for him to command in Flanders himself; and they did not then know how the place of so great a general could be supplied; or at least his authority and influence over the States and a confederate army they thought could not: And his death, at the beginning of a new war, they apprehended would throw all things into confusion, and dissolve the alliances, that his credit and reputation were the chief cement of. 'Twas these considerations made the tory ministry and their friends think, that upon the whole a war was not adviseable: but others were of another mind, they had a better opinion both of the king himself and his ministers, and hoped that things might be managed better than they had been; that the greatness of the danger we were exposed to, would make us lay aside our heats, and unite us at home, and that the people would join heartily with the king, and enable him with effectual

supplies to carry on the war with vigour, and then credit would revive of course, and all things would go well, which ever side he took into the ministry. And in a new parliament called to give his majesty the fresh sense of the nation upon this important subject, their affection to the king appeared by their impeachments towards the latter end of the session, and advised him to make alliances, and assured him, he should be supported in them. But what is of most weight in this question, was the king's own sense of it. He knew the affairs of Europe better than all his ministry together, and was a very good judge of the interests of the empire and the house of Austria, of the power of France, and of the imminent danger England and Holland were exposed to by the seizure of the Spanish monarchy. And he used his utmost endeavours to make the nation sensible of the necessity there was for entering into a war, which alone could prevent the ruin of them and the States. And that the king was very sincere in his opinion, we are very sure from the Treaty of Partition, which sufficiently shewed he had no mind to enter into a new war, if it could possibly be avoided. For that was plainly the design of that treaty, the ill success of the former war, the difficulties his affairs were perplexed with, the heats and divisions of his subjects, the treatment he met with from his parliaments, and his own ill health, all together broke his spirits, he had no heart to think of a new war; but was willing to purchase rest at any rate for the remainder of his days. And this he has been very liberally upbraided with by those who were so angry with the Partition Treaty, that he gave up the interest of the nation to his own ease, and did not care what became of the rest of the world, so he were but quiet himself. But if this prince, who was so weary of war, so desirous to be at ease, if he was of opinion a new war was, upon the violation of the Partition-Treaty, absolutely necessary, his judgment will have more weight with all impartial men, than all that this author or his friends at this distance can say to the contrary. To dispute now of the necessity of the war, is the same thing as to dispute the necessity of the Revolution: We are sure those who were best judges of both, when things were fresh, and they had the full view of all before them, thought both necessary; but when the distance of our dangers has made us forget the greatness of them, we are to be taught that neither was so, by designing men, who take advantage of our ignorance or forgetfulness to impose on us the falsest reasonings, by a misrepresentation of facts, which the generality of readers are to judge of at ten or twenty years distance, when many of the most material circumstances are forgot; and they are to judge by such only as these writers think fit to give them, and those are picked and culled at their own pleasure, and either are partially represented, or quite altered, as best serves their turn. But honest and impartial men will be upon their guard; they won't be beat out of their senses, and believe every absurd notion that shall be started, because they don't distinctly remember all that relates to a matter that was transacted many years since. A man that was once persuaded of the necessity of the war, has as much right to maintain his conclusion that it is necessary, though he does not carry in his mind exactly all the proofs of it, as a mathematician has to abide by a proposition in Euclid, though he has forgot some part of the demonstration; he is sure he could demonstrate it once, and therefore is satisfied 'tis true, though he can't readily prove it, it being many years perhaps since he looked into the truth of it. And as it would be great impudence to tell such a man a proposition is false that he knows is true, and to go about by specious arguments to make him believe the contrary, 'tis no less impudent or absurd to pretend to prove at this time of day to a true Briton, that there was no necessity for our entering into the war, when we are under the greatest conviction of the truth of the contrary; and it has been so long the unanimous and undisputed sense of the nation.

This author does indeed allow the case of the Dutch to be extremely dangerous, as they have set forth in their declaration of war; but then, he says, "the grounds of

their quarrel are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other prince or state;" and that "they were nearest and most exposed to the fire." What then? were not we near enough to be burnt, because they were a little nearer? Men that can remember that juncture of affairs, must own they could not think of it without trembling, the danger was so extremely great; and what is very remarkable, 'tis probable nothing saved Holland so much as the backwardness England shewed to come into the war. France hoped we should be content to lie still, if they did not press too hard upon Holland, and that consideration diverted the storm, and gave them time to make alliances, and provide for their defence; but the very sight of so near a danger was sufficient to convince us it was not our business to lie still, but to rouse ourselves while we could, since such an exorbitant power might at any time execute the destruction it then threatened; and when they shall ever be ruined, our turn is next; and next to the nearest sure is near enough, though this author would persuade us, we are no more concerned to be one of the principals in this war than Prussia, or any other power that came afterwards into that alliance; than which nothing can be more false, unless the preservation of Great-Britain be of no more consequence than that of a little dukedom or petty state. Shall we be no more concerned at the exorbitant power of France, which brings our liberty and trade into the utmost danger, than people who have neither liberty nor trade to be concerned for, and can suffer little by the change, whatever masters they are under? Is the preservation of England, which is the great support of the protestant religion, of no consequence? And if it be, shall we not think it in danger from France, because some other states have nothing to apprehend upon this head, as being of the same religion with the French? But suppose all other princes and states in the alliance as much exposed to France by the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy as ourselves; what if they are so feeble that they can't help themselves, or so indolent that they won't, or that they are governed by a faction in the French interest, must we therefore be insensible of our danger, or not exert ourselves to prevent it? By this author's argument, Prussia, Savoy, Portugal, or any other small state, should contribute as much to the war as Great-Britain, because they are as much interested in it; and if more, they should contribute more. "Those who must in course be the greatest sufferers, ought," he says, "to bear the greatest weight," without considering their strength. And this he illustrates by a very apt comparison: "If a house be on fire, the owner is sure to be undone first, and it is not impossible that those at next door may escape by a shower from heaven, &c." Lord have mercy upon us, if this is all we have to trust to! 'Twould be a pretty sight when a house is on fire, to have a consultation held in the neighbourhood what each should do towards extinguishing it, and if it should be seriously debated how many buckets and hands each should employ, and the council should end in this wise resolve, that the number of buckets and hands should be in exact proportion to the nearness each was at to the house where the fire began. This is so ridiculous a rule, that it would be impossible to be complied with, unless people's abilities also were exactly proportioned to the nearness of the danger; and if nobody would do their part, or more than their part, till the rest of their neighbours did theirs, I humbly conceive the whole neighbourhood would be burnt out. Suppose a lord, a merchant, a draper, a mechanick, and a poor alms-house were next to one another; that a fire broke out in this last, and the lord's house particularly were next the water, would not any body think this lord a madman, who had a great number of servants about him, and more buckets perhaps than the whole street, if he would not suffer a bucket to be touched, or a hand to stir, till the poor alms-women had furnished their part, in proportion to the danger, though they have not perhaps one servant nor one bucket, and must inevitably perish without help? Or shall he stay to see this house burnt, and the next on fire, and whether the mechanick and the rest do their part, for fear of doing more

than his share? If what this author advances concerning other states, to prove that we should do no more be sense, so is this; and if this be not sense, no more is the other. 'Tis his own comparison, and there is in the cases no difference. If a house is in so much danger of fire, that nothing can save it but "a shower from heaven," a man must be mad that won't do all he can to extinguish it; and so are we if we don't exert ourselves to our utmost, in case our danger be as great.

But because the danger was nearest Holland, our author thinks we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries: This is so extraordinary a reason, that if it be good, it must destroy all alliances. If England ought not to have entered into the grand alliance, because Holland was more concerned, no more should any other power in Europe, since neither the dangers nor the abilities of any two states can be exactly equal; and therefore there can be no allowance where all parties shall be principals. Though in the last war this writer allows the empire, England and Holland, were all principals, and he does not pretend to find any fault with it. I must observe, that a year ago the cant of the party was not settled, nor were they agreed what sense certain words were to be used in; for in the Letter to the Examiner, principals is opposed to confederates, and means the engaging further than any of the other confederates, in the expence and burden of the war; but no fault is there found with our entering into the grand alliance; on the contrary 'tis commended: But here, in this writer, principals is taken in a new sense, and opposed to auxiliaries; by which the author means, that we ought not to have gone into the grand alliance at all, but contented ourselves to assist Holland with 10,000 men only, according to an old treaty; this, he says, would have been prudent and generous, and that the States demanded no more. True, they did not demand more, because we were by no treaty then in being obliged to do more for them; but where is the generosity of furnishing this small quota according to the treaties we were bound by? or where would have been the prudence in giving an assistance that must needs come to nothing? But our author, who with his friends is greatly skilled in foreign affairs, makes no doubt but Holland, with that assistance alone, would have been able to defend their frontiers; and if they could not, he makes no doubt, in the second place, but the Spaniards would not have suffered the French to possess themselves of Flanders. Now I, in my turn, make no doubt, but this author is convinced as much as I am, that all this is egregious nonsense: First to fancy that the Spaniards would hinder the French from possessing themselves of Flanders, when by the treachery of the Elector of Bavaria they were at that time in one night put into the actual possession of all the strong places in it. When this author writes again, I desire the favour of him to let us know, which way they could have been dispossessed? And his other fancy is still more absurd, that Holland, who could not in conjunction with England and Spain keep their frontiers last war, should now be able to defend themselves when their frontier is lost, against the united force of France and Spain, with no other assistance from England but that poor one of 10,000 men. And as if these two ridiculous assertions wanted no other proof, but were as plain as first principles, by help of this short charm, "I make no doubt," he gravely infers from them, "that there was no sort of necessity for us to proceed farther, although we had been in a better condition; but our politicians had other views, a grand alliance was therefore to be made between the emperor, England, and the States-general." Well is it for us our politicians then were not of the size of those who now prescribe to us; since it has been shewn to the greatest degree of evidence, that the war was necessary, and that nothing could have been so fatal to us, as to sit still and look on, while France was over-running the rest of the world. Nothing was so much for the service of France as this nonsensical doctrine of auxiliaries, since upon the same foot they would have acted as auxiliaries to the Duke of Anjou; by which means Holland and the emperor would soon have been out of breath, and must, by their own submission to France,

have shewn us the way to submit too: For had not we come into the war, neither of those powers could have held out another campaign; and what would have been the consequence? should we suffer them to be over-run? or should we then think fit to help them? if the last was for our interest, sure it was much more to our purpose to help them in time, when our assistance could be of some use, and not when they had exhausted themselves beyond recovering, by exerting their strength all at once, and that without success, as it must have been against a power that was so much an overmatch for them: For this author has before told us, that the balance was altered since the last war no less than one hundred thousand men on the side of France; and the balance he owns was much too strong on that side before. And yet the same author who says this, would make us believe Holland and the emperor might have been a match for France by themselves. Men must be strangely in love with contradictions, that can take up with such stuff as this. The plain of the case is this; the power of France was so exorbitant, that if England won't engage in the war, the liberty of Europe must be lost, let the other two powers do what they will. If they hazard a war, they are so over-matched, that it can end in nothing but the ruin of them: If, for fear of an ill war, they leave France in the quiet possession of their usurpations, they must resolve to submit to such conditions as shall be imposed on them. Nothing could hinder this but a vigorous union of all the allies; and if it were done at all, it must be done at first, without giving the enemy time to take the proper methods to secure the possession of what they had usurped. This was the only part these powers could take to rescue the expiring liberty of Europe, and England wisely came into it, as the only possible way to secure their religion, trade, government; and what is the only lasting security of all the rest, the protestant succession. And this was so far from being a hasty step in England, that it had like to have been delayed too long; for though the King of Spain died the first of November, N. S. 1700, the parliament in being was dissolved, by whose advice I desire this writer to inform us, by which means the king was disabled from giving any assurances of assistance to the Elector of Bavaria, and that determined the latter to throw himself upon France, and betray to them the whole Spanish Netherlands. The new parliament did not meet till February, about ten days after the Netherlands were given up; 'twas almost the end of the session before they advised the king to make alliances; and the end of that year another parliament was called, who approved the advice of the former, and war was not actually proclaimed till May 4, 1702, about two months after the king's death. What now is there in this that can be said to be hasty or precipitate? when did any state deliberate so long in a case of so much danger? what odds was it but the emperor had been beat in Italy, and Holland had been made a province to France? 'twas what all men will allow France might have done, and it was infatuation they did not; but if they had done what they had in their power to do, what had become of our wise and mature deliberations? what then can be more false or impudent than to say, as this author does, "That without offering at any other remedy, without taking time to consider the consequences, or to reflect on our own condition, we hastily engaged in a war that hath cost us sixty millions."

But to proceed; as this our author declares our entrance into the war to be "against all manner of prudence or common reason," so he undertakes to prove that England is not obliged to pursue the ends of it; or rather, that the restitution of Spain is not one of those ends. "The queen's declaration of war," he tells us, "does not take notice of the Duke of Anjou's succession to that monarchy, as a subject of quarrel." This he says p. 22, and p. 16 he gives us a part of this declaration. Now the grand design of this book being to persuade the nation to an ill peace against the consent of their allies, and the sense of justice and honour, which have always governed our parliaments in matters which the dignity of the crown and the reputation of their coun

try are concerned in, being a great obstruction to such pernicious measures, in order to remove the scruples that will arise from hence in honest minds, our author labours this second point extremely, and is at abundance of pains to explain away the sense and meaning of the treaties we are under. An ill peace is what the whole scheme of this author aims at, this is the great point which all his others center in, which he hopes thus to bring about. 1. To go into the grand alliance was wrong in itself. 2. The terms of it don't oblige us to insist upon the restitution of the Spanish monarchy. 3. The allies are a pack of rogues, and if this was stipulated in the articles of the grand alliance, they not having performed their parts, we are not obliged to stand to it. Is not this a noble scheme? Who now can scruple consenting to a separate peace without Spain and the Indies? What difficulty can any one make against giving up such allies? How can we think ourselves bound by what is not expressly mentioned in the articles of our treaties with them? and in a doubtful case how can we be so nice in departing from an alliance, which we ought not at first to have entered into? This is the scheme contrived to break the grand alliance, and I will undertake by the same arguments to undermine the Revolution, which purpose this scheme will with little alteration as well serve, as that for which it is now used. And I doubt not but in a little time this use will be made of it; our author having given us a plain intimation he has it in his thoughts, as soon as he has enabled his friends to carry the first great point of an ill peace. For what else can be the meaning of that scandalous intimation he gives of this, p. 39, That the legislature may have occasion "to change the succession, if the necessities of the nation may require it." Till this author tells us what those necessities can be, and proves the legislature have such a power, I humbly beg leave to tell him, there can be no such necessities, except what his friends shall create by an ill peace; nor have the legislature, I conceive, power to change the succession in the house of Hanover without such necessities, it being made by the Union a fundamental article, which our representatives are chosen to preserve, but have no power to destroy; but I shall have more occasion to speak of this when I come to consider the Barrier-treaty, by which the succession is secured, and which for this reason chiefly I presume our author is so angry at, and makes so many objections against, every one of which I promise to shew is malicious and ridiculously false.

But to return; of the three parts of which this noble scheme consists, I think I have pretty well confounded the first, and shewn it was not wrong for England to go into the grand alliance; but that, on the contrary, it was highly reasonable and absolutely necessary. I come now to shew there is as little sense or reason in what he advances in proof of his second point; but must first observe, that if all his three points were fully proved, they don't prove what they are brought for. For if our treaties don't oblige us to insist on the restitution of Spain and the Indies, and our allies don't deserve it of us, shall we therefore be false to ourselves, because we need not be true to them? Shall we make a peace without Spain and the Indies, in the restitution of which we have ourselves the greatest interest, because the house of Austria have not done so much as we expected, though perhaps they did all they could? Shall we not insist upon a good barrier for the Dutch, or rather shall we oblige them to quit that which they have possession of, because some men are not pleased with them, and therefore take a great deal of pains to make us out of humour with the best ally we ever had or can have, and who, instead of being false to us, have this war outdone themselves, and shewn the most generous concern for the interest of England; but supposing all that this writer says of them were true, shall we expose ourselves to danger for the pleasure of exposing them? Shall not we insist on a good barrier, because we are told they don't deserve of us all we have done towards it? Shall we lay ourselves open to all the consequences of an insecure peace, and, in complaisance to the old inveterate perpetual sworn enemy of our religion and country, sacrifice ourselves

as well as our allies, by receding from the essential points of a good and lasting peace? If this won't follow from our author's propositions, as 'tis certain it will not, all he endeavours to prove, in truth proves nothing as to the main point, which is all is aimed at. For though our honour might be disengaged, our interest is not; the safety of England and Holland especially are inseparably interwoven, and neither can stand long without the other.

Having shewn the reader, in few words, how wide a difference there is between this author's conclusion and his premises, and that though the last were proved, the other would remain to be proved as much as ever, I come now to shew, that the second proposition is absolutely false, and that England is obliged by her treaties to insist on the restitution of the Spanish monarchy, particularly of Spain and the Indies. To prove this, we need only look into the words of the treaties themselves. This is so evident in the treaties with Savoy and Portugal, that there is not so much as a pretence for denying it. And I would be glad to know, why the articles of these treaties are not as obligatory as those of the grand alliance? I am sure there is one reason why they should be more, and that is, that when the grand alliance was made, the allies were in the utmost consternation. The sudden invasion and seizure of the whole Spanish monarchy made the danger that threatened them appear so terrible, that any terms while they were in that fright, which a most unjust usurpation had put them into, seemed tolerable. And therefore their true sense can't be so well judged by what they did then, as when they were come a little to themselves, and a good campaign in Flanders had made them think they were in a better condition to make a stand, than they could hope to be, when the French were under the walls of Nimeguen. This gives a greater validity to the subsequent treaties, than to that of the grand alliance, and the true sense of the allies can be much better seen by them. Besides that, general articles are to be explained by particular ones, and not particular ones by such as are conceived in general terms. And therefore the best way to know what is meant by "an equitable and reasonable satisfaction to the emperor for his pretension to the Spanish monarchy," is to see how the allies have expressed themselves in their other treaties, which treaties can on no pretence be called the contrivance of a faction, having been made in the second year of the war, when all places of trust were in the hands of men most zealously affected to the church, and the parliament perfectly of a-piece with them. So that there can be no room for weakening the force and authority of treaties made before this pretended faction was formed, or so much as thought of, nobody pretended to complain of wrong measures, every body was pleased with the restoration of credit, the successes of the war, and the wise and frugal management of the treasury. It may therefore justly be presumed, that no treaties were better considered, or more prudently entered into by her majesty, than those with Savoy and Portugal, in which the restitution of the Spanish monarchy to King Charles is expressly stipulated. But what puts this matter past all dispute, and undeniably proves that the restitution of the Spanish monarchy, especially of Spain and the Indies, is no new incident, started since the grand alliance, as this author pretends, is the first separate article of the grand alliance in 1689, wherein England and Holland engage, "That in case the King of Spain should die without issue, they will with all their forces assist his sacred imperial majesty, or his heirs, in taking the succession of the Spanish monarchy lawfully belonging to that house." Is this now a new incident, when it appears 'tis what the allies obliged themselves to a dozen years before? is this the work of a late faction, which is plainly as old as the Revolution? And since the restitution of the Spanish monarchy is so expressly articled for in our treaties both before and since the second grand alliance, shall we pretend 'twas not ever intended by the allies, nor within the meaning of the grand alliance, but the contrivance of a faction here to perpetuate the war, because 'tis not in so many words expressed, but only that an equitable and reasonable satisfaction shall be procured

the emperor for his pretension to the Spanish succession? Is it not apparent, that this was always the design of the allies, though it was not at the time of the treaty thought proper to be so expressed? And don't this writer know what the reasons were for their expressing themselves as they did? Had not England and Holland been frighted into an acknowledgement of the Duke of Anjou, though in a very private, obscure, unauthoritative way? And did not the apprehension they were then under make them think it impossible to recover the whole monarchy, though they thought it just and necessary for their own defence? But when people think themselves upon the brink of ruin, they are glad to compound on any terms; and would France have taken them at that advantage, and hearkened to an accommodation, they would, to prevent a war which seemed so hazardous, have given up many points which they had right to insist on, and ought to do, as soon as they felt their ground, and were in a condition to support their just pretences by the sword: 'Twas the particular circumstances of that frightful juncture, and nothing else, that made the allies express themselves in such general words, which they reserved to themselves the power of explaining; and have, both by previous and subsequent treaties, sufficiently shewn their true meaning and intention. If God should bless their arms, 'tis evident they thought the restitution of the whole monarchy ought to be insisted on as the emperor's right, and necessary for their own defence.

It appears then that this resolution against any peace without Spain, which, he says, "is a new incident grafted upon the original quarrel by the intrigues of a faction," is an express article of the first grand alliance; and that I take to be the proper place to look for the grounds of our original quarrel. This new incident is also grafted in the 21st article of the alliance between the emperor, England, Portugal, and Holland; and in the 6th article of her majesty's league with the Duke of Savoy. This new incident has likewise been five times grafted in her majesty's speeches from the throne, or answers to the addresses of parliament. It has been four times grafted in the addresses of the House of Commons; and five times in those of the House of Lords; and by both our parties successively. This new incident was grafted in the preliminary articles concluded by the ministers of the allies with those of the French king in the year 1709; and it was grafted in the resolution of the States in the year 1710, in which the other allies concurred. So that if this new incident, which, her majesty herself says, was the chief inducement of the war, or of this author's original quarrel, has since been grafted upon it by the intrigues of a faction, as he ingeniously observes, her majesty, her parliaments, and her allies, are the faction that have done it. And is not this now a very modest and judicious reasoner, fit to be employed in writing for such a peace? Not to mention that quaint expression of "grafting an incident upon a quarrel," because we must always expect to meet with those tinsel figures, when such men or their masters will be scribbling about politicks; but shall the resolutions of both houses, confirmed by the queen, be called by such writers "the intrigues of a faction?" What will become of our constitution, if the most sacred sanctions of it are to be treated in so insolent a manner? Nay, what will become of the nation itself? Who will treat with us, or trust us? And what a figure shall we make in Europe, if, as often as alterations are made at court, those that come into power shall pervert all that has been done by their predecessors, and cancel the resolutions of her majesty and our parliaments, which have been made by both parties alternately, and in which they themselves have concurred?

To explain away the meaning of all treaties by the help of a few general words in one, which at the same time 'tis so easy to account for, is just as reasonable as the pretence of the Jacobites and their friends to destroy the validity of the Revolution by virtue of a single clause of non-resistance, in the famous act of 12 Ch. II. in contempt of, and in contradiction to, all the laws made before and since in defence of the

rights of the people; as if it were fitter for the whole body of our laws to be explained away by virtue of a few words in a single act made at an extraordinary juncture, than that single clause should be interpreted in a sense agreeable to the spirit of our laws, and the very fundamental of our constitution. The Revolution will run in my thoughts while I am upon this argument, for I can't but fear, that the same faction, that are in so much haste to overturn the grand alliance, mean no less to destroy the Revolution; and whether they do directly mean it or not, there is so close a connection between the two, that the confounding of one, will, in all human probability, draw after it the subversion of the other. But had we no other treaties to explain the general words of the treaty of the grand alliance by, the meaning of the allies is sufficiently plain from the articles of this very treaty; for if they proposed nothing else to themselves but the procuring for the emperor "Milan, Naples, and Sicily, the lands upon the coasts of Tuscany, and the islands in the Mediterranean that belong to the crown of Spain," which is expressly covenanted for in the 5th article, they would always have expressed themselves in that manner, and not made use of those general words, of "an equitable and reasonable satisfaction," under which England and Holland meant Spain and the Indies, which the emperor knew was their concern as much, or rather more, than his; and therefore, if they were for certain reasons content that Spain and the Indies should not be mentioned by name, the emperor was satisfied, as long as those parts were named, in which his own safety was most immediately involved. That the allies intended to explain those words, so as to take in the restitution of the whole monarchy, if they were in condition to insist on it, is plain from hence, and has ever since been so understood; and no longer ago than last year, the author of the Letter to the Examiner so little dreamt of the notions that have been started since, that he freely owns, "That to restore the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria," was one of the wise motives of this war. And the same thing is confessed by the Lords in their representation in February last; and from thence we may be sure 'twas then the sense of the ministry. And to take away all possibility of a pretence, that this was not a wilful and designed corruption, a satisfaction for the emperor, and a security for England and the States, is the language that runs through the whole treaty; and in the article but just before this, we have these words, "For obtaining the satisfaction aforesaid for his imperial majesty, and the aforesaid security for his Britannick majesty and the States." Can we suppose this writer did not read the whole treaty, or not so much as cast his eye upon the article immediately preceding this, which it was so much for his purpose to pervert? No sure, this corruption in so important an article, must be allowed to be a master-piece of cunning, not the work of a vulgar hand, or of a *Swift* pen; and the author with reason thought himself safe from a discovery by the very greatness of the crime, which is such, that a man must be lost to all honesty, before he can be suspected to be guilty of it.

But 'tis time to have done with this argument; I shall now turn myself to my author, and let the world see he is as good at corrupting witnesses, and those not private ones, but the most publick and solemn acts, as he is at imposing weak and false reasons, of which we have three scandalous instances in a very small compass: One in the piece he gives us of the queen's declaration of war, and two others in the translation of one single article of the Grand Alliance, p. 16, he tells us, the queen's declaration is grounded on the Grand Alliance, and then gives this extract of it, that it recites the French king's keeping in possession a great part of the Spanish dominions, seizing Milan, and the Spanish Low-Countries, &c. Now in the declaration between Spanish dominions and seizing Milan, are these very remarkable words, "exercises an absolute authority over all that monarchy, having seized Milan," &c. Were these words, does any body think, left out by chance, or for nothing? No, by no means; 'twas for our author's purpose to affirm, as he does, p. 22, that "the queen's declaration takes no

notice of the Duke of Anjou's succession to that monarchy, as a subject of quarrel." But don't the words I have quoted in effect say the thing, though they forbear the name? They certainly do, and that no doubt was the true reason they were left out. But our author is not content to suppress a very material part of one evidence, but does in the most shameful manner falsify another in two places of the 8th article of the Grand Alliance, p. 68, first in these words: "Nor is peace to be made without having first obtained a just and reasonable satisfaction for his Cæsarean majesty, and for his royal majesty of Great Britain, and a particular security to the lords the States-General, of their dominions, provinces, titles," &c. Now the true translation of the original words is this: "No peace shall be made unless an equitable and seasonable satisfaction for his imperial majesty, and the particular security of the kingdoms, provinces, dominions, &c. for his majesty of Great Britain and the States-General be first obtained;" whence now arises this great difference between the two translations; was it because our author did not understand the original? Why then did he not give us this article as 'tis translated in the general collection of treaties, which was much easier to do, than be at the pains to translate so long an article himself, had it not been to serve a purpose. He would have us believe we had no quarrel with France but his owning the Pretender, p. 16, 22, and other places, which he thinks was a trifling quarrel, and might easily have been made up. "For the French court declared they did not acknowledge the Pretender, but only gave him the title of king, which was allowed Augustus by the King of Sweden;" how much falsehood in so few words! First, what King Augustus was allowed was by treaty: Secondly, he was not allowed to stile himself King of Poland, but king only; and therefore this is not applicable to the case of the Pretender, who was stiled not simply King James, as the other was King Augustus, but his Britannic majesty, and King of Great Britain; for the truth of which I refer to all the Paris gazettes, and other publick papers. 'Tis therefore false to say he had only the title of King, but was not acknowledged; but the author's scheme required he should say this; and to support it, he translates the 8th article in such a manner as to make us think nothing else was meant but that satisfaction should be made the king for this indignity and great affront put on him. But if we let this article speak its true sense, it covenants for the security of his majesty's kingdom, dominions, navigation and commerce, as well as for those of the States-General, the contrary to which this author would fain have thought, both to reflect upon the king, and lessen as much as may be the particular interest England has in the Grand Alliance.

So much for this passage; the other is still more scandalous. A little lower in this article, 'tis covenanted, "particularly that the French may never be in possession of the Spanish West-Indies, and that they may not have the liberty of navigation for conveniency of trade, under any pretence whatsoever, neither directly nor indirectly; except it is agreed, that the subjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full power to use and enjoy all the same privileges as they did use and enjoy at the time of the King of Spain's death." Would not any man think by these words, that the French by this article are no otherwise excluded from trading to the Spanish West-Indies, but on supposition that England and Holland are denied the use and enjoyment of the same privileges they had formerly? And that if they are allowed to use and enjoy those privileges, that then the exclusion of France from that trade is at an end? This and nothing else can be the meaning of these words; and it most admirably suited our author's design, which is to persuade us to suffer the French to have a free trade to the Spanish West-Indies, if they will allow us the same we had before, in direct contradiction to the interest of England, and the plain sense of this article, which ought to be, and in the collection of treaties is, translated thus—— "And particularly that the French shall never get into the possession (or make themselves masters) of

the Spanish-Indies, neither shall they be permitted to sail thither (or send any ships thither) on the account of traffick (or to exercise trade there) directly or indirectly, on any pretence whatsoever;" there ends that clause——Then follows, "And, lastly, (the said peace shall not be concluded) unless full liberty be granted to the subjects of the King of Great Britain and the States-general to exercise and enjoy all the same privileges, &c. as they did use and enjoy at the King of Spain's death." Thus we see it is an express and full exclusion of the French from the Spanish trade in the Indies upon any pretence whatsoever. And a peace made on other terms will be made in violation of a very material article, which this writer has the impudence to falsify to that degree, as to make it speak contrary to its true meaning, to cover designs they dare not own.

But this article, he says, was quoted to put the matter out of dispute: And so indeed it does: For if there were no other article in all our alliances, we are bound not to give Spain and the Indies to the house of Bourbon by this very article which he has produced to justify it. The article says, "No peace is to be made without a security that France and Spain shall never be united:" But if the house of Bourbon has both, what possible security can be given that they shall never be united? Is it impossible for the Dauphin, or the Duke of Anjou, to die without children? And what then can hinder those kingdoms from being united under one prince, as they already are under one management? Shall we depend upon a new renunciation made by any of the descendants in a right line from Lewis XIV.? I should be glad to see any of the friends of France propose to us for security a French renunciation. This is, I believe, one of those few things which they will not have the confidence to do.

But the article says further, as I have already shewn, that no peace shall be made till "we have security that the French shall never be in possession of the Spanish West Indies:" And I would fain know how we shall be secured of this, if Spain be given to the house of Bourbon. Are not the French at this time in possession of the Spanish West-Indies? Have they not settlements there in Lima and other places? Or have they promised our negotiators of peace, that for their sakes they will quit those settlements? If they have not done this, and will not be as good as their word, then, I say, we cannot make peace with them upon the terms proposed, if there were no article against it but this, which is here judiciously referred to: We neither have, nor ever can have, a sufficient provision that France and Spain shall never be united. And we are so far from being assured that the French shall never be in possession of the Spanish West-Indies, that we know they are possessed of good part of them already, and have more granted to them by a treaty with the Duke of Anjou and his grandfather; so that I might venture to put the whole issue of the dispute between this worthy author and his opponents upon the construction of this single article, which he has obliged the world with a translation of: Such an admirable reasoner he is upon matters of fact! Nay, allowing all he contends for, that the allies demand no more for the emperor and Great Britain than a just and reasonable satisfaction, I would even in this case ask the reader, whether it is any more than a just and reasonable satisfaction for the emperor, that he should have those dominions, which the King of France has solemnly renounced for himself and his descendants, and which the house of Austria has an undoubted right to? Is it any more than a reasonable satisfaction for Great Britain, that France, which has so lately broken two treaties with us, that of Ryswick, and that of the Partition, should never be trusted again without effectual security, nor left in a condition to bring hither the Pretender? And can there be a sufficient security to the States-General, or to any other state in Christendom, for their dominions, when the exorbitant power of France shall be strengthened by the riches of the Indies? What! after this, will the French give, that whenever they please they cannot take away, and what will they leave that they can? How often must one

repeat, that the King of France governs his grandson, which, if he lives but three years more, will be enough to do our business? And that in the meantime he has treaties for ports, for forts, for settlements, and for trade, which are already executed? What therefore do these peace-makers mean by telling us of a reasonable satisfaction, or a sufficient security, without Spain and the Indies? These arguments are so noisy and yet so empty; so weak, and yet so sufficient; so florid, and yet so senseless, that God forbid the chief director of the work should be trusted alone with any cunning Frenchman, though his intentions were never so zealous for the interest and safety of his own country. Thus has this useful author explained an article in one treaty; and I doubt not but we shall find him acting with the same sincerity in the account he gives of other treaties, when we come to look into them: But that I have not now time for.

Having sufficiently discovered the wicked design of this vile book, and pointed at general solutions of almost all the fallacies 'tis filled with, and given such ample proof of the writer's integrity and honesty, which has swelled these papers much beyond my expectation, I shall conclude with desiring all honest and impartial men not to believe, upon this infamous author's bare word, that we are under any real necessity of concluding, against the consent of our allies, and in breach of so many treaties, a most just, necessary, and successful war, by a scandalous and insecure peace.

John Bull's Last Will and Testament, as it was drawn by a Welch Attorney: With a Preface to the Archbishop of Canterbury. By an eminent Lawyer of the Temple.

Hæc uti his tabulis, cerisve scripta sunt, ita do, ita lego, ita testor, itaque vos Quirites testimonium præbitote.
ROSINI, Antiq. Rom. Lib. 8, Cap. 8.

Dr Arbuthnot's humorous work, entitled, "Law is a Bottomless Pitt, or the History of John Bull," is here tagged with a dull and stupid imitation by some Whig scribbler, who endeavours to turn the doctor's allegory against the Tories.

A Preface to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. By an eminent Lawyer of the Temple.

May it please your Grace,

My Lord Coke, in the fourth part of his Institutes of the Laws of England, tells us, that "the prerogative court of the Archbishop of Canterbury is the court wherein all testaments are proved, and all administrations granted; where the party dying within his province hath *bona notabilia* in some other diocese than where he dieth, &c."

This then being premised, it is to be hoped that your grace will not think me impertinent in this my present application to your grace; for to whom could I so properly address a thing of this nature? To whom could I more naturally apply to in my

discourse about a will, than to him who is the head of that court which must give the sanction to it?

Pardon me, my lord, for this trouble, which I had never given your grace, had not this case been the most extraordinary that has yet been heard of (I may venture to say) even in Christendom.

I know not whether your grace was ever acquainted with the person whose will I here offer to your grace's consideration; though indeed I have some reason to think that your grace heretofore might have known him, as being the most famous clothier, and greatest trader in Europe, and the most remarkable man in the kingdom of Great-Britain; remarkable, my lord, both in his senses, and out of his senses too, the latter of which your grace will soon perceive by this his extravagant last will and testament.

I must confess, my lord, for my own part, that no man within the four seas had greater respect and love for John Bull, whose will this is, than myself; no man would have gone farther to have served him; no man admired his perfections more:—But this his last will has astonished me, my lord, and filled me with nothing but ideas of madness and ruin; madness of the defunct devisor, and ruin of his poor children.—In whose behalf, my lord, as I am always pitiful to the unfortunate, so I now unfee'd address your grace; and with so much the more assurance, as I well know your grace's readiness in assisting and relieving the distressed. On which account I beg your grace's patience, while I offer a few reasons why this ruinous will of my friend John Bull should not stand valid.

By an act of 34, 35 Henry VIII. cap. 5. it is enacted, That "Wills made of any manors, &c. by any woman covert, or person under twenty-one years of age, idiot, or by any person, *non de sane memory*, shall not be taken to be good and effectual in law."

Now I grant that John Bull cannot come under the two first predicaments, that is to say, we cannot call him by the title of *feme-covert*; neither can we tax him with nonage; neither will we charge him with idiocy, as having heretofore done things both noble and rational:—But, my lord, if we plainly shew, that this said John Bull was *non de sane memory*, at and before the making this will, then I think our argument proving the invalidity of John Bull's will must stand good.

I shall not pretend to find fault with the will itself; no, not so much as that paragraph, which gives his estate to the church; because the statute of *Mortmain* has been very lately and very wisely repealed.

And therefore as a will, be it ever so well and accurately drawn, yet if the testator be not *de sane memory*, the will can never be valid; so, in order to annul this will, we shall attempt to prove, that this John Bull for several months before his death was *non compos mentis*, or *non de sane memory*.

To prove which we shall shew your grace, what were John's sentiments, and what were his daily declarations, some time before he fell into this frenzy, or into this his mad alteration of opinion, which produced this amazing will.

First, He has been often heard to declare, that the interest of his children was what lay nearest at his heart.

Secondly, That his chiefest care was to promote his family, and to secure his trade to his children.

Thirdly, That he abominated popery; and that he would disinherit any of his children who should be of that religion; often calling her holiness Signiora Bubonia, the Scarlet Whore of Babylon, Antichrist, Idolater, and what not.

Fourthly, That he loved his neighbour South as his own child; and that he would spend the last penny of his money to serve him.

Fifthly, That the neighbour corporation of Frog-Town were always his best friends, and that he would never be otherwise than a firm friend to them.

Sixthly, That his neighbour Lewis Baboon, vintner, was the vilest of mortals, the most perjured, faithless, tricking fellow in the universe; that he was the pest of the country; that if his estate, which was too exorbitant already, should be any larger, it would be impossible to live by him.

All this, my lord, and much more, can we prove beyond all contradiction. But, my lord, view his will, and there your grace will find, that instead of loving his children, caring for his trade, his religion, or his neighbours, he has left his *all* from them, to de disposed of by Lewis Baboon, the only enemy he had in the world.

This unaccountable turn and alteration of opinion, all his life-time he never offered to give a reason for; and all that we are able to say in that case, even on his behalf, will only aggravate his distraction and insanity: For what mortal will not conclude him mad, that hears the story of his conversion, (as he himself was pleased to term it) which, in short, is this?

Some time ago, John Bull went to his parish church, where his parson[1] got up in the pulpit, and instead of preaching the word of God, and the way to heaven, he fell into a foul Billingsgate rant, calling poor John a thousand hard names; such as, bloodthirsty villain, false-hearted, insidious, wretched, empty, hypocritical, sophister; impudent, boasting pretender; schismatical impostor; a treacherous, false-hearted knave; an obstinate, moody, wayward, and self-conceited hypocrite and enthusiast; with an infinite number of vile appellations, much more becoming the mouth of a dray-man, or oyster-wench, than a divine: Telling him too, at the same time, that he was a slave, and should be damned if he offered to save his own goods, or his life; nay, he should be damned if it was for the saving his own soul. This, my lord, angered John much, so that the next day, in his wrath, he gets him some nails and a hammer, and nails up the pulpit door.—This every one thought was but a moderate revenge for so high an affront.—But now, my lord, behold how unaccountably and fantastically John Bull changed his opinion;—no sooner had he nailed up the parson's pulpit fast, but he fell to kissing the parson's posteriors in the most amorous manner imaginable, kneeling down and adoring him, and crying out that he was a slave to all intents and purposes; and that he would "never quarrel or fight on any pretence whatsoever:" Nay, "my dearest doctor," would he often say, "to prove how willing I am to endure any thing, I will fight every fellow I meet, and he that says I am not passive, I'll knock his brains out." Then would he go and break folks windows, pull their houses down, drag every one he met in the kennel, calling them quarrelsome rascals, mutinous dogs, and breakers of her majesty's peace; rogues that would not let him pass the streets in quiet.—But, not to tire your grace with a long detail of John Bull's mad pranks, I will only add this.—That in about three years after he was thus first taken ill in his *cranium*, John Bull, by the persuasion of a knavish steward, which he kept in his house, makes this will that I here present to your grace: This steward's name, my lord, was Roger Bold;[2] he was originally a Welch attorney, a fellow always used to the knavish and tricking part of the law, accustomed continually to take fees on both sides; and as he was a wicked and treacherous fellow, so he commonly favoured and undertook the unjust side of the cause. This man, as he had persuaded his master to make a will, so he took care to draw it himself, which he has done in so flagrant a manner, that I doubt not, but when your grace has perused it, you will be of the same opinion with me, that this pettifogger was very roundly feed for it by Lewis Baboon, whom, in the very literal meaning of the Roman appellation of a person left heir *in testamento per æs et libram*, we may justly term (in this case) *Familiæ Emptor.*

[1] Sacheverell. [2] Robert Harley, so called in the History of John Bull.

To conclude; no sooner was this mad, this scandalous will drawn, but John Bull sent his chaplain, with some other of his servants, to market to buy hemp; which they did, and knowing pretty well their master's intentions, bought it ready manufactured. This hemp, my lord, grew on Lewis Baboon's estate; and some say, therefore, that it was given by the said Lewis; but, be that as it will, no sooner did the load of hemp come home, but John Bull singled out a strong rope, and by the help of his trusty and faithful servants, (if I may use the expression) fairly hanged himself, having first pinned this verse of Thomas Sternhold's on his breast.

Psalm iv. Verse 9.

In peace therefore lie down will I,
Taking my rest and sleep;
For thou only will me, O Lord,
Alone in safety keep.

My lord, this story is so notorious, that it would be bringing of witnesses to prove that the sun shines, should I endeavour to add evidence for the truth of it; therefore I will not attempt a thing so ridiculous, lest I myself, while I am taxing another with madness, should incur the same censure.

And now, my lord, I leave it to your grace's judgment, whether there needs farther proof of John Bull's insanity or no: To me (with vast deference to your grace's penetration be it spoken) it plainly appears, that this testator, John Bull, was wholly incapable by the act of Hen. VIII. (as is before shewed) to devise by will.

On which score we hope this mad, this illegal testament may never be proved in your grace's court; nor administration granted, to the great detriment of John Bull's distressed children. In whose name I am to render your grace infinite and hearty thanks for the many blessings they have already obtained through your grace's means.

And may your grace enjoy yet a much longer term of years, with the greatest addition of happiness,

That thereby your grace may have not only the pleasure of doing farther good, but likewise the satisfaction of receiving the grateful acknowledgments of your goodness from all those who are really lovers of their religion and country;

That thereby the church and nation may yet reap the benefit of having so great a patriot;

That thereby the hopes of a worthless gaping crew may be entirely defeated,

Is the hearty prayer of your grace's
Most humble admirer,
PHILONOMUS ELEUTHERUS.

John Bull's Last Will and Testament, as it was drawn by a Welch Attorney.

In the Name of Peace. Amen.

Imprimis, I John Bull, having been lately in my senses, as it plainly appears in my history, set forth to that purpose by an able hand, do in this my last will and testament, give and bequeath my life and spirit to Jacobitism and Infatuation.

Item, My body to be buried in the church-yard of Slavery.

Item, To my very good neighbour Lewis Baboon, whom I declare to be my sole executor, all my goods and chattels.

Item, I give my three farms to him and his heirs for ever, to be managed and dis-

posed of by him the said Lewis Baboon, as he shall think fit, without impeachment of waste; yet notwithstanding which, it is my positive will, that the said Lewis Baboon shall let my three farms to my pretended kinsman,[1] Don Chevalero L'Abjurado, he paying what rent the said Lewis shall demand.

Item, I bequeath to him the said Lewis Baboon, and his heirs for ever, my neighbour Charles South's estate; and on my credit it is but just and reasonable he should have it, otherwise he would not be so rich and so great as his neighbours.

Item, I leave entirely my shop and trade to my executor Lewis Baboon, together with all my tools, still giving a free liberty to my children to carry on my cloathing trade if they can without them.

Item, To my dear children I leave a safe trade to *Terra Australis Incognita*,[2] whither they may export the cloth they make.

Item, To my dear children, in order to support their trade, I give an empty purse.—I order my steward, Roger Bold, to see this *item* performed, and for his pains I give him what little money is left in it.

Item, For a farther encouragement to this their said trade, I ordain in my will, that Lewis Baboon shall hold the strings of the said purse, so that they may not hoard up money in it without the said Lewis Baboon's leave.

Item, I give full permission to my children to sell what wool they will to Lewis Baboon, for fear they cannot manufacture it themselves.—This likewise will be a good expedient to keep their rascally weavers from being too proud.

Item, I leave to my said children a great chest full of broken promises and cracked oaths; likewise a vast cargo of ropes made with sand, and chains forged out of true *Southern* wind; also a whole side-board of golden promises, and leaden performances; which were all presents made to me by my friend Lewis Baboon.

Item, I give to each of my children a dainty pair of crutches, nicely cut out of a wind-shaken piece of timber called *Bona fide*;—these they may safely rely on in time of need.

Item, To my dearly beloved children I bequeath a ship-load of wooden shoes, to be given them by my executor Lewis Baboon.

Item. To all my protestant friends I leave each a bench to sit on, in my executor Lewis Baboon's pleasure boats.

Item, To my good neighbour Nicholas Frog, mayor of Frog-Town, and to all his brethren the aldermen, I bequeath and devise each a chain, to be provided at the charge of Lewis Baboon.

Item, My protestant nephew I leave to the good-will and courtesy of Lewis Baboon.

Item, To my dearly beloved wife,—Ah, poor woman! I bequeath to her a pair of spectacles.

Item, To all those who depended on my friendship, I devise caps and bells.

Item, My religion I bequeath to her holiness Signiora Bubonia, who shall have power to amend, alter, and add to it, as she shall in her great wisdom think fit.

Item, To holy Mother Church, I give and devise all my abbey lands, which have been so long and sacrilegiously detained by me from her.

Item, My senses and my understanng I give to the reverend the parson of our a rish, who is herewithal desired to lock them up safe in the vestry.

Item, My conscience I likewise give to him the said parson of our parish, ready saddled and bridled; pray, doctor, use the beast gently.

Lastly, To five hundred and odd of my acquaintance, whose names may be found

[1] The Chevalier St George. [2] The South-Sea scheme.

recorded in my shop-book, I bequeath a large bundle of rods, which rods, according to the saying of the wise-man, I would have well applied.

JOHN BULL.

Signed in the presence of
Matthew Pint-pot.
Arthur Skipkennel.
Abigail Earwig,
Her ✓ mark.

The Codicil annexed to the Will of JohnBull, &c.

I John Bull, clothier, being willing to die in peace, and with a quiet conscience, cannot but think it highly reasonable, that those from whom I have received signal services should be by me as signally rewarded.—To this end, and that the odious charge of ingratitude may not be laid on my memory, I give and devise as follows:

Imprimis, To my true and trusty servants, as rewards for their great care in getting me hemp to hang myself, they being most of them originally beggars, I give horses to ride on, and stalls to put them in.

Item, My honest steward Roger Bold, for the many bold strokes he has struck, and for his great trouble in drawing this my will, I leave immediate trustee for my children, with whose money he has hereby authority to pay his own debts, and likewise to apply as much of the rest as he pleases to his own proper use.

Item, To my learned and able council who gave their opinions on this my last will, I leave them their fees to be paid by Lewis Baboon.

Item, To all, or any servant or servants, who have or may have done me any extraordinary piece of service, either by losing goods, limbs, life, or freedom, I give and bequeath a single copy of my countenance.

Item, To my head workman John Victor,[1] for his malicious endeavour to persuade me not to make this will; and likewise for his felonious and treacherous attempt to save me from hanging, I devise his pockets full of calumny, malice, and ingratitude, with leave to march quietly out of my house;—but on this condition,—that he never comes in it again.

JOHN BULL.

Signed in the presence of
Matthew Pint-pot.[2]
Henry Town-bull.[3]
Abigail Earwig,[4]
Her ✓ mark.

[1] Duke of Marlborough.
[2] Matthew Prior the poet, whose uncle was a vintner.
[3] Henry St John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke.
[4] Mrs Masham, the successor of the Duchess of Marlborough in Queen Anne's favour.

The humble Representation of the House of Commons to the Queen, with her Majesty's most Gracious Answer thereunto. By the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Hanmer. Printed in the Year 1712.

The following account of the purpose of this celebrated representation is given by Dean Swift, who had a considerable hand in drawing it up:

"The house seemed to have nothing more at heart than a strict enquiry into the state of the nation, with respect to foreign alliances. Some discourses had been published in print, about the beginning of the session, boldly complaining of several articles in the Barrier-Treaty, concluded about three years since by the Lord Viscount Townshend, between Great Britain and the States-General; and shewing, in particular, the unequal conduct of the powers in our alliance, in furnishing their quotas and supplies. It was asserted by the same writers, 'That these hardships put upon England, had been countenanced and encouraged by a party here at home, in order to preserve their power, which could be no otherwise maintained than by continuing the war, as well as by her majesty's general abroad, upon account of his own peculiar interests and grandeur.' These loud accusations spreading themselves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had sufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and by putting arguments into every body's mouth, had filled the town and country with controversies, both in writing and discourse. The point appeared to be of great consequence, whether the war continued or not; for, in the former case, it was necessary that the allies should be brought to a more equal regulation; and that the States in particular, for whom her majesty had done such great things, should explain and correct those articles in the Barrier-Treaty, which were prejudicial to Britain; and in either case, it was fit the people should have at least the satisfaction of knowing by whose counsels, and for what designs, they had been so hardly treated.

"In order to this great enquiry, the Barrier-Treaty, with all the other treaties and agreements entered into between her majesty and her allies, during the present war, for raising and augmenting the proportions for the service thereof, were, by the queen's directions, laid before the house.

"Several resolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the allies in furnishing their quotas, upon the state of the war; by all which it appeared, 'That whatever had been charged, by public discourses in print, against the late ministry, and the conduct of the allies, was much less than the truth.' Upon these resolutions, (by one of which the Lord Viscount Townshend, who negociated and signed the Barrier-Treaty, was declared an enemy to the queen and kingdom) and upon some farther directions to the committee, a representation was formed; and soon after the Commons, in a body, presented it to the queen, the endeavours of the adverse party not prevailing to have it recommitted. This representation (supposed to be the work of Sir Thomas Hanmer's pen) is written with much energy and spirit, and will be a very useful authentic record, for the assistance of those who at any time shall undertake to write the history of the present times."

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, having nothing so much at heart as to enable your majesty to bring this long and expensive war to an honourable and happy conclusion, have taken it into our most serious consideration, how the necessary supplies to be provided by us may be best applied, and how the common cause may in the most effectual

manner be carried on by the united force of the whole confederacy. We have thought ourselves obliged in duty to your majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us, to enquire into the true state of the war in all its parts; we have examined what stipulations have been entered into between your majesty and your allies, and how far such engagements have on each side been made good; we have considered the different interests the confederates have in the success of this war, and the different shares they have contributed to its support; we have with our utmost care and diligence endeavoured to discover the nature, extent, and charge of it, to the end that by comparing the weight thereof with our own strength, we might adapt the one to the other in such measure, as not to continue your majesty's subjects under a heavier burden than in reason and justice they ought to bear, nor deceive your majesty, your allies, and ourselves, by undertaking more than the nation in its present circumstance is able to perform.

Your majesty has been graciously pleased, upon our humble applications, to order such materials to be laid before us, as have furnished us with the necessary information upon the particulars we have enquired into; and when we shall have laid before your majesty our observations and humble advice upon this subject, we promise to ourselves this happy fruit from it, that if your majesty's generous and good purposes for the procuring a safe and lasting peace should, through the obstinacy of the enemy, or by any other means, be unhappily defeated, a true knowledge and understanding of the past conduct of the war, will be the best foundation for a more frugal and equal management of it for the time to come.

In order to take the more perfect view of what we proposed, and that we might be able to set the whole before your majesty in a true light, we have thought it necessary to go back to the beginning of the war, and beg leave to observe the motives and reasons upon which his late majesty King William first engaged in it. The treaty of the Grand Alliance explains those reasons to be for supporting the pretensions of his imperial majesty, then actually engaged in a war with the French king, who had usurped the entire Spanish monarchy for his grandson the Duke of Anjou: And for the assisting the States-General, who, by the loss of their barrier against France, were then in the same or a more dangerous condition, than if they were actually invaded. As these were the just and necessary motives for undertaking this war, so the ends proposed to be obtained by it were equally wise and honourable: For as they are set forth in the eighth article of the same treaty, they appear to have been, the procuring an equitable and reasonable satisfaction to his imperial majesty, and sufficient securities for the dominions, provinces, navigation, and commerce of the king of Great Britain and the States-General; the making effectual provision that the two kingdoms of France and Spain should never be united under the same government, and particularly, that the French should never get into the possession of the Spanish West-Indies, or be permitted to sail thither upon the account of traffick, under any pretence whatsoever; and, lastly, the securing to the subjects of the king of Great-Britain and the States-General, all the same privileges and rights of commerce throughout the whole dominions of Spain, as they enjoyed before the death of Charles the Second King of Spain, by virtue of any treaty, agreement, custom, or any other way whatsoever. For the obtaining these ends, the three confederated powers engaged to assist one another with their whole force, according to such proportions as should be specified in a particular convention afterwards to be made for that purpose: We do not find that any such convention was ever ratified; but it appears, that there was an agreement concluded, which by common consent was understood to be binding upon each party respectively, and according to which the proportions of Great Britain were from the beginning regulated and founded: The terms of that agreement were, that for the service at land, his imperial majesty should furnish 90,000 men, the King of Great Britain 40,000, and

the States-General 100,000, of which th[illegible]0,000 intended to supply their garrisons, and 60,000 to act against the co[illegible]nemy in the field; and with regard to the operations of the war at sea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by Great Britain and the States-General; the quota of ships to be furnished for that service being five-eighths on the part of Great Britain, and three-eighths on the part of the States-General.

Upon this foot the war began in the year 1702, at which time the whole yearly expence of it to England amounted to 3,706,494 pounds; a very great charge, as it was then thought by your majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed from the burden of the former war; but yet a very moderate computation in comparison with the load which hath since been laid upon them; for it appears, by estimates given in to your Commons, that the sums necessary to carry on the service for this present year, in the same manner as it was performed the last year, amount to more than 6,690,000 pounds, besides the interest of the public debt, and the deficiencies accruing the last year; which two articles require 1,143,000 pounds more: So that the whole demands upon your Commons, are risen to more than 8,000,000*l.* for the present annual supply. We know your majesty's tender regard for the welfare of your people will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a pressure as this upon them; and as we are fully convinced of the necessity of our present enquiry, so we beg leave to represent to you from what causes, and by what steps, this immense charge appears to have grown upon us.

The service at sea, as it hath been very large and extensive in itself, so it hath been carried on through the whole course of the war, in a manner highly disadvantageous to your majesty and your kingdom; for the necessity of affairs requiring, that great fleets should be fitted out every year, as well for the maintaining a superiority in the Mediterranean, as for opposing any force which the enemy might prepare, either at Dunkirk, or in the ports of West-France, your majesty's example and readiness in fitting out your proportion of ships for all parts of that service, have been so far from prevailing with the States-General to keep pace with you, that they have been deficient every year to a great degree, in proportion to what your majesty hath furnished, sometimes two-thirds, and generally more than half their quota. From hence your majesty has been obliged, for the preventing disappointments in the most pressing services, to supply those deficiencies by additional reinforcements of your own ships; nor hath the single increase of such a charge been the only ill consequence that attended it; for by this means the debt of the navy has been enhanced, so that the discounts arising on the credit of it, have affected all other parts of the service; from the same cause, your majesty's ships of war have been forced in greater numbers to continue in remote seas, and at unreasonable times of the year, to the great damage and decay of the British navy: This also hath been the occasion, that your majesty hath been streightened in your convoys for trade, your coasts have been exposed for want of a sufficient number of cruisers to guard them, and you have been disabled from annoying the enemy in their most beneficial commerce with the West Indies, from whence they receive those vast supplies of treasure, without which they could not have supported the expences of this war.

That part of the war which hath been carried on in Flanders, was at first immediately necessary to the security of the States-General, and hath since brought them great acquisitions both of revenue and dominion: Yet, even there, the original proportions have been departed from, and, during the course of the war, have been sinking by degrees on the part of Holland; so that, in this last year, we find the number in which they fell short of their three-fifths to your majesty's two-fifths, to have been 20,837 men. We are not unmindful, that in the year 1703, a treaty was made between the two nations, for a joint augmentation of 20,000 men, wherein the proportions were

varied, and England consented to take half u[illegible] itself: But it having been annexed, as an express condition to the grant of the sa[illegible]entation in parliament, that the States-General should prohibit all trade and com[illegible]ith France; and that condition having not been performed by them, the Con[illegible] think it reasonable, that the first rule of three to two ought to have taken place again, as well in that as in other subsequent augmentations; more especially when they consider, that the revenues of those rich provinces which have been conquered, would, if they were duly applied, maintain a great number of new additional forces against the common enemy, yet, notwithstanding which, the States-General have raised none on that account, but make use of those fresh supplies of money only to ease themselves in the charge of their first established quota.

As in the progress of the war in Flanders, a disproportion was soon created, to the prejudice of England, so the very beginning of the war in Portugal brought an unequal share of burden upon us. For, although the emperor and the States-General were equally parties with your majesty in the treaty with the King of Portugal, yet the emperor neither furnishing his third part of the troops and subsidies stipulated for, nor the Dutch consenting to take an equal share of his imperial majesty's defect upon themselves, your majesty hath been obliged to furnish two-thirds of the entire expence created by that service. Nor has the inequality stopped there; for ever since the year 1706, when the English and Dutch forces marched out of Portugal into Castile, the States-General have entirely abandoned the war in Portugal, and left your majesty to prosecute it singly at your own charge, which you have accordingly done, by replacing a greater number of troops there, than even at first you took upon you to provide. At the same time, your majesty's generous endeavours for the support and defence of the King of Portugal, have been but ill seconded by that prince himself; for notwithstanding that by his treaty he had obliged himself to furnish 12,000 foot, and 3000 horse, upon his own account, besides 11,000 foot, and 2000 horse more, in consideration of a subsidy paid to him, yet, according to the best information your Commons can procure, it appears, that he hath scarce at any time furnished 13,000 men in the whole.

In Spain the war hath been yet more unequal and burdensome to your majesty, than in any other branch of it; for, being commenced without any treaty whatsoever, the allies have almost wholly declined taking any part of it upon themselves. A small body of English and Dutch troops were sent thither in the year 1705, not as being thought sufficient to support a regular war, or to make the conquest of so large a country, but with a view only of assisting the Spaniards to set King Charles upon the throne, occasioned by the great assurances which were given of their inclinations to the house of Austria: But this expectation failing, England was insensibly drawn into an established war, under all the disadvantages of the distance of the place, and the feeble efforts of the other allies. The account we have to lay before your majesty, upon this head, is, That although this undertaking was entered upon at the particular and earnest request of the imperial court, and for a cause of no less importance and concern to them, than the reducing the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, yet neither the late emperors, nor his present imperial majesty, have ever had any forces there on their own account, till the last year, and then only one regiment of foot, consisting of 2000 men. Though the States-General have contributed something more to this service, yet their share also hath been inconsiderable; for in the space of four years, from 1704 to 1707, both inclusive, all the forces they have sent into that country have not exceeded 12,000 men; and from the year 1708 to this time, they have not sent any forces or recruits whatsoever. To your majesty's care and charge the recovery of that kingdom hath been in a manner wholly left, as if none else were interested or concerned in it: And the forces which your majesty hath sent into Spain, in the space of seven years, from 1705 to 1711, both inclusive, have amounted to no

less than 57,973 men, besides thirteen battalions and eighteen squadrons, for which your majesty hath paid a subsidy to t[illegible]ror. How great the established expence of such a number of men hath been, y[illegible]esty very well knows, and your Commons very sensibly feel: But the weight wi[illegible]found much greater, when it is considered how many heavy articles of unusual and extraordinary charge have attended this remote and difficult service; all which have been entirely defrayed by your majesty, except that one of transporting the few forces which were sent by the States-General, and victualling of them, during their transportation only. The accounts delivered to your Commons shew, That the charge of your majesty's ships and vessels employed in the service of the war in Spain and Portugal, reckoned after the rate of four pounds a man per month, from the time they sailed from hence till they returned, were lost, or put upon other services, hath amounted to 6,540,966*l.* 14*s.* The charge of transports, on the part of Great Britain, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal from the beginning of it till this time hath amounted to 1,336,719*l.* 19*s.* 11*d*; that of victualling land forces for the same service, to 583,770*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* and that of contingencies, and other extraordinaries for the same service, to 1,840,353*l.*

We should take notice to your majesty of several sums paid upon account of contingencies and extraordinaries in Flanders, making together the sum of 1,107,096*l.* But we are not able to make any comparison of them, with what the States-General have expended upon the same head, having no such state of their extraordinary charge before us. There remains, therefore, but one particular more for your majesty's observations which arises from the subsidies paid to foreign princes: These, at the beginning of the war, were borne in equal proportion by your majesty and the States-General; but in this instance also the balance hath been cast in prejudice of your majesty and the States-General: For it appears, that your majesty hath since advanced more than your equal proportion, 3,155,000 crowns, besides extraordinaries paid in Italy, and not included in any of the foregoing articles, which arise to 539,000,553*l.*

We have laid these several particulars before your majesty in the shortest manner we have been able; and by an estimate grounded on the preceding facts, it does appear, that over and above the quotas on the part of Great Britain, answering to those contributed by your allies, more than 19,000,000*l.* have been expended by your majesty during the course of this war, by way of surplusage or exceeding, in balance of which, none of the confederates have furnished any thing whatsoever.

It is with very great concern, that we find so much occasion given us to represent, how ill an use hath been made of your majesty's and your subjects' zeal for the common cause, that the interest of that cause hath not been proportionably promoted by it, but others only hath been eased at your majesty's and your subjects' cost, and have been connived at in laying their part of the burden upon this kingdom, although they have upon all accounts been equally, and in most respects, much more nearly concerned than Britain, in the issue of the war. We are persuaded your majesty will think it pardonable in us, with some resentment to complain of the little regard which some of those, whom your majesty of late years entrusted, have shewn to the interests of their country, in giving way, at least, to such unreasonable impositions upon it, if not in some measure contriving them: The course of which impositions hath been so singular and extraordinary, that the more the wealth of this nation hath been exhausted, and the more your majesty's arms have been attended with success, the heavier hath been the burden laid upon us; whilst, on the other hand, the more vigorous your majesty's efforts have been, and the greater the advantages which have redounded thence to your allies, the more those allies have abated in their share of the expence.

At the first entrance into this war, the Commons were induced to exert themselves in the most extraordinary manner they did, and to grant such large supplies as had been unknown to former ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the mischiefs of a linger-

ing war, and to bring that, in which they were necessarily engaged, to a speedy conclusion: But they have been very unhappy in the event, whilst they have so much reason to suspect, that what was intended to shorten the war, hath proved the very cause of its long continuance; for those to whom the profits of it have accrued, have not been disposed easily to forego them; and your majesty will from thence discern the true reason, why so many have delighted in a war, which brought in so rich an harvest yearly from Great Britain.

We are as far from desiring, as we know your majesty will be from concluding, any peace, but upon safe and honourable terms; and we are as far from intending to excuse ourselves from raising all necessary and possible supplies for an effectual prosecution of the war, till such peace can be obtained. All that your faithful Commons aim at, all that they wish, is, an equal concurrence from the other powers engaged in alliance with your majesty, and a just application of what hath been already gained from the enemy towards promoting the common-cause. Such large countries and territories have been restored to the house of Austria; such as the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and other places in Italy: Others have been conquered, and added to their dominions, as the two electorates of Bavaria and Cologne, the duchy of Mantua, and the bishoprick of Liege: These having been reduced in great measure by our blood and treasure, may, we humbly conceive, with great reason be claimed to come in aid towards carrying on the war in Spain; and therefore we make it our earnest request to your majesty, that you will give instructions to your ministers to insist with the emperor, that the revenues of those several places, excepting only such a portion thereof as is necessary for their defence, be actually so applied. And as to the other parts of the war, to which your majesty hath obliged yourself by particular treaties to contribute, we humbly beseech your majesty, that you will be pleased to take effectual care that your allies do perform their parts stipulated by those treaties; and that your majesty will, for the future, no otherwise furnish troops or pay subsidies, than in proportion to what your allies shall actually furnish and pay. When this justice is done to your majesty, and to your people, there is nothing which your Commons will not chearfully grant, towards supporting your majesty in the cause in which you are engaged. And whatever farther shall appear to be necessary for carrying on the war, either at sea or land, we will effectually enable your majesty to bear your reasonable share of any such expence, and will spare no supplies which your subjects are able, with their utmost efforts, to afford.

After having enquired into, and considered the state of the war, in which the part your majesty has borne appears to have been not only superior to that of any one ally, but even equal to that of the whole confederacy, your Commons naturally inclined to hope, that they should find care had been taken of securing some particular advantages to Britain, in the terms of a future peace, such as might afford a prospect of making the nation amends in time for that immense treasure which hath been expended, and those heavy debts which have been contracted, in the course of so long and burdensome a war. This reasonable expectation could no way have been better answered, than by some provision made for the farther security and the greater improvement of the commerce of Great Britain: But we find ourselves so very far disappointed in these hopes, that in a treaty not long since concluded between your majesty and the States-General, under colour of a mutual guarantee given for two points of the greatest importance to both nations, the Succession and the Barrier, it appears, the interest of Great Britain hath been not only neglected, but sacrificed; and that several articles in the said treaty are destructive to the trade and welfare of this kingdom.

Your Commons observe, in the first place, that several towns and places are, by virtue of this treaty, to be put into the hands of the States-General; particularly Newport, Dendermond, and the castle of Ghent; which can, in no sense, be looked upon as

part of a barrier against France; but being the keys of the Netherlands towards Britain, must make the trade of your majesty's subjects in those parts precarious; and whenever the States think fit, totally exclude them from it. The pretended necessity of putting these places into the hands of the States-General, in order to secure to them a communication with their barrier, must appear vain and groundless: For the sovereignty of the Low-Countries being not to remain to an enemy, but to a friend and ally, that communication must be always secure and uninterrupted: Besides, that in case of a rupture, or an attack, the States have full liberty allowed them to take possession of all the Spanish Netherlands, and therefore needed no particular stipulation for the towns above-mentioned.

Having taken notice of this concession made to the States-General, for seizing upon the whole ten provinces, we cannot but observe to your majesty, that in the manner this article is framed, it is another dangerous circumstance which attends this treaty: For had such a provision been confined to the case of an apparent attack from France only, the avowed design of this treaty had been fulfilled, and your majesty's instructions to your ambassador had been pursued: But this necessary restriction hath been omitted; and the same liberty is granted to the States to take possession of all the Netherlands, whenever they think themselves attacked by any other neighbouring nations, as when they shall be in danger from France; so that, if it should at any time happen (which your Commons are very unwilling to suppose) that they should quarrel even with your majesty, the riches, strength, and advantageous situation of these countries may be made use of against yourself, without whose generous and powerful assistance they had never been conquered.

To return to those ill consequences which relate to the trade of these kingdoms, we beg leave to observe to your majesty, that though this treaty revives and renders your majesty a party to the 14th and 15th articles of the treaty of Munster, by virtue of which, the imposition upon goods and merchandizes brought into the Spanish low-countries by sea, are to equal those laid on goods and merchandizes imported by the Scheldt, and the canals of Sass and Swyn, and other mouths of the sea adjoining, yet no care is taken to preserve that equality, upon the exportation of those goods out of the Spanish provinces into those countries and places, which by virtue of this treaty are to be in the possession of these states. The consequence of which must in time be, and your Commons are informed that in some instances it has already proved to be the case, that the impositions upon goods carried into those countries and places by the subjects of the States-General will be taken off, whilst those upon the goods imported by your majesty's subjects remain; by which means Great Britain will entirely lose this most beneficial branch of trade, which it hath been in all ages possessed of, even from the time when those countries were governed by the house of Burgundy, one of the most ancient as well as the most useful allies to the crown of England.

With regard to the other dominions and territories of Spain, your majesty's subjects have always been distinguished in their commerce with them, and both by ancient treaties and an uninterrupted custom, have enjoyed greater privileges and immunities of trade than either the Hollanders, or any other nation whatsoever. And that wise and excellent treaty of the Grand Alliance provides effectually for the security and continuance of those valuable privileges to Britain, in such a manner, as that each nation might be left upon the same foot at the end of the war as it stood at the commencement of it. But this treaty we now complain of, instead of confirming your subjects rights, surrenders and destroys them: For, although by the 16th and 17th articles of the treaty of Munster, made between his catholic majesty and the States-General, all advantages of trade are stipulated for, and granted to the Hollanders, equal to what the English enjoyed, yet the crown of England not being a party to that treaty, the subjects of England have never submitted to those articles of it, nor even

the Spaniards themselves ever observed them: But this treaty revives those articles in prejudice of Great Britain, and makes your majesty a party to them, and even a guarantee to the States-General for privileges against your own people.

In how deliberate and extraordinary a manner your majesty's ambassador consented to deprive your subjects of their ancient rights, and your majesty of the power of procuring to them any new advantage, most evidently appears from his own letters, which, by your majesty's directions, have been laid before your Commons: For when matters of advantage to your majesty and your kingdom had been offered as proper to be made parts of this treaty, they were refused to be admitted upon this reason and principle, that nothing foreign to the guarantees of the Succession and of the Barrier should be mingled with them: Notwithstanding which, the States-General had no sooner received notice of a treaty of commerce concluded between your majesty and the present emperor, but they departed from the rule proposed before, and insisted upon the article of which your Commons now complain, which article your majesty's ambassador allowed of, although equally foreign to the Succession or the Barrier; and although he had for that reason departed from other articles which would have been for the service of his own country.

We have forborn to trouble your majesty with general observations upon this treaty, as it relates to, and affects the empire, and other parts of Europe. The mischiefs which arise from it to Great Britain are what only we have presumed humbly to represent to you. As they are very evident, and very great, and as it appears that the Lord Viscount Townshend had not any orders or authority for concluding several of those articles which are most prejudicial to your majesty's subjects, we thought we could do no less, than declare your said ambassador, who negotiated and signed, and all others who advised the ratifying this treaty, enemies to your majesty and your kingdom.

Upon these faithful informations and advices from your Commons, we assure ourselves, your majesty, in your great goodness to your people, will rescue them from those evils, which the private councils of ill-designing men may have exposed them to; and that in your great wisdom you will find some means for the explaining and amending the several articles of this treaty, so as that they may consist with the interest of Great Britain, and with a real and lasting friendship between your majesty and the States-General.

Her Majesty's Most Gracious Answer.

This representation is a farther instance of that dutiful affection to my service, and concern for the public interest, which this House of Commons has always shewn.

You may be assured, that I will give such orders as shall effectually answer what you desire of me in every particular.

The Resolutions, Memorial, and Vouchers of their High-Mightinesses, shewing, that the States-General of the United Provinces are wrongfully charged (by the Resolutions or Votes of the House of Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain, and by the Address of that House, presented on the Subject to her British Majesty) with having failed in several Respects during the Course of this present War, to furnish what they ought of their Quota or Contingent, according to their Engagements. Printed by Paul Scheltus, Printer in Ordinary to the High and Mighty Lords the States-General of the United Provinces, Anno 1712. *(By Authority.)*

The preceding representation, presented to the queen by the House of Commons, greatly exasperated and alarmed the Dutch.

"The States, resenting these proceedings, drew up a large memorial, in which every particular in the representation was examined and fully answered. The two first heads of this memorial, which related to the service at sea and in Flanders, were printed here, and published in English in the Daily-Courant of April 7, containing a full answer to all that was charged on them as to those matters, to the ample conviction of all who examined the particulars. The House of Commons saw the effect this was like to have; and therefore they voted the pretended (as they called it) memorial, to be a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon the resolutions of the House, and that the printing of it was a breach of privilege. And, to stop the printing of the other heads, Mr Samuel Buckley, the writer and printer of the Daily-Courant, was taken into custody. This was a confutation, to which no reply could be made; yet it seemed to be a confession that their representation could not be justified, when the answer to it was so carefully stifled. It was then generally reported, that the chief handle for this censure was a supposition that the memorial was not genuine, which appeared soon after to be entirely groundless, for the memorial had not only been printed at the Hague, but delivered by their envoy, Van Borselen, to the queen, by whose order Mr St John wrote a short answer."—RAPIN's *History of England, vol. IV.* p. 242-3.

An Extract from the Register of the Resolution of their High-Mightinesses the Lords the States-General of the Provinces of the United Netherlands.

Friday, April 1, 1712.

MESSIEURS de Brockhuysen, and other deputies of their High-Mightinesses for foreign affairs, (who, in pursuance and execution of the commissorial resolution of the 12th past, examined, together with some of the deputies of the council of state, the letter of M. van Borselle, envoy extraordinary from their High-Mightinesses to the court of her majesty the Queen of Great Britain, writ the 8th of the last month, containing an account of the resolutions taken by the House of Commons of the parliament of Great Britain, for continuing in the Netherlands this year, 1712. 1. The 40,000 men sent thither by her majesty at the beginning of the war. 2. The 10,000 troops of augmentation, which were agreed upon in 1703, and the 15,178 men which have been engaged in her majesty's service since the year 1703, but the latter on

condition that the State should on her part maintain as many troops in proportion as three to two) have reported to the assembly,

That while they were examining the above-mentioned Letter, they were informed, that the Earl of Strafford, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her said majesty, had the day before his going to Utrecht, which was Monday last, insinuated to some persons, that he had received orders by Mr St John, secretary of state, to declare to their High Mightinesses, that they must make good their quota of three-fifths, in proportion to the above-mentioned 15,178 men, otherwise her majesty would cashier as many as was necessary to make just two-fifths to answer three-fifths, in proportion to the number of troops which the State furnishes in the Netherlands to answer the said 15,178 men, which insinuation was founded on this supposition, That at the beginning of the war the States had consented to furnish in the Netherlands 102,000 men, viz. 42,000 for garrisons, and 60,000 for the field; and that Great Britain on her part was not obliged to furnish more than 40,000 men in the Netherlands. Since which the troops were augmented in 1703 by 20,000 men, that were to be paid, half by Great Britain, and half by the States. But as to the 15,178 men furnished by her majesty of Great Britain since 1703, the first proportion of 60,000 men to 40,000, or of three-fifths to two-fifths, was to be observed.

That on this occasion, they the said deputies had also examined the votes or resolutions of the House of Commons of the parliament of Great Britain of the 16th of February this year, N. S. by which they charge this state with not having satisfied its engagements in diverse respects, as to the troops which they were obliged to furnish according to their quota for the war. And that they had examined the address presented to her majesty on this head; which address, as well as the said votes, have been printed and published every where.

That to demonstrate how little grounds there is either for the said supposition, or for the deficiency which the said resolutions and address charge upon the State, they have drawn up a memorial, which they have at the same time laid before the assembly, as it is here inserted at the end of these presents.

Upon which the States having deliberated, it was judged fit, and resolved, that they would send to the Sieur de Borselle, envoy extraordinary of their high mightinesses to the court of her majesty the Queen of Great Britain, a copy of the said memorial, and of the pieces hereunto joined; and that he shall be ordered to represent both *vive voce*, and by writing, to her said majesty, and otherwise where it might be useful, that the insinuation of the said Earl of Strafford, importing that the States must furnish what is wanting of their three-fifths to answer to the said 15,178 men, or otherwise her majesty would lessen the number of hers to the proportion of two-fifths to those of this state, has very much troubled them; and that likewise in their judgment it is not well founded, since on the one hand it cannot be reasonably demanded of the State, which already bears so much burden, that they should augment their troops; and that on the other hand, the good of the common cause will not permit that her majesty should lessen hers in the present conjuncture.

That the supposition above-mentioned, upon which this insinuation is founded, cannot be admitted by their High Mightinesses; and even though it were, all the difference would then be no more than that the State had 4303 men too few, or that her majesty had too many in the Netherlands. As to this, it would certainly be just to consider, and to account for, the augmentation of the troops which this state made at the beginning of this war, before Great Britain made any considerable augmentation on her part, as well as those which the State has maintained over and above the 102,000 men, as is shewn by the above-mentioned memorial. That for these reasons the Sieur van Borselle shall request her majesty not to demand of the State to augment their troops, nor yet to diminish the number of her own.

That further, the said Sieur van Borselle shall represent on this occasion to her majesty, that their High Mightinesses are very much grieved to find that by the said votes and address, publickly printed and dispersed through the world, they are condemned without being heard, as if they had not fulfilled their engagements, nor contributed as much s they ought, in proportion to her majesty, towards the charge of the war.

That their High Mightinesses, to clear themselves of this charge, and to inform her majesty of the reasons which persuade them that they are wrongfully charged, have ordered him to present the said memorial to her majesty, and to add, that if her majesty (as they hope she will) would make an equitable and favourable reflection upon the efforts which this state has made and continues to make in this present war, after having already gone through two others extremely burdensome; and if she would duly consider that they begun this with 110,000 men, so great an effort, as they never made the like before; that further from time to time they have considerably augmented the number of their troops; to which must be added the consideration of the subsidies which they annually pay, and the naval equipments they make, their High Mightinesses assure themselves, that not only her majesty, according to her well-known equity, but also the whole world, must necessarily be convinced, that the state in this present war has done as much and more than could have been expected in reason and justice of a good and faithful ally, and that nothing but an excess of love for their liberty and for their religion, and an ardent zeal to assist in warding off that slavery with which all Europe is threatened, could have induced them to make such great efforts, and to continue them so long. That they return thanks to God, who by his goodness has so blessed the efforts they have made in conjunction with her majesty and their other allies, that by comparing the present state of affairs with what they were at the beginning of the war, we may find a very happy change; so that to lay a just foundation of hope, that by a good peace, we may obtain the end desired, there seems nothing to be wanting but the preservation among the allies of that same firmness, union, and vigour, with which the war was begun, and has been hitherto continued.

That their High Mightinesses have always considered a union and good harmony betwixt her majesty and this state, and betwixt their subjects on both sides, as the strongest support to the common cause; that they are still of the same opinion, and believe this union to be more necessary now than ever. That they have always carefully endeavoured, and will endeavour for time to come, to preserve her majesty's affection and friendship, and to cultivate and increase the said union and good understanding betwixt the two nations; that there is nothing more grievous to them, than to be obliged to justify themselves against censures so little deserved, considering that hereby the enemy, to whom a union betwixt her majesty and the state must be formidable, may conceive hopes of a coldness and division betwixt allies so strictly united, which cannot fail of being prejudicial to both.

That therefore their High Mightinesses wish this stone of stumbling had never been laid in the way, and that it may be removed as soon as possible. That they hope chiefly from her majesty's great equity, and from her well-known zeal for the common cause, that she will not tack the continuation of the service of her troops in the Netherlands, and particularly of the said 15,178 men, to the augmentation of those of this state.

That their High Mightinesses, on their side, will always contribute as much as lies in their power, or depends upon them, not only to advance, as formerly, the welfare of the common cause, but also to concert with all possible confidence in her majesty the necessary measures for that end, and to satisfy her majesty by the real effects, that they desire and infinitely esteem her affection and friendship, of which the Sieur van Barselle shall give her majesty the strongest assurances.

There shall also be delivered a copy of the present resolution of their High Mighti-

nesses, and one of the abovesaid memorials, to the Earl of Strafford, ambassador extraordinary, &c. of her majesty, and his lordship shall be desired to second the intentions of their High Mightinesses by his good offices.

Marked,
H van Isselmund ut.
And a little lower,
This agrees with the said Register,
Signed,
J. Fagel.

The following memorial was presented to the queen on Thursday, April the 3d, 1712, by the Sieur de Borselle, envoy extraordinary from the States to her majesty.

A Memorial, shewing, that the States-General of the United Provinces are wrongfully charged (by the Resolutions or Votes of the House of Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain, and by the Address of that House presented on this Subject to her Majesty) with having failed in several Respects, during the Course of this present War, to furnish what they ought of their Quota or Contingent, according to their Engagements.

THE resolutions, or votes above-mentioned, are dated Tuesday the 5-16th of February, 1711-12, and conceived in these terms:

Resolved, That the States-General have been deficient in their quotas for sea-service, in proportion to the number of ships provided by her majesty, some years two-thirds, and generally more than half of their quota.

Resolved, That the forces supplied and paid by her majesty, for the carrying on the war in Spain, from the year 1705, to the year 1711 inclusive, amounted to fifty-seven thousand, nine hundred, seventy-three men, besides thirteen battalions and eighteen squadrons, for which her majesty has paid a subsidy to the emperor.

Resolved, That the forces supplied by the States-General for the service in Spain, from the year 1705 to the year 1708, both inclusive, have amounted to no more than twelve thousand, two hundred men, and that from the year 1708, to this present time, they have sent thither no forces at all.

Resolved, That her majesty has not only furnished her proportion of twelve thousand men, according to the treaty entered into for the service of the war in Portugal, but has taken upon her the emperor's proportion, by furnishing two-thirds, when the States-General only furnished one-third for that service.

Resolved, That since the year 1706, when the English and Dutch marched into Castile, and returned no more into Portugal, her majesty has replaced more than her share, according to her proportion, and the States-General have not had any troops in Portugal.

Resolved, That the first proportion of three-fifths, or two-fifths, agreed upon between his late majesty King William and the States-General, for the service of the war in Flanders, has not been observed by the States-General.

Resolved, That the States-General, during the course of the war, have furnished less than their proportion in Flanders, twenty thousand, eight hundred, thirty-seven men.

Resolved, That the condition for prohibiting all trade and correspondence between Holland and France, on which the troops of augmentation were granted in 1703, and afterwards continued, has not been observed by the States-General.

Resolved, That at the beginning of this war, the subsidies were paid in equal pro-

portions by her majesty and the States-General, but her majesty has since paid more than her proportion, three millions, one hundred fifty thousand crowns.

These resolutions, or votes of the House of Commons, are thus drawn up in form of decisions, as a charge against the States-General, who have the honour to live with her majesty of Great Britain in a full and perfect amity, and to be engaged with her in the greatest alliances. Besides, this is done at a time when an union and harmony betwixt Great Britain and the States of the United Provinces is more necessary than ever to obtain a safe and honourable peace. They are also followed by an address that was presented to her majesty, which having been printed and published, as well as their votes or resolutions, must without doubt very much surprise those who have but the least knowledge of the great and extraordinary efforts which the States have made in this war, for the support and advancement of the common cause, and consider of what consequence those efforts have been to the said cause.

But though it be impossible that the said resolutions and address should fail of making a disadvantageous impression of the State upon those who have not an exact knowledge of affairs, yet they must lose very much of their force, when it is considered that the resolutions and address were formed, and the States-General so positively condemned by them, without having any opportunity, directly or indirectly, to make known what they had to say on this subject, or the least knowledge of the estimates, or lists, upon which those votes were founded; in short, without having any way left them to remove, by explanations and necessary informations, the prejudices that the house seems to have entertained against their conduct; which certainly is not consistent with the rules of equity and friendship.

But as we have received, since those resolutions were formed, a copy from private hands, of the estimates laid before the house, which probably gave occasion to the said resolves, and being thereby in some measure informed of the grounds on which they were founded, we are in a condition to make some remarks upon them, which we believe will be sufficient to take off all the bad impressions, which may have been given of the conduct of the States-General, and to justify them entirely as to the charge against them in the above-mentioned votes and address thereupon presented to the queen. Our remarks may be conveniently divided into four heads, according to the estimates or lists laid before the Commons, and according to the order observed in their address, wherein they advance that the States has not answered their quota of the charge of the war in proportion to what has been done by her British majesty, viz.

I. In the charge of the sea-service.
II. In the number of troops in Flanders.
III. For the service of Spain and Portugal.
IV. In the subsidies.

Before we enter upon the discussion of each of those heads, it is necessary to lay down as a foundation, that after the King of France had seized the whole Spanish monarchy for his grandson, and by taking possession of the Spanish Netherlands had wrested from this state her barrier, and that he had acknowledged the pretended Prince of Wales for King of Great Britain, all Europe finding themselves threatened with intolerable slavery, his majesty the King of Great Britain and their high mightinesses, were obliged, in 1702, for several known and lawful reasons, but chiefly for the defence of their own liberty, and that of their high allies, to take up arms with them, and enter into a war against France. That the alliances, and particularly that of 3d of March, 1677-8, made with the late King Charles II., that of the 11th of November, 1701, made with the late King William III., that of the 9th of June, 1703, by which the two preceding ones are confirmed and renewed, and which was

concluded with her present majesty; and, lastly, the treaty of the Grand Alliance, made the 7th of September, 1701, oblige her majesty and the States-General, and every one in particular, to employ all their force by sea and land, in order to obtain the end which was proposed in making the said alliances, without stipulating either in them, or in any other treaties now in being or subsisting, any fixed proportion, according to which each of the high allies of Great Britain and the State should carry on the war, and regulate their efforts.

It is true, that by the 4th article of the Grand Alliance, and by the 8th of that between the State of Great Britain, both made in the year 1701, it was thought proper that some number of forces should be mentioned; but afterwards this agreement was dropped without being put in execution, either because it was found to be attended with too many difficulties, or that it was reckoned superfluous, because all the alliances imported, that each of the confederates should make war with all their forces by sea and land, and that it was believed they must rely upon one another's fidelity.

The foundation thus laid, viz. That according to the alliances, Great Britain and this state are obliged each to employ all their force in the war against the common enemy, and that the *quantum* which each ought to furnish, is not determined neither by the said alliance nor by any agreement, and particular convention, it follows necessarily and incontestably, that the only rule of this *quantum* ought to be the power of each, and that no other proportion between Great Britain and this state ought to be enquired into, or alledged, than that of their ability; but that which soever of these two potentates can prove, according to that general proportion, or absolutely without making any comparison, that it has employed all its force in the present war, for the advancement of the common cause, the said potentate must be allowed to have satisfied all its engagements, and cannot be charged to have been deficient therein.

Now it is evident, that the strength of Great Britain is incomparably greater than that of this state. To be convinced of this, one need only consider the extent of the countries, possessions, and commerce of Great Britain, with the number and wealth of its inhabitants, and, in a word, every thing which can contribute to make a state powerful.

This is also the reason why in all the treaties which have been made between England and this state, not only formerly in the time of the Spanish war, but also since, except in some particular cases, it was always observed in mentioning the number of forces, so to proportion the supplies of troops on both sides, as that those of England should be greater than those of the States. They have been often regulated on the foot of two-thirds or three-fifths for England, against one-third or two-fifths for the State. And accordingly by the treaty of perpetual alliance of the 3d of March, 1677-8, England promised a supply of 10,000 men against 6000 which were to be furnished by the State. This plainly proves, that though it should be granted that Great Britain has contributed much more than this state to the present war, it will by no means follow, that the State has not fulfilled her engagements, since her forces are not equal to Great Britain, and that it is upon this foot the proportion ought to be regulated.

Besides, every one knows that the States-General have abundantly answered all that could be expected from good and faithful allies, whether the efforts be compared with those of Great Britain and the other allies, or considered in themselves without any such comparison. Certainly posterity will scarce believe that a state which maintained a very severe war in 1672, which she could not get out of but by very extraordinary efforts; and without having time to recover her strength, was obliged to carry on a second, by which she still remains charged with very heavy debts; we say, it would seem incredible, that such a state, being again engaged in a third war, should be able still to make such great efforts, and to continue them so long. Besides the inequality of strength we have just now mentioned, there is this difference betwixt

Great Britain and the State: That Great Britain never felt the burden nor the calamities of the first war against France: That in time of peace she keeps very few troops on foot; and that, after the peace at Ryswick, she disbanded most of those at that time in her pay, which was a very great ease to her; whereas this state was obliged to maintain above 40,000 men. Another considerable difference is, that in 1702, the dominions of the State, being the seat of the war, suffered very much by it; one part of their country was overflowed by the breaking in of the sea, and another part was laid under water to defend it against the enemy, not to mention the large contributions we pay them annually, to none of which inconveniences Great Britain is subject. This being considered, together with her great power, enables her to contribute much more to war than this state. Besides this, if we make the reflection on the taxes of all sorts, which are raised on the persons and estates of our subjects, which taxes are more numerous and more heavy than in her majesty's kingdoms, or in any other state of the world; then, if we consider the immense sums which this state is obliged to borrow each year in the two last wars, and particularly in this, it will be owned that nothing but an extraordinary love of liberty, and an inviolable affection to the common cause, could oblige them thus voluntarily to charge themselves till they are ready to sink under the burden. Nor is there need of any other evidence to prove, that the States-General have fully and faithfully answered all their engagements, nay, and that they have contributed above their strength to the charge of the war.

In general, this is sufficient to remove all the prejudices that appear in the resolves and address of the House of Commons, and to efface all the disadvantageous impressions which they might make on others. For though all the deficiencies they charge upon the State were fully proved, and though it were certain that the States-General had contributed much less to the charge of the war than her British majesty, it would nevertheless be true, that according to their treaties they have employed all their strength in the present war, and by consequence, that in proportion to their power, they have done as much and more than any of the allies, Great Britain herself not excepted. Therefore the Commons have wrongfully, and without any foundation, charged the States with not having answered their engagement, and furnished their quota.

We shall more particularly prove this, by examining, one after another, the four principal parts of the address and resolution of the House of Commons; but in the first place think ourselves obliged to make some further remarks on that address. They acquaint her majesty, when they enumerate the motives which induced the late King William to enter into the war, that according to the treaty of the Grand Alliance, those motives were to assist the emperor in his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, and the States-General in recovering their lost barriers. They afterwards add, That in all respects the allies are equally interested with Great Britain in the success of the war, and for most part a great deal more. Yet this very treaty of the Grand Alliance, on which they found their proposition, sets forth expressly in the preamble, that the English and Dutch were in imminent danger of losing the liberty of their navigation and commerce in the Mediterranean, the Indies, and other parts; and that France and Spain were more and more united to trample upon the liberties of Europe, and to ruin the commerce; motives which concerned Great Britain so directly and so nearly, that it is easy to infer from thence, that she carries on the war as much for herself as for the emperor, the States, or the other allies. This appears yet more plainly from the separate articles concluded the 12th of April, 1702, between the emperor, the Queen of Great Britain, and the States-General, which ought to have the same force as if it were inserted *verbatim* in the principal treaty. For the affront put upon the late King William, her present majesty, and the whole British nation, by owning the Prince of Wales for King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, being expressly set down

in this article among the motives of the war, as well as in her majesty's declaration of war; which motive could not have been inserted in the address of the House of Commons, without too much weakening the above-mentioned proposition, viz. That the allies are on all accounts equally concerned with Great Britain in the success of the war, and for the most part a great deal more. Indeed it cannot be conceived upon what principle this proposition could be founded, nor in what sense it can agree with the demand of the Queen of Great Britain for peace. Her majesty demands, That the most Christian king should acknowledge her; that he likewise owns the succession in the protestant line of the house of Hanover, as it is established by acts of parliament; that he refuse all manner of aid and assistance to the Pretender; that he make a treaty of commerce with Great Britain; that he demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and fill up the harbour; and that he yield to her majesty the islands of St Christopher and Newfoundland, with Acadia, and other countries in North America. Now it is plain, that these demands are not of such a nature, that they concern the other allies as much or more than Great Britain herself.

As to the commerce in the Mediterranean, it cannot be said with the least colour of reason, that all the allies have an equal interest in it with Great Britain, since it is known and incontestable, as well with regard to commerce in general, as particularly to the vent of woollen manufactures in Spain, the ports of the Mediterranean, and especially in Turkey, that Great Britain is much more interested in it than the State, the only one among all the allies which the commerce in the Mediterranean most concerns.

We come now to examine those articles by which it is pretended, that the States-General have not furnished their quota towards the charges of the war. The first relates to the sea-service. On this head, it is advanced, that for some years the States-General have not furnished two-thirds, and generally not half their contingent for that service. This is a very general proposition, and another general one to the contrary might perhaps be sufficient to answer it, after which it might be left to the judgment of those who know the present posture of affairs, whether of those two general propositions is the most probable. It would also have been very difficult to answer it otherwise, if there had not been imparted to us by private hands, a copy of the paper delivered into the House of Commons, by the commissioners of the admiralty of Great Britain, in which are specified the ships of the line that were furnished year after year by her British majesty, and on the part of the States-General, to act jointly in the Channel and the Mediterranean. It is inserted at the end of this Memorial, and marked number I. and it was doubtless on this paper, that the resolutions of the House of Commons are founded.

It is there laid down as a certainty, that the quota of the States in naval armaments with respect to Great Britain, is three to five, and they found this on the agreement on the 27th of April, 1689. But on this occasion it must be observed, that the 7th article of the treaty of the 9th of June, 1703, by which the said agreement was renewed, imports, that the entire quota of ships of war, which each were to furnish by virtue of that agreement, should be regulated every year, and that the rendezvous as well as the respective stations appointed for the said ships, should likewise be agreed upon at the same time. In pursuance hereof, her majesty the Queen of Great Britain thought fit to send hither one of her admirals almost every year. The necessary conferences were held with them, in which the number of ships to be fitted out, and the places where to be employed, were the chief points considered. Upon this it commonly happened, that the projects exhibited on the part of her British majesty proposed a greater number of ships than those of the State, and much more regard was had to the security of the Channel than to that of the North Sea. It is likewise to be observed, that the paper of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty does not say a word of the

ships employed in that sea, which is partly the cause why they reckoned the quota furnished by the State so low. The sentiments of the States-General upon this subject have always been, that the number of ships which was to be equipped every year in common, ought to be regulated according to a reasonable estimate of the enemy's force, and of the ships which he could send into the Mediterranean, the Channel, or the North Sea; so that there was always a moral certainty that the fleets and squadrons of Great Britain and this state, whether they acted in conjunction or separately, would be superior to those of the enemy. The terms, in conjunction or separately, were used, because it was ever the opinion of the State, that the ships of her majesty and the States-General, which should be sent to Portugal and the Mediterranean, ought to act in conjunction, that the security of the Channel ought to be left to her majesty's particular care, and that of the North Sea to the States-General. The reasons assigned for this were, because Great Britain had a greater interest in point of commerce, in the Channel, and could, by its situation and the conveniency of its harbours, send and keep ships there more easily than the State; and on the other hand, the State, for the very same reasons, could send and keep her ships in the North Sea with more conveniency than Great Britain. But cases of necessity were always reserved, in such manner, that if the enemy, contrary to all expectation, should make any extraordinary armament, and send any fleet or squadron into the Channel or North Sea, then the squadrons on both sides should join, in whole or in part, in the Channel or in the North Sea, as occasion should require. It was not believed, that, for some years past, it was necessary to keep a squadron before Dunkirk, experience having shewed us oftener than once, that there was very little advantage to be reaped by it, and that it was almost impossible so to block up that harbour as to hinder ships from getting out of it. Besides, the last year, most of the Dunkirk ships having sailed to other places, there was not enough left there to form a squadron.

As these sentiments were well founded, they were for the most part followed, and with good success. The proof of this is evident; for since the loss sustained by France at Vigo, in 1702, and that which she suffered in the sea-fight near Malaga, in 1704, she has not been in a condition to put any considerable fleet to sea; the only one they have since, was in the Mediterranean, *anno* 1704, to support the siege of Barcelona; but so inconsiderable, that they retired upon the sight of the confederate fleet, without daring to hazard a battle.

After having thus shewn on what foundation this state did annually regulate their naval equipments, it is proper to examine if it has furnished its quota in proportion to that of her British majesty, which certainly it has not done, if we may believe the paper of the commissioners of the admiralty of Great Britain. But in the first place, suppose there were nothing to be objected to the list of the ships which they say were furnished by her majesty, and that we take it on trust as they have set it down in their paper, yet we may ask, whether all the ships which they set down as employed in the Mediterranean and the Channel were really needful there? a question which would not be altogether improper; for there were some years wherein the number of ships employed in that service, did very much exceed what her majesty herself did propose. For instance, they reckon 74 ships for 1704, and 79 for 1705; yet the proposals made by Admiral Mitchell for those years demand only 24 ships from the State to answer 60 of her majesty's, both for the service of the Mediterranean, the Channel, and the North-Sea. How comes it then that the lords commissioners of the Admiralty do now reckon for her majesty's quota 74 and 79 ships for the service only of the Mediterranean and the Channel, and that they demand as the quota of this state 44 ships for one year and 47 for another? We leave it to every man's judgment, whether this number of ships would not have been too great for the service we were to expect from them, and to the force which the enemy could then put to sea. The sentiments of the States

were, that 24 ships on their part, and 40 on that of her majesty, would have been enoughfor the service of those years.

It must be observed further, that of all the ships which the State has furnished, there is no notice taken in this paper of any but such as jointly served with those of her majesty in the Mediterranean or Channel, and not the least mention of the North-Sea, the care and security of which were left almost entirely for some years to the States. We are not to wonder after this, that the number of ships furnished by the States-General appears so small in the paper of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, when compared with those of the Queen of Great Britain, since they cut off all that served in the North-Sea, and mention only such as acted in conjunction with her majesty's ships.

This omission, no doubt, gave occasion to those injurious resolutions of the House of Commons; and we have reason to think, they would never have come into them had they known the reasons of the States. We may judge of this by the following list, that contains the true number of ships which the States have employed during this war for the common cause in the Mediterranean, the Channel, and the North-Sea. They are all ships of the line, without reckoning frigates, or other lesser ships.

In 1702	55
In 1703	50
In 1704	56
In 1705	56
In 1706	54
In 1707	49
In 1708	53
In 1709	50
In 1710	43
In 1711	40

All this is fact, and can be proved by good and authentic vouchers: So that it is wrong and without any foundation, that they charge the State with not having furnished its quota for the sea-service.

The second head relates to the troops in Flanders, as to which it is complained, that the States-General have not observed the first proportion of three to two, which they agreed upon with the late King William; that they have furnished 20,837 men less than their quota; and that they have not fulfilled the condition for prohibiting commerce and correspondence with France, on which the troops of augmentation were granted in 1703. For the clearing of this head, we thought it would not be improper to subjoin to this memorial the estimate (marked No. II.) of the forces, as well of the Queen as the States-General, that was delivered in to the House of Commons, and upon which, as far as we can judge, they founded their resolutions.

Our first remark on this estimate of the forces is, that here they confound in a general article the 44,992 men which the States kept in pay after the peace of Ryswick, with the 34,866 men whom they took again into their service immediately after the death of King Charles II. of Spain; and that in the year 1702, they have likewise mixed the troops which the States took into pay that year, with those they had hired from several princes the beginning of the year before. Had not these things been confounded, it would have clearly appeared, that the States had augmented their troops with 50,000 men, long before Great Britain made any considerable augmentation; which certainly ought to have been allowed for in the account, considering the expence that the States had been at in maintaining many troops alone.

We shall not insist on other particular mistakes in the said estimate, but content

ourselves to shew, that it does no way prove what they pretend to prove by it. For example, it does not thereby appear that the States furnished 20,837 men too few, or that the Queen of Great Britain had 13,892 too many for the war in Flanders. It is certainly very surprising, that such a conclusion should be drawn from an estimate, by which, on the contrary, it appears very plain, that the states of the United Provinces, though much inferior in power and strength to Great Britain, did not only furnish and keep in pay from the beginning of the war to this present time as many troops as that crown, but a great many more. From hence we may easily perceive, that this strange conclusion was not naturally deduced from the premises; but that to make it out they were forced to suppose two propositions:

I. That at the beginning of the war, the States obliged themselves to furnish in Flanders 60,000 men for the field, against 40,000 to be furnished by Great Britain, and that the States should over and above maintain 42,000 men in garrison.

II. That the States were obliged to contribute according to this proportion of 60 to 40, or 3 to 2, towards the expence of the troops, which have since been taken into the service of her majesty of Great Britain and the States.

But we cannot see by this estimate of the troops on what it is they pretend to found the second proposition. As to the first, it seems to be founded on a verbal message which King William of glorious memory sent to the parliament in 1702, by Mr Secretary Vernon; and in the address of the House of Commons, they suppose that an agreement was concluded on that head, and we presume that they pretend to draw the second proposition as a conclusion from the first.

It is certainly very strange, that they should make no scruple to charge the States without first hearing them, with so considerable a deficiency, and upon no other proofs than a verbal message or an agreement, which is supposed to have been concluded, but without any ground, themselves having owned a little before, that it was never yet ratified. It is true, the States were obliged to hold their peace, though Great Britain at the beginning of the war furnished no more than 40,000 men in the Netherlands, which was so great a disproportion to what was furnished by this state, but it is no less true, that the States were obliged to submit to it, not by virtue of any agreement or convention, or because it was reasonable, but because the parliament did not grant any more. The reasons of which are known to all the world, and several persons may still remember them. This disproportion was sufficiently complained of by the States, but they were obliged to have patience and to comfort themselves with hopes, that if the war continued, it would be afterwards redressed.

But now to shew that these two propositions are very ill grounded, we shall only say that we are very well assured it can never be proved on the part of Great Britain, that the States-General obliged themselves to maintain 60,000 men in the field, and 42,000 in garrison, nor that they owned, which is the essential point, that Great Britain would answer all her engagements, by furnishing only 40,000 men for 102,000 furnished by the State, nor that, in short, they ever agreed to observe this unequal proportion for the time to come, in maintaining the troops with which the army in the Netherlands might afterwards be reinforced.

Nor was there indeed the least reason for this; Great Britain and the States are equally obliged by the 6th article of the treaty of the 3d of March, 1678, and by the 7th article of the treaty of the 11th of November 1701, to assist one another mutually "with all their strength, and all their forces by sea and land;" and by the 4th article of the treaty of the Grand Alliance, they are likewise engaged to support one another with all their strength. Great Britain was then, as she is at present, beyond all contradiction much more powerful than this state; and since she could not in the beginning of the war make good in Spain or in Italy what was wanting of her troops elsewhere, as she has been able to do since, it is evident, that in order to fulfil the above-

mentioned treaties of the 3d of March, 1678, of the 11th of November, 1701, and of the Grand Alliance, she ought necessarily to have augmented her troops in Flanders considerably, and to have maintained an army there far more numerous than that of the State. It was the only place then where the two potentates had armies, and if they would have observed any reasonable proportion, that was the place where it ought to have been done.

As to the nature of this proportion, if they would have followed by land that which was established by sea, and which had actually been observed in the number of the troops mutually stipulated by the said treaty of the 3d of March, 1678, in the first separate article, it ought to have been five to three; that is to say, that Great Britain ought to have furnished 170,000 men against 102,000, which it is pretended the States obliged themselves to maintain in Flanders, for the field and in garrisons. When we say 170,000 men, we comprehend the guards and garrisons necessary in Great Britain, otherwise the proportion might have been reduced to 100,000 men, against 60,000 of the State, which they pretend ought only to be reckoned in the proportion, though without any foundation, as we shall see afterwards; but if they would follow the proportion of two-thirds to one-third, which has been done on several other occasions during the war; in that case Great Britain should have brought to the field 120,000 men against the said 60,000, or rather she ought to have furnished 204,000 men against 102,000 of the State, including the guards and garrisons.

In short, if instead of seeking for the proportion in the augmentation of the troops of Great Britain, with relation to those of the State, they had rather chose to seek it in the reduction of the troops of the State with relation to those of Great Britain, it will be found that the States-General were not obliged to furnish, on the foot of three to five, any more than 24,000 men, and on the foot of one to two, only 20,000, which would have fully answered their proportion to the 40,000 men of Great Britain; whereas, according to their own estimate laid before the House of Commons, they did not furnish only 60,000, men, but indeed 68,242 men, besides the 42,000 for garrisons; by which it is evident, that the State had no reason to submit to a proposition so unreasonable as that before-mentioned, or to be satisfied with it.

Suppose now that the State, conniving at such an excessive disproportion, had engaged, as is pretended, at the beginning of the war, to furnish in the Netherlands 60,000 men for the field, and 42,000 for garrisons against 40,000 furnished by Great Britain, it will by no means follow from thence, that she ought to submit to the same disproportion with relation to the troops wherewith the two potentates have since thought fit to augment their forces, in order to push on the war with more vigour in Flanders.

On the contrary, one would think that Great Britain, considering the excess of this disproportion, and the good-will of the State to make the greatest efforts at first, in order to animate others by her example, would have been induced voluntarily to take upon herself the sole burden of such new expences as might be judged necessary for the advantage of the common cause, whether with respect to the Netherlands, or other countries, till that disproportion had been entirely made up.

And though, when it was resolved to augment the army in the Netherlands with 20,000 men, in the second year of the war, Great Britain would not be prevailed with to take upon herself the whole charge of that augmentation, yet she never pretended either then or since, that the State was obliged to bear more than a moiety.

The distinction made between the 60,000 men, which it is pretended should have served in the field, and the 42,000 applied to garrisons, well deserves a particular remark. It is pretended, that the 60,000 men only ought to be considered in the proportion to be observed between the troops of her British majesty and those of the States-General, as if the keeping of 42,000 men was only a private charge, which ought not to be computed amongst those of the war.

But what is more unreasonable than this pretension, the State was in a manner blocked up, at the beginning of the war, by the troops of France which put her under a necessity of reinforcing her garrisons, as is supposed; to 42,000 men, while Great Britain, by her happy situation, could do with a far less number. Where is there any ground, what reason is there to pretend that the State should not bring those troops into the account with those of her British majesty, if not all of them, at least so many of them, as exceed the number of guards and garrisons in Great Britain? It cannot be denied, that when two allies of equal power engage to make war in common with all their forces, *omnibus viribus*, and that, for instance, when one of the two finds occasion for 20,000 men more than the other for his garrisons; in this case it would be neither reasonable nor possible, that the one should take the field with as many troops as the other. How much less then when this case falls out between two allies of unequal ability? and when he who has need of 20,000 men more for his garrisons is very much inferior to the other in power?

But suppose that the garrisons of the places belonging to the State ought not to be set down, neither in whole nor in part, in the list of the troops furnished against the enemy, it would still be a great mistake to compute them at 42,000 men for every year of the war. It is true, that the list of the garrisons, which is made out yearly before the taking of the field, has amounted some years to 40,000 men; but it is very well known, that as soon as the army was formed, immediately part of the garrisons of the places which it covered was drawn out; and that the rest, except a few regiments, were always ordered to be in readiness to march at the first command, to replace such regiments as should suffer most in the sieges and battles, which has been the case almost every year: So that their High Mightinesses have been obliged to be at the charge of recruits and waggons for a great part of the regiments that were in garrison, as well as for those that were in the field.

It is as well known, that till the reduction of Brabant and Flanders; that is to say, till 1706, a flying camp was formed annually in Flanders out of the neighbouring garrisons, which emptied all those garrisons in general above a full third part of their men: That this camp obliged the enemy to keep a much greater number of troops in the country of Waes, and along the canal of Bruges; and that since 1706, it is so far from being true, that the garrisons of the States took up above 42,000 men, that they never amounted to the third of them: All the rest are sent to the field, and this was the cause why the dominions of the States were invaded oftener than once; which would not have happened, had their garrisons been stronger.

'Tis true, that part of the State's troops have been employed in the Spanish garrisons; but so have those of her majesty; and there they now actually serve as well as those of the States-General. And if, since the reducing of Lisle, Tournay, and other places that have been conquered in French Flanders and Artois, we have been obliged to put garrisons into them, those of the Spanish Netherlands which they now cover, have been considerably lessened. Besides, the enemy has been thereby reduced to a necessity, for the security of his frontiers, to double his garrisons in those places, and to extend them as far as the Soame. It is wrong then to pretend, that the army was weakened by putting garrisons in the conquered towns; but especially to affirm, as the Commons have done, that the States do at this very time employ above 42,000 men in those garrisons.

From all this it is easy to judge who is most in the right, those who allege, that during this whole war the States have had 20,837 men too few in the Netherlands, and that Great Britain has furnished 13,892 too many; or those who maintain, on the contrary, that Great Britain has not furnished the moiety of what she ought to have done in the Netherlands, even though it should be granted, as it is not, that the 42,000 men, which are supposed to be employed in garrisons, are not to be allowed a place in the account. The former go directly against the treaties of the third of March, 1678, and

of the 11th of November, 1701, and of the Grand Alliance. The latter ground themselves upon those treaties, and follow the literal meaning of them; the former reject the proportion heretofore received, and the latter abide by it: The former have no regard to the difference betwixt the strength of the two nations, and the latter believe, that according to the tenor of the treaties, their strength is the rule of proportion. The former, in short, ground themselves upon a mere verbal message sent to the parliament without the knowledge or consent of the States; the latter abide by the treaties, and by what reason and the strength of the one and the other state do plainly dictate.

We agree that the Queen of Great Britain has, except in the Netherlands, and particularly by sea, in Portugal, Spain, and Italy, made greater efforts than those of the States-General; but we deny that therefore Great Britain has reason to accuse the States of not having performed their engagement, at least till such time as they prove to us, that their greater efforts elsewhere have exceeded their deficiencies in the Netherlands.

And since the Earl of Strafford, ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her majesty of Great Britain, has notified, that as to the troops by which the army in the Netherlands has been augmented since 1703, her majesty expects that the States-General should reinforce their quota to the proportion of the fifths against the 15,128 men she has actually there in pay, or that otherwise she will lessen the number of them to the proportion of two-fifths against those of the State: We have thought proper, for the better understanding of that matter, to subjoin here the following account of the state of those troops.

The troops in the pay of Great Britain, which serve in the Netherlands, amount, according to the list laid before the parliament in February 1712, to		65,197
We must deduct one battalion of Palatines, inserted in the list of the troops for the Netherlands, under the year 1702, and which never served there,		600
		64,597
The troops in the pay of the State, which serve in the Netherlands, amount, according to the foresaid list, to		122,458
But under the year 1701, too many are reckoned by		1949
		120,509
On the other side, under the year 1702, they have omitted		1092
And under the year 1706, too many are deducted for the troops of Italy by		1538
		123,139
The troops of Great Britain and of this State amount together to		187,736
According to what is pretended by Great Britain, this state engaged, in the beginning of the war, to furnish		102,000
Great Britain	40,000	
In the year 1703.		
Great Britain	10,000	
This State		10,000
Since the year 1703, Great Britain and this State took into service 25,736 men, of which this State, as is pretended by Great Britain, ought to pay three-fifths, or		15,442
Great Britain two-fifths, or	10,294	
	60,294	127,442

Great Britain pays in all, as above, - - - - -	64,597	60,294
Ergo, too much by - - - - - - - -	4303	187,736
This State pays in all, above - - - - - - -		123,139
Ergo, too little by - - - - - - - -		4303

It appears by the account as above, first, that Great Britain has furnished 14,597 men over and above the 40,000 and the 10,000, and not 25,178, as is pretended. Secondly, that though we should grant the mistaken propositions of Great Britain, to wit, that at the beginning of the war the State had agreed to furnish in Flanders 102,000 men against 40,000, that Great Britain by furnishing the said 40,000 had performed her treaties, and that the State ought to pay three-fifths of the troops of augmentation since 1703, and Great Britain two-fifths; even then the disproportion so much complained of would be reduced to 4303 men.

As to which equity would oblige them to consider, I. That the State had augmented her troops with above 50,000 men, long before Great Britain made any considerable augmentation on her part; and, 2dly, That according to the said list, the State has paid for some years 8242 men, or, (the errors of the list being corrected) 7385 men, above the 102,000, which they pretend by mistake the State was obliged to furnish as her quota, and above the moiety of the 20,000 men taken into pay in 1703. So that even though we should take all the pretensions of the House of Commons to be well founded, as they are not, the pretended disproportion in question would be so much balanced by the two articles above-mentioned, that it would vanish entirely, and not so much as deserve to be thought on.

This is enough fully to confute the resolutions and address of the House of Commons upon this head. All that remains is, to answer the reproaches therein cast upon the State, as not having performed the condition for prohibiting commerce, upon which the augmentation of 20,000 men was granted in 1703. In order to confute this objection also, it will be sufficient to premise, that before it can be affirmed, as is done, that the States has been deficient in that pretended condition, it must be proved that she accepted it, which she can never be proved to have done longer than for one year. The State consented to that prohibition notwithstanding the hardships they found in it, and which had no place in England, because commerce with France was in a manner prohibited there, even during the peace. But their engagement was only for a year, by way of trial, and by no means as a condition to which the augmentation of the troops was annexed, and it was only out of pure deference to the sentiments of her British majesty, who desired it, and had caused instances to be made on that subject. The agreement was exactly observed all the time it lasted, and after its expiration, the States-General notified to her majesty the reasons they had against prolonging it. These reasons were acquiesced in, there was no more talk of the prohibition of commerce, the augmentation of 20,000 men was continued, and the House of Commons granted every year the necessary subsidies for the proportion which Great Britain was to contribute thereto, without ever making the least objection as to the prohibition or condition. Is it not then very strange, that after so long a space of time, this matter should now be revived again, and a pretence drawn from it to charge the State with not having performed a condition which it did not accept, or only accepted for a year?

There is also in the address of the Commons an assertion in fact, which might give occasion to a great mistake, if it was passed by without an answer. They therein assert, that by the war in the Netherlands, the State has made great acquisitions, as

well in revenues, as in territories and dominions. That out of the revenues of those rich conquered provinces, she might raise and maintain a considerable augmentation of troops against the common enemy, if they were duly applied for that end; but that the State, instead of employing them for that use as they ought, had diverted them to her own ease, and for the maintaining her quota, as the same was regulated from the beginning.

All the world knows, and it cannot be unknown in England, that since the battle of Ramilies, French Flanders and Artois have been the theatre of the war; that two armies, far more numerous than those of any of the preceding years, have acted and subsisted there. That the enemy continually raised contributions from them, and that the open country is so ruined by foragings, raising of pioneers, waggons, horses, and still more by ravages, plunder, demolishing of houses, felling of trees, the fright and mortality of men and cattle, &c. that it will require a very long time to restore it to a tolerable condition. The inhabitants of the towns have also their share in all these calamities. They are oppressed with numerous garrisons, to which they are obliged to furnish lodging, fire, and candle. Instead of making any profit by their lands, they are obliged to maintain their peasants at their own charge, because otherwise they would starve with hunger, or abandon the farms. The commerce and manufactures, which were heretofore the principal riches of Lisle and Tournay, are quite lost, the workmen lay down their employs, or are obliged by their extreme poverty to list themselves in the army. A country so miserable must be very unable to furnish the State wherewith to maintain a great number of troops against the common enemy, especially if we reckon the ordinary and indispensable charges, such as the repairing of fortifications and buildings, ruined or very much damaged by sieges, and the filling of magazines exhausted by the long defence of places, and other the like charges, at the expence of the State.

But not to dwell upon general arguments, it will be proper to take notice, that from the year 1706, that is to say, since the taking of Menin, the States have received by those conquests (which it is pretended brought them in so much wealth) no more than 1,590,916 livres; a sum so small in comparison of the charges which they were obliged to be at for repairing the fortifications, and filling up the magazines of Menin, Lisle, Tournay, Doway, Bethune, Aire, St Venant, and Bouchain, and for the other reparations made within six years time, to all the places, forts, and citadels of those countries, that certainly none can assert with justice, that the same has not been laid out in that country.

It is plain, that in England they have conceived such an idea of the revenue of the conquests in Flanders, as is very remote from the truth. The town and castellany of Lisle, with Doway, Orchies, and its other dependencies, is without contradiction the richest conquest that has been made in the Netherlands. Yet the most Christian King never raised from it in time of peace, above 3 or 400,000 livres Flemish money, (which is 12 per cent. less in value than that of Holland) whether under the name of aids, domains, fortifications, or other ordinary imposts, except only the duties of import and export, of which, though a just estimate cannot be made, because they are included in the general farm of the conquered countries, yet it is certain they are at present upon a very indifferent foot. The extraordinary subsidies and the capitation by which the revenues of the King of France have been augmented to support the war, did not bring him in 400,000 livres per annum, Flemish money, from the beginning of this war to 1704, about which time it was augmented with 82,540 livres per annum, but under an express condition on the part of the States, and a promise on the part of the court, that for this augmentation, the province should be free from all other kind of imposts, and that the same should cease, as well as the capitation and other extraordinary aids, the very day the peace should be proclaimed.

This was all that the King of France could raise continually out of the country. Not but that at several times he has actually drawn several other considerable sums from it, by the creation of a great number of officers very burthensome to the estates, magistrates and communities, or the country, some having been made hereditaries, and others redeemed again by the estates and other communities. But without examining whether such means be lawfully used in a country, where the sovereign can levy no money without the consent of the estates, it will be sufficient to say, that those methods can be but once made use of.

We may see by this, whether the House of Commons had any ground to suppose in their address, that the State drew from her conquests in the Netherlands, such an augmentation of revenues as could maintain a great number of troops, but that she applies it for her own ease, toward the furnishing her quota.

The 3d article is no better founded than the two preceding ones: They therein complain that the State has not furnished what it ought for the war in Spain and Portugal, and give estimates thereof, which are subjoined at the end of this Memorial, and marked number 3 and 4.

If they have the least equity, and any ways consider the great efforts above-mentioned, which have been made by the State in the Netherlands, they will agree, no doubt, that it was not reasonable to pretend that the States-General should still contribute to this other war, an equal share with her British majesty, and that indeed it is not possible for them to do it, Great Britain being much more powerful than this State, and she having nevertheless contributed a great deal more than Great Britain to the war in the Netherlands, it was but reasonable and just, that Great Britain should make some compensation elsewhere. If then she has contributed more than this State to the affairs of Portugal and Spain, this overplus ought to be considered as a supplement to make up what was wanting on her part towards the war in the Netherlands, and not as a deficiency of the States towards the war in Spain or Portugal.

By the treaty concluded in 1703, the States obliged themselves to send thither, and to maintain there, 4000 men, being the third part of 12,000 promised by that treaty. They actually sent them thither, and kept them complete till 1706, that the theatre of the war was changed, and transported from the frontiers of Portugal to the kingdom of Valencia and Catalonia. This change was made without the knowledge of the State, and the only share she had in it was the doubling of her expence, to send the reinforcements that were designed for Portugal to Spain. The number of troops which the States have sent to Portugal or Catalonia, since the treaty was concluded, amounts to 15,724 foot, 3120 horse, and 4563 recruits, in all 23,807 men, as appears by the list hereunto annexed, and marked number 5. The recruits which have been sent from hence to the troops of the State, and those which have been levied in the country, by listing Flemings, Walloons, and Germans, that deserted from the enemy's army, were so considerable, that the troops of the State were generally more complete, and fitter for service, than any of the other allies.

We agree, That by the treaty Great Britain was not obliged to furnish above one third of those 12,000 men, and that the emperor was to make good the other third; but it is known, that from the beginning her British majesty took upon herself the emperor's whole quota without any concurrence on the part of this State: So that it is contrary to reason, that this article should now be brought into the account against the States, among the efforts which her majesty has made out of the Netherlands. The treaty with Portugal obliges the States-General only to one-third of the 12,000 men, and they made them good. After this, they did not oblige themselves to any other proportion than that of the Grand Alliance, and of the treaties of the 3d of March, 1671, and of the 11th of November, 1701, which oblige them to make war with all

their forces, and to procure to the utmost of their power a reasonable satisfaction to the emperor as to the succession of Spain. This they have also faithfully executed, so that they cannot without injustice be denied the testimony of having in this war made their greatest efforts, equal unto, and beyond their allies. Further, though it should be allowed, that the State ought to have sent more troops to Catalonia, and also to have replaced in Portugal those which marched out of it in 1706, to Spain, it must nevertheless be certain, according to all the rules of equity, that the considerable efforts she has made in the Netherlands, over and above what Great Britain has done, would abundantly make up those pretended deficiencies.

Upon this it is fit to observe, That in the address of the Commons, they reckon the extraordinary charge of the war of Spain and Portugal to a very great sum; but as to that of the Netherlands, they say no more, than that the extraordinary charges of the war there came to above 1,107,096l. sterling; and that the House of Commons could not make a comparison betwixt that sum and what the State had laid out for the same end in the Netherlands, because the estimate of it was not communicated to them. But we may supply that defect, by telling them here, That if Great Britain laid out very great sums for the extraordinaries of the war in Spain and Portugal, the States-General have also laid out very great sums for those of the war in the Netherlands, viz. 65,861,821 livres; so that they exceed those of Great Britain 53,683,765 livres, reckoning eleven Dutch guilders for one pound sterling.

Perhaps it will be alledged here, That the States have raised great sums by contributions, passports, the subsidies of Liege and Limbourg, and the revenues of a part of the upper quarter of Guelderland, that is in their possession; but these advantages speedily vanish, when balanced by the contributions that are paid by the inhabitants of Brabant and Flanders, subject to the State; by part of those who inhabit two of the Seven Provinces; by the expence of the fortifications and magazines of Huy, Limbourgh, Ruremond, Tenlo, Stevenswaert, Bon and Traerbach; by the new works which they have added to several of these places for the good of the common cause; and by the expence of the artillery and ammunition of war for all the sieges have been made during this long and burdensome war, none of which are reckoned in the 65,861,821 livres abovementioned; and, in fine, the winter quarters which the auxiliary troops of Prussia have taken each year in the upper quarters of Guelderland, and the continual marches of other troops to and fro through the said country, have so ruined the inhabitants, that they are no longer able to pay their taxes.

The fourth and last head which remains to be examined relates to the subsidies which, during the first year of the war, were paid in equal shares, and afterwards unequally by Great Britain and the State; the estimate of it, which was laid before the Commons, is the paper annexed, marked number 6. Upon which we shall observe,

1. That this estimate takes no notice of the 40,000 crowns per annum, which the States-General pay alone to the Bishop of Munster; nor of the 100,000 crowns which they have paid in the like manner annually to the Duke of Wirtemberg, from the year 1704 to the year 1709. Nor do they take notice of 400,000 crowns which the States-General were obliged to pay to facilitate the treaty with the King of Denmark for two stated obligations of a greater sum that ought to have been restored to the said king against an unstated pretension, according to the 9th article of the treaty concluded with his Danish ministry, the 15th of June, 1701. Which sum of 400,000 crowns might very well have been brought here to account on the part of the State, for several good reasons.

2. That by the treaty with Portugal, Great Britain is charged no higher than the State; only that in the same manner, and for the same reasons that her majesty thought fit to take upon herself the emperor's quota of the 12,000 men, she likewise charged herself with his quota and the subsidies. This third may indeed be placed to the

emperor's account, but not to that of the States-General; and if this be deducted, as it ought to be, the article of the subsidies paid to the King of Portugal by Great Britain, in opposition to those of the State, will be reduced to half, which makes a diminution of 2,722,222 crowns, so that the difference of the payments between Great Britain and the State will be nothing so great as it is made in the estimate laid before the House of Commons.

3. Supposing nevertheless, that, laying aside those just considerations, we agree that Great Britain has paid, during the ten years war, 3,155,032 crowns and a half more than the State, which will be little more than 300,000 crowns per annum, this overplus must be owned to be very inconsiderable, with respect to the difference there is between the ability of the one and the other state. It must likewise be granted, that the States, by paying the moiety of the subsidies to Denmark and others, are in proportion more burthened by the payment of that money, than Great Britain is by what she has paid over and above upon this article.

Nor ought we to pass over in silence, that this State, by charging herself at first with the moiety of the subsidies promised to the King of Denmark and other princes, has done more than ought to have been demanded from her; but what she did in this case, should not have been drawn into consequence for the other treaties that were afterwards to be made, and she never obliged herself to pay indifferently the moiety of all the subsidies which should be promised afterwards on the account of the war. We may justly say on the contrary, that she had very good reasons not to engage herself after that manner, if we consider that she is much inferior in ability to Great Britain, and the treaties made in the preceding war with the Duke of Savoy, and other princes; by which it appears, that the proportion in the payment of subsidies granted for carrying on the war any where else than in the Netherlands, was for the most part adjusted at two-thirds for Great Britain, to one-third for this State: So that, consider the matter which way you please, Great Britain has no cause of complaints in this respect. We must likewise observe that formerly, even in England, they very well understood that this proportion in the subsidies and other charges of the war out of the Netherlands was not unreasonable; since not only her majesty took upon herself the emperor's share, in the treaty of Portugal, but likewise in the treaty which the emperor made with the Duke of Savoy, long before the States entered into it, her majesty willingly charged herself two-thirds of the subsidies which were to be paid to that prince.

This evidently shews, that though the inequality in the payments of the subsidies, and of other the expences which her majesty charged upon herself, should be contrary to proportion, as it is not, Great Britain could not with any ground now make it a cause of complaint against this State, since her majesty did voluntarily charge herself with those payments.

The result of all that we have now said is this: That according to treaties and alliances, Great Britain and this State are each of them obliged to employ all their strength, in the present war: That since the *quantum* or quota of the one and the other has not been regulated by any convention or agreement, their proportions neither ought nor can be regulated, but upon the foot of their respective abilities: That Great Britain is incontrovertibly more powerful than this State, and that from this principle we have likewise an incontrovertible right to conclude, that she ought to contribute more to all the charges and expence of the war: That in every respect the State has fulfilled her engagements with relation to Great Britain: That if in some places it has not contributed so much as she, it has in others contributed a great deal more: That in general we can truly say, that in proportion to her strength, she has done as much, at least, as Great Britain, or any other of the allies: That as Great Britain deserves high commendation and a grateful acknowledgment for her general efforts, in favour of the common cause, and for the good effects, which by the blessing of God have followed

upon them, we likewise trust, that every one who looks with an equitable and impartial eye upon the efforts which the States-General have made on their part, both before the war and since it began, to this very day, they will do them the justice to own, that they no way deserve what they are charged with by the resolutions and address of the House of Commons; and that, in short, it can neither with reason nor justice be demanded of the States, that notwithstanding the expences they are at in the Netherlands, which are incomparably greater than those of Great Britain, we should contribute equally with her in other countries, and that Great Britain should only contribute to the charge of the war by sea, in proportion of five to three, and not do the like in other cases.[1]

We do not believe that we ought to take for a reflection on the State, what the house says in their addres, "That those who have all the profit of a war, cannot easily be disposed to deprive themselves of it, and that the true reasons why so many people delight in war, which brings annually from Great Britain a rich harvest into their granaries, are easy to be guessed at." For besides that those words cannot be applied to the State with the least shadow of reason, we are able to prove uncontrovertibly, by a great number of the queen's speeches to her parliament, and by the addresses of both houses, that Great Britain, as well as this State, thought it was absolutely necessary to push on the war with vigour. The States could not desire the continuation of a war, the expence of which she is scarce able to bear, and from which she reaped no advantages capable to make up her losses by it; on the contrary, she had always wished, and does now wish from the bottom of her heart, for such a peace as may in some measure compensate the treasure and blood it has cost her, as may answer the blessings which God Almighty has been pleased so abundantly to give to the arms of the confederates, and as may, humanly speaking, ascertain the peace of Europe, against the exorbitant power of France, without which, we fear, the war has been begun and carried on to little purpose.

We might also prove here by very good arguments, that the above-mentioned address, in the reflections upon the State on the head of the Barrier-treaty, contains very false propositions; but besides that we have a right to stand by that treaty which was concluded and ratified with all the due formalities, we do not think it to the purpose to enter at present into the discussion of that matter, and so much the less, because there is a negotiation on foot, to see if by any explanation or otherwise, the objections which at present seem to be made against it on the part of Great Britain can be removed.

No. I.

By the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord-High-Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. and of all her Majesty's Plantations, &c.

Her majesty's pleasure having been signified to us, by Mr Secretary St John, that we should (in pursuance of an address from the House of Commons) prepare an account of the quotas of her majesty's ships and those of her allies, during this present war, and what agreements and conventions have been made for the said quotas, and how the same have been observed, we do in obedience to her majesty's command humbly report,

That by the treaties between the Queen of Great Britain and the States-General,

[1] This reasoning on the part of the Dutch is ridiculed by Dr Arbuthnot, in the History of John Bull, chap. ix. part iii. where he gives a copy of a letter from Nicholas Frog to John Bull, and also chap ii. part v. entitled, "How John Bull and Nicholas Frog settled their Accounts."

their proportion of the ships of the line of battle, to act in conjunction with those of this kingdom in the Channel, and in or about the Mediterranean, ought to be 3 to our 5.

That since the commencement of this present war, not only Sir David Mitchell, but Sir James Wisheart, have been appointed by her majesty's command to go to Holland, and to adjust with the States-General or their deputies, the quotas of their ships of war to act in conjunction with those of her majesty as aforesaid; and what was done in pursuance of those treaties was sent to her majesty's principal secretary of state, to which we do humbly refer.

And as to the number of ships of the line of battle, which the States-General have each year, during the war, joined to her majesty's on the fore-mentioned service, the same will appear by the following account, which has been computed with as much exactness as the nature of the thing will bear, viz.

In the year 1702, her majesty had 44 ships employed in the Channel and soundings, of the line of battle, and 30 in and about the Mediterranean, making in the whole 74, and they were joined with no more than 33 of the States-General, whereas they should have been 44.

1703. Seventy-nine of her majesty's ships were employed in the aforesaid services, and but 22 of the States-General, which should have been 47.

1704. There were 74 of the queen's ships, and 18 Dutch, which should have been 44.

1705. Seventy-nine of her majesty's ships were employed as aforesaid, and 20 Dutch instead of 47.

1706. There were but 15 ships of the States-General, acted in conjunction with 78 of the queen's ships, whereas they should have been 46.

1707. To 72 ships of her majesty's, there was no more than 27 of the States-General, instead of 43.

1708. The States-General joined 25 ships of the line to 69 of her majesty's, instead of 43.

1709. No more than 11 ships of the States were joined to 67 of the queen's ships, instead of 42.

1710. Her majesty had 62 ships employed on the aforesaid services, and the States-General appointed no more than 13, to act in conjunction with them, instead of 37.

1711. There were no more than 12 Dutch ships instead of 35, appointed to act with 59 of the queen's ships, which, as well as those in the preceding years, were employed in the Mediterranean, and not so much as one ship allotted by the States-General to act in concert with those of her majesty's, against the enemy's ships before Dunkirk, and in the Channel.

Signed by
JAMES WISHEART,
GEORGE BYNG,
WILLIAM DRAKE,
GEORGE CLARK.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 21, 1711-12.

By order of their lordships, Signed,
JOHN BURCHETT.

No. II.

Estimate of the Forces which the Queen furnished from Time to Time for the Service in Flanders, since the Beginning of this War.

Years.	Nations.	Battalions.	Squadrons.	No. of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1701	English	12			Treaty betwixt England and Holland, dated the 3d of March, 1677.
	Total	12		10,000	
1702	English	4	17	8459	According to the votes and address of the Lower House to regulate her majesty's quota at 40,000 men; which votes passed on a message from the late king by Mr Secretary Vernon, who declared, that his majesty had ordered him to lay before the House the quota which was to be furnished by his Majesty, the Emperor, and the States-General.
	Danish	5	10½		
	Prussians	2½	2		
	Hanoverians	8	14	21,612	
	Hessians	2½	7		
	Palatines	1	.	600	
	Total	35	50½	40,671	
1703	English	2			In pursuance of the treaty betwixt England and Holland, of March 15, 1703, about a common augmentation of 20,000 men.
	Holstein Gottorp	1	4		
	Saxe-Gotha	1	3		
	Leigois	1½	2		
	Munsterians	1½			
	Hessians	½		10,000	
	East-Friesland	½			
	Osnabrug	½			
	Palatines	2			
	Danes 260				
	Total	45½	59½	50,671	
1704	- - - - - - - - - -	45½	59½		
1705	- - - - - - - - - -	45½	59½		
1706	Palatines	2½	2	2000	
	Total	48½	61½	52,671	
1707	Saxons	2	4	2319	
	Hanoverians		2	400	
	Total	50½	67½	55,390	
	Troops drawn off for Italy				
	Saxe-Gotha	1	3	2600	Deduct
	Palatines	2			
	Remains	47½	64½	52,790	Remains
1708	English under General Erle	5		4500	
	English	1		938	
	Total	53½	64½	58,228	
1709	Saxons	2	2		
	Prussians	5	14	9471	
	Treeves	1			
	English Guards	1			
	Total	62½	80½	67,699	
1710	Saxons	2		1548	
	Total	64½	80½	69,247	
	English		2	450	
	Total	64½	82½	69,697	
	English drawn off to Canada	5		4500	Deduct
	Remains	59½	82½	65,197	Remains

Note, There are 9 battalions and 21 Prussian squadrons, 3 battalions, and 2 Hessian squadrons, for whom her majesty pays nothing but bread and forage in conjunction with the States, and are not specified in this list.

Her Majesty's Half.					
Prussians	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$	- - - -	7000
Hessians	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1			
So that her majesty has for her effectual quota in Flanders.	$65\frac{1}{2}$	94		- - - -	72,197

Quota agreed at the Hague in 1701, to serve against France.

By the Dutch - - - -	120,000			
Deduct, for gar. - - -	42,000			
Remains for the field		60,000		
By England		40,000		
But Holland has augmented her troops to - - - - - - - - - - - -		129,458		
Deducted for garrisons		42,000		
Remains for the field			87,458	
England has augmented her troops to			72,197	
Total for the field			159,655	
England has no more to furnish to augment her troops in proportion than		58,305		
So that England has furnished more than her quota - - - - - - - -		13,892		
		72,197		

N. B. As the number of garrisons is augmented by the conquests made in the Netherlands during this war, so they have been obliged to employ more troops in them than the first 42,000 men, which by consequence lessens the troops designed for the field, and so the number of troops which England has furnished must rise much higher than the said - - - - - 13,892

And the deficiency of the Dutch troops must be greater than the said - - - - - 20,837

Estimate of the Forces furnished by the States-General from Time to Time, for the Service in Flanders, from the Beginning of this War.

Years.	Nations.	Battalions.	Squadrons.	No. of Soldiers.	By what Treaties.
1701	Dutch	75	73	79,858	
	Total	75	73		
1702	Anspach	2	4		In pursuance of an agreement made with England to bring 60,000 men into the field, and leave 42,000 in garrisons.
	Mecklenburgh	2			
	Hanover and Zell	6	11		
	Hesse-Cassel	3		30,384	
	Palatines	7	8		
	Danes	5	$10\frac{1}{2}$		
	Munsterians	2	2		
	Prussians	$2\frac{1}{2}$	2		
	Hessians	$2\frac{1}{2}$	7		
		107	$117\frac{1}{2}$	110,242	
1703	English	2			In pursuance of a treaty between England and Holland, about a common augmentation of 20,000 men.
	Holstein Gottorp	1	4		
	Saxe-Gotha	1	3		
	Leigeois	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2		
	Munsterians	$1\frac{1}{2}$			
	Hessians	$\frac{1}{2}$		10,000	
	East-Friesland	$\frac{1}{2}$			
	Osnabrug	$\frac{1}{2}$			
	Palatines	2			
	Danes 260				
	Total	$117\frac{1}{2}$	$126\frac{1}{2}$	120,242	

Years.	Nations.	Battalions.	Squadrons.	No. of Soldiers.
1704	- - - - - - - - -	117½	126½	"
1705	- - - - - - - - -	117½	126½	
1706	Palatines	1½	1	1000
	Total	118⅚	127½	121,142
1707	Dutch cavalry			1160
	Saxons	2	4	2319
	Hanoverians		2	400
	Total	120⅚	133½	125,121
	Troops sent to Italy			
	Dutch	3	10	
	Saxe-Gotha	1	3	
	Palatines	9	8	12,850
	Remains	107⅚	112½	112,271
1708	- - - - - - - - -	107⅚	112½	112,271
	The Switzers and Grison augmented			1144
	Wirtemberg	5	4	
	Wolfenbuttle	2	2	
	Saxons	2		
	Holsteiners	1		
	Munsterians	1		
	Total	118⅚	118½	122,458
1710		111⅚	118½	
1711		118⅚	111½	

Note, There are 9 battalions and 21 squadrons of Prussians, 3 battalions and 2 squadrons of Hessians, to whom her majesty, in conjunction with the States-General, paid nothing but bread and forage, and which are not specified in this list.

The half for the States is,

	Battalions.	Squadron.
Prussians	4½	10½
Hessians	1½	1
So that the States-General have in Flanders for their share of effective men,	124⅚	130

This estimate is as exact as I could possibly make it, and taken out of the books which were found in the offices of the secretaries of state and war, and likewise out of accounts given by those who were employed in this service.

Signed,

H. St John.

Quota agreed at the Hague, 1701, to act against France.

By England - - - - - - - - -		40,000
By Holland - -	102,000	
Deducted for garrisons - - -	42,000	
Remains for the field - -	60,000 men.	
	10,000	
But England has increased her troops to - - - - -		72,197
And the Dutch to -	129,458	
Deducted for garrisons - - -	42,000	
Remains for the field		87,458
Total of forces		159,655
If the Dutch had augmented in proportion, they must furnish for the field - - - - -		108,295
So that the Dutch furnished less than their proportion - - - - -		20,837
Remains as above		87,458

	7000
	129,458

No. III.

Estimate of the Forces which the Queen furnished from Time to Time for the Service in Spain, since the Beginning of the War.

Years.	Nations.	Battalions.	Squadrons.	No. of Soldiers.	By what Treaties.
1705	English	6	2	5000	
1706	English	5		4170	
	English	7	4	8152	
	French refugees	3			
	Total	21	6	17,322	
1708	Germans	6		4360	
	Italians and Germans	6	7	5430	These troops, in June 1711, were reduced to 3493 men, in 15 squadrons and 2 battalions.
	Portugueze	2	21	5560	
	Palatines	2		130	
	Total	37	34	34,031	
1709	English	9	2	7904	
	Germans and Italians	5		3180	
	Total	51	36	45,115	
1710	Germans and Italians	4		3000	
	Portugueze	1		84	
	Total	56	36	48,960	
1711	English	9		7013	
	Imperial dragoons		12	2000	
	Total	65	48	57,973	

Note, The body of English and Dutch troops, which in 1706 marched out of Portugal into Spain, and have served there since, are not contained in these lists.

Note, Notwithstanding the reductions made of the queen's troops in Spain, the reinforcements which were sent thither every year afterwards were so considerable, that they much exceeded the reductions. So that there still remains in Spain 24 battalions, and 14 squadrons of English troops; of whom there were made prisoners of war in the battle of Briheuga 8 battalions and 11 squadrons. Besides, there are still 87 battalions, and 52 squadrons of auxiliary troops in the queen's pay, including the 13 battalions and 18 squadrons of the King of Spain, for which the queen pays subsidies; and those are not contained in these lists.

The difference on the part of the queen is 55 battalions and 52 squadrons.

Estimate of the Forces furnished from Time to Time by the States-General for the Service in Spain since the Beginning of the War.

Years.	Nations.	Battalions.	Squadrons.	No. of Soldiers.	By what Treaties.
1705	Dutch	4		2500	
1706	Dutch	6		4000	
	Total	10		6500	
1708	Palatines	4	8	5700	
	Total	14	8	12,200	

These Palatines, with the remains of the Dutch, made, after the battle of Almanza, a body of six battalions and 14 squadrons; and this was near upon the number of troops which the States-General had in Spain before the said battle; after which they sent no more troops to that kingdom.

Note, In the beginning of 1711, the emperor sent a regiment of 2000 to Spain; and upon the manifold representations of the imperial ministers, that nothing was wanting to finish the war in Spain, but an augmentation of 2000 horse, the queen took into her pay two imperial regiments amounting to that number; the States-General promised at the same time to send 4 battalions thither, but have not yet done it.

The States-General have at present in Spain, 6 battalions and 14 squadrons.

This estimate is as exact as I could possibly make it, and taken out of the books which were found in the offices of the secretaries of state and war; and likewise out of the accounts given by those who were employed in this service.

Signed,

H. St John.

No. IV.

Estimate of the Forces which the Queen furnished from Time to Time for the Service of Portugal, since the Beginning of this War.

Years. Nations.	Battalions.	Squadrons.	No. of Soldiers	By what Treaties.
1703 English	8	6	8000	Treaty betwixt the emperor, England, Holland, and Portugal, of the 16th of May, 1703.
1704 English	2	2	1810	*Note*, These troops were sent to make good the loss sustained in the beginning of 1704, before Castele de Vide, and in Portugal.
				Note, One of these battalions, that suffered much at the above-mentioned places, was sent to England to recruit.
Total in 1704	9	8		
1706 Formed out of prisoners	2			
	11	8		

Note, The same year the whole body of the English and Dutch marched with the Portugueze army into Castille; but instead of coming back again to Portugal, the whole army was obliged, at the close of that year, to retire to Valencia.

The King of Portugal having desired a new supply of troops for the security of his kingdom, her majesty not only sent some of her own troops thither, but also levied others there at her own charge, as follows:

Years. Nations.	Battalions.	Squadrons.	No. of Soldiers.
1707 English	4		2900
1708 English	2		1710
Portugueze	1		876
Formed out of deserters	1		84[illegible]
1709 English		5	912
Portugueze		10	1615
1710 Formed out of deserters		4	646
	8	19	9504

Which troops were actually in Portugal, at her majesty's charge, in 1711, except the battalion of deserters, who were taken prisoners of war, and cashiered in 1710.

Estimate of the Forces which the States-General furnished from Time to Time for the Service in Portugal, since the Beginning of this War.

Years. Nations.	Battalions.	Squadrons.	No. of Soldiers.	By what Treaties.
1703 Dutch	6	4	4000	Treaty betwixt the emperor, England, Holland, and Portugal, of the 16th of May, 1703.
1704 Dutch	2		1200	*N. B.* These troops were sent to make good the damage sustained in the beginning of the year 1704.

Note, The States-General maintained their quota of one-third till the battle of Almanza, but sent not one man to Portugal since that time; so that the queen alone sent thither, and levied at her own charge, 8 battalions and 19 squadrons.

Note, The King of Portugal was obliged by the treaty of the 16th of May, 1703, to maintain at his own charge in the field 12,000 foot and 3000 horse.

And in consideration of a subsidy of a million of rixdollars per annum, of which her majesty paid two-thirds, and the States-General one-third, that king obliged himself to furnish 13,000 men more: but the whole body of those troops never amounted to the last-mentioned number.

This estimate is as exact as I could possibly make it from the books that were found in the offices of the secretaries of state and war; and likewise out of the accounts given by those who were employed in that service.

Signed,

H. St John.

No. V.

Estimate of the Troops which the States of the United Netherlands sent to Portugal and Spain, in the Year 1703, and after.

Note, The four battalions that stand next are only reckoned two in the list of the troops in the Netherlands.
The 1300 men from England are not included here.

	Battalions.	Squadrons.	Foot.	Horse and Dragoons.
In 1703, to Portugal	6	5	3960	- - - - 852
In 1704, to Portugal	2		1320	
In 1705, to Spain	4		2400	
In 1706, to Spain	3	5	2376	- - - - 780
In 1707, the Palatine troops from Italy to Spain	6	8	4468	- - - - 1488
In 1711, Diesbag's regiment of Switzers was raised, and lies ready on the frontiers of Switzerland, to march to Spain	2		1200	
	23	18	15,724	- - - - 3120
				- - - 15,724
				- - - 18,844
Besides these, the following recruits were sent to Spain and Portugal				
In the autumn of 1704			600	
In the spring of 1705			730	
In the autumn of 1705			1283	
In the autumn of 1706			1500	
In the autumn of 1708			850	
				- - - 4963
				- - - 23,807

Of the above-mentioned twenty-three battalions, those that follow were commanded home, or incorporated with others in Spain, having suffered so much, that it was not possible to recruit them in Portugal and Spain, and they were all immediately recruited and compleated at home.

1704	- - - -	- - -	- - -	2	- - -	1320	
1707	3 Battal. at	792	2376				
	4 at - - -	660	2640				
	2 at - - -	600	1200	9	- - -	6216	
1711	- - - -	- - -	- - -	2	- - -	1200	
				15	- - -	8736	
The Palatine foot was, in 1709, reduced to 3300 men, of whom the States paid 2591, making up four battalions; so that the quota of the States was lessened - -				2		1877	
				15		10,613	
So that the States, in 1712, paid in Spain, including the regiment of Diesbag - - - - -				3	18	5111	3120
				23	18	15,724	3120

No. 6. Estimate of the Subsidies annually granted by Parliament, so as the same are paid to Foreign Princes, in pursuance of the Treaties made with them, since the Beginning of this War.

To whom the subsidies are paid.	1701.		1702.		1703.		1704.		1705.		1706	
	England.	Holland.	England.	Holland.	England.	Holland.	England.	Holland.	England.	Holland.	England.	Holland.
	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.	Crowns.
To the King of Denmark in bank money	75000	75000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000
To the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel	- - - - -	- - - - -	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	50000	25000	25000
To augment his troops and march them to Italy	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -		- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	47124	23562
To the Elector of Triers	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000
To the Duke of Savoy	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	160000	80000	64000	32000	64000	32000	64000	32000
To the King of Portugal	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	111111	55555½	666666½	333333½	666666⅔	333333½	666666⅔	333333½
To the King of Prussia	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- -	- - -	- - -	194520	67260	200000	100000
For bread and forage for 12000 men in Flanders	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - -	- - -	82973	82973
To the Elector Palatine	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- -	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000
Total	75000	75000	200000	200000	496111	360555½	1551666⅔	895333½	1746186⅔	995593½	1856763⅔	1079868½

	1707.		1708.		1709.		1710.		1711.		Total.	
To the King of Denmark	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	150000	1575000	1575000
To the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	350000	350000
To augment his troops and march them to Italy	33333⅓	16666⅔	66666⅔	33333⅓	66666⅔	33333⅓	66666⅔	33333½	66666⅔	33333⅓	347124	173561
Bread, waggons, forage and for hospitals of his troops in Italy	46666⅔	23333⅓	107374½	53687½	-	-	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	154041⅓	77020
To the Elector of Triers	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	25000	225000	225000
To the Duke of Savoy	640000	320000	640000	320000	640000	320000	640000	320000	640000	320000	5280000	2640000
To the King of Portugal	666666⅔	333333⅓	666666⅔	333333⅓	666666⅔	333333⅓	666666⅔	333333⅓	666666⅔	333333⅓	5444444½	2722222½
To the King of Prussia	200000	100000	200000	100000	200000	100000	200000	100000	200000	100000	1394020	697060
For bread and forage for 12000 men in Flanders	155451⅔	155451⅔	155451⅔	155451⅔	155451⅔	155451⅔	15545 ⅔	155451⅔	155451⅔	155451⅔	860231⅓	860231½
To the Elector Palatine	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	20000	160000	160000
Total	1962118⅓	1168784⅔	2056159⅔	1215805⅔	1948785	1162118⅓	1948785	1162118⅓	1948785	1162118⅓	15790361	9480296

N. B. The sum of 50000l. was yearly granted to the King of Spain, by the parliament, since 1707, inclusive, for his own maintenance, and that of his troops, besides what was given above, according to this account.

N. B. Besides the subsidies to the King of Prussia above mentioned, his Prussian majesty requested of the queen, as her quota, two thirds of 70000 crowns to recruit his troops in Italy, that the same might be in a condition to act there in 1710 and 1711. And this sum was granted by an act of parliament.

N. B. Besides the ordinary subsidy for the Duke of Savoy of 640000 crowns per annum, there was granted him for the year 1706, 500001.* And for the year 1709, 1710, and 1711 100000l. per annum, for the extraordinary charges of the war in Italy.

N. B. By the treaty with the King of Prussia, of the 20th November, 1704, that a body of 8000 men of his troops should act in Italy, it was stipulated, That he should have 300000 crowns per annum, one half to be paid by England, and the other by the Dutch. But notwithstanding this treaty is only signed by England, it is not doubted but the Dutch will agree to it. In the mean time, we see, as above, that England has paid her two-thirds.

N. B. The two-thirds of the subsidy of a million of rixdollars for the King of Portugal have always been paid by England; though it appears by the fifth article of the offensive alliance, that this sum ought to have been paid by the emperor, England, and Holland.

N. B. In the beginning of this war, the subsidies were equally divided betwixt England and Holland.

But it appears by the sums above specified, that the Share

of England amounts to		15790361
And that of Holland to		9480296
Both together		25270657
The half of this sum for England	12635328½	15790361
So that England paid more than her share	3155032½	as above.

This estimate is as exact as I could possibly make it; and taken out of the books which were found in the offices of the secretaries of state and war, and likewise out of the accounts given by those who were employed in this service.

Signed

H. St John.

Civil Trade.

A further Search into the Conduct of the Allies, and the late Ministry, as to Peace and War. Containing also a Reply to the several Letters and Memorials of the States-General. With a Vindication of the British Parliament in their late Resolves and the Address relating to the Deficiencies of the Dutch. Printed in the Year 1712.

This is a sort of continuation of Dean Swift's celebrated treatise upon the same plan, but by a far inferior hand. The author in particular attempts the confutation of the Memorial of the States-General, which forms a preceding article.

The reception a former work of this kind has met with in the world, and the little which has been said against it, as to matters of fact, must be acknowledged to be all owing to the truth, coming with an irresistible force upon the minds of men, and which always carries its own evidence along with it; when we have met with the enemy descanting upon it, we have heard them, even in the midst of a thousand curses and hard names, which they cast upon the author, yet at every pause cry out, "Damn the circumstance," I doubt there is too much truth in it, though I hate the design of making it public. This makes it clear, which has often, and upon many occasions, been said, that our late people had a kind of popery in their politicks, viz. that much of their success consisted in keeping the people blind and ignorant in the main and most essential points of their affairs, and which it was most necessary for them to know; that they were so far from knowing what usage they had received abroad from their allies, that when they came to be a little rightly informed, they could not frame ideas of so much knavery in their heads, or think it possible that any people, who called themselves allies, could at the same time carry themselves in such a manner, to those for whom they had made the least professions of any respect, or for whose common safety they had the least concern.

As the truth of what has been thus spoken, is hereby acknowledged and confest by the enemy, which is the best kind of evidence, so the seasonableness of making that truth public in the manner it hath been by the former tract, and as it shall or may be in this, is justified and cleared beyond all possibility of objection, by the late publick resolutions of the honourable House of Commons, where it comes into the world with the sanction and authority of the great representative of the nation. It is true, the particulars in the votes amount to a most excessive height; and though it was known and believed by many to be very great, yet I must confess few imagined them to be so surprising, the account so large, and the particulars so many, as they appear to be. Also one thing is obtained by this report of the House of Commons, which the credit of a single author was by no means sufficient for, viz. that the Dutch had any share in the deficiency, and in the injuries which this nation has suffered under the weight of this confederacy; many would be brought by the power of reasoning, and the force of demonstrations, which are things all people are not equally furnished to resist; they would, I say, be brought to confess, that there might have been defects in general, and

that those defects appeared in the affairs of the empire, the Portuguese, and such like, any thing but the Dutch; but such an ascendant had the influence of the politicks and the confederacy of the late administration with the parties concerned, obtained over the people, that though any thing would go down with them against other people, yet if the dear Dutch came into the dispute, nothing could be borne with, but all the rest was the pure effect of Jacobitism and the French.

How fatal this has been to us I may hereafter have leisure to examine, and every day is like to discover more and more of it to us; indeed things were mounted to such a violent prepossession upon us in favour of the Dutch, that we began to think even our own constitution stood in need of further security from them, and politically brought the Dutch into our national concerns; thus making ourselves beholden to them for a guarantee, or safety to the succession of Hanover, that this might be a handle to our doing other things for them, so exorbitant in their own nature, as that no nation, but such as depended upon them for something very weighty and significant, would ever consent to, or could upon any other pretence be persuaded into. Yet this was not all, for when we had brought our people to stoop to so mean a thought, as that our succession, ratified by both kingdoms, and incorporated by both the parliaments of England and of Scotland, in the late solemn Treaty of Union, could receive any addition of strength from abroad, more than that of the interest and alliance of so powerful a prince, as his electoral highness of Hanover, and his allies; that we stood in need of that incoherent article of a Dutch guarantee; when, I say, we had stooped so low, as to level our constitution of the common notion of leagues and treaties between other and differing nations, and that it should receive a farther sanction thereby, it was not hard then to fill the heads of the poor people with a belief, that whoever made the least objection against any thing hereafter, which either the Dutch might do by us, or which we might do by them, acted therein against the protestant succession: This was a point so well gained by the Dutch, that on the faith of a man, if they gained it for nothing, it was the best bargain they made during the whole war; and if our late managers granted it so also, they must either have given up their senses to the Dutch, or had most despicable thoughts of the strength of Great Britain, and of our being able to support our own settlement; or, which I speak most unwillingly, there must have been some private bargain driven, of which I shall venture to say no more, but that I hope no Englishman could be found that would be guilty of it.

To waive therefore a reflection so unwelcome, let us go back to the observation before, viz. this threefold end we have seen it answer to the Dutch; what end it will ever answer to us remains a mystery, and will in all probability remain so for many years to come, if not for ever; the ends which I say it answered for the Dutch were three:

1. The Barrier Treaty, which, with the separate article, was joined as the advance-money of a loan, by way of what our people call prompt-payment, and which the Dutch had the confidence to palm upon us as a small matter, and a thing due to them for the great kindness done for us by them, in taking upon them to secure our succession. I am not ignorant of that weak and foolish use which the enemies of peace made of that objection, viz. "That it may not be right in point of policy, or good sense, that foreign power should be called in to confirm our succession, by way of guarantee, but only to acknowledge it; otherwise we put it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee: However, our posterity may hereafter, by the tyranny and oppression of any succeeding princes, be reduced to the fatal necessity of breaking in upon the excellent and happy settlement now in force."

This by all means they will have as an aim taken for the Pretender, as if, because we ought not to put it out of the power of our legislature to limit the succession, whatever necessity may happen, even when this race may be all in their graves; that there

fore we have an immediate alteration of the succession in our view. These people who contend thus, forget the mighty noise we have had from them about parliamentary limitations, a word the whigs have made so sacred that it has been like the *Magna Charta* of their liberties, and with which they run down the hereditary right of their princes, as if there had been nothing at all in it but tyranny, and arbitrary government, till at length it was happily discovered, that they were very well consistent together; and that they who best understood hereditary right, had proved it to be agreeable to parliamentary limitation, and then all was well again. But after all this bustle, was it to be imagined that the same people could so easily give up the parliament's right of limiting the succession to a foreign nation, and by making a league of guarantee for the succession, legitimate the impertinence of strangers, who may hereafter intermeddle with our constitution, and may tell a British parliament, they have no power to alter or meddle with the settlement of the crown, for that it is already settled, and they are guarantees of it? What has been may be; and what may be may be supposed to be; if then any of the family of Hanover should tyrannize or abdicate, or the same or like circumstances should happen, as have happened before, the parliament would be disabled from declaring the throne vacant, and filling up the same with such other of the family as they find convenient; which, according to all the whig principles which we have so often heard of, is inseparable from the constitution, and much more sacred than any thing which has been hereditary in the world. I do not incline to concern these papers with the popular disputes which have troubled the world so much and so long about the difference between hereditary and parliamentary right; how far they are the same, or which is best furnished with authorities, and originals, whether of divine or civil right; it is enough to take hold here of the whigs own argument, and, allowing all they have said on this head to be orthodox, whether it be really so or no, it must necessarily follow, that this parliamentary right cannot, or ought not, to be given out of our hands, and put, by a treaty, into the hands of foreigners, so that it shall be in their power to put their negative into our next limitation of the crown. If this be not to give away our liberties, I would be glad to know what it is to keep them; if there be any choice of tyrants, and if it weighs any thing, when our privileges are given up, who is it should be given up to? I confess myself more willing to be a slave at home than abroad, and to be tyrannized on by a prince of our own than by a foreign nation; and if there were no other reason for that than this, it would be sufficient to justify the choice, (viz.) that there are more ways to avoid the mischief of it, that an oppressing prince has sometimes changed his measures, or he may be restrained, or may die, and thereby a nation may be delivered; but such a convention as this, made with a foreign nation, engages the whole nation upon all occasions to embark itself, and its whole strength, in defence of the capitulation agreed on; and thus by this method the power of parliament in future limitations of the crown seems to be effectually given up: How the whigs would have liked this doctrine if it had come from any one but themselves, may be best guessed at by the warmth they shewed about the league said to be made by the late King James and the King of France; which put this whole nation into a flame, and reason good so far as that league appeared; for what was it, or what could we imagine it to be, but a treaty of guarantee with the French for the securing the succession of popery in England? Whereas the settling the religion and liberties of this nation was the undoubted right of the people in parliament, and so by the same rule must the succession of our princes be. The sum of all this is, that by the whigs own arguments, and by their own principles, which they have always professed and adhered to, and by the same rule from which they acted in the Revolution, the accepting a guarantee for securing the succession of the crown of this kingdom to any family, or branch of a family, race or line whatsoever, is no less than giving up the privileges of the people, and divesting the parliament of the power of limiting the succession of the crown.

It may be remembered, that in the late treaty of union with Scotland, some secret overtures were made, to have engaged the Dutch to have been guarantees of that treaty; and though that proposal seemed to come from such hands, as gave reason to believe it was rather a design to destroy than secure the said treaty, the Dutch having at that time discovered willingness enough to have prevented the conclusion of that treaty; yet those that knew any thing of the resentment expressed at that time here against that proposal, as dishonourable to England, and destructive of the constitution of both kingdoms, would wonder that ever the same ministry should so far change their notions, as to admit the same guarantee in so nice an affair, as the succession to their own crown, which they rejected with contempt in a treaty with a neighbouring nation.

Secondly, another end answered by this treaty of guarantee, was giving an opportunity to the Dutch to play their own game with us, with respect to other treaties, quotas, proportions of payments, ships, troops, and the like; of this so much has been said already, and is yet like to be said farther in publick, that I shall need to say the less to it here, my design being rather to justify the resentment all honest men entertain, at the mean politicks and submissions of our people here, and to shew the necessity of taking wiser for the future, than to animate people against any of our confederates. I am as forward as any to agree, that the advantages of a strict union amongst the confederates are very great, and that, as her majesty expressed it, the interest of the States of Holland be looked upon as our own; but this by no means hinders us from desiring that the Dutch should use us well, should shew a reciprocal kindness, and should act with a mutual concern for the general confederated interest; and that we should not be willing to see them impose upon us in any of these particulars, or be easy, and submit quietly to it when they do; and this is so much justice, that none can object against; and what is the best, if not the only way, to cultivate and maintain that friendship, and good understanding, on both sides, which is so much the interest of the confederacy in general, and of the Dutch themselves in particular. They who contend, that the enquiring into these things seems to shew a disregard to the confederacy in general, or to the several parties concerned in particular, seem to make severer satires upon the Dutch than they are aware of. The deficiencies of the performance they cannot deny, the want of a due regard then to the confederacy must certainly lie rather in those that have been the cause of those deficiencies, than those that have not; for who are most justly to be charged with slighting and disregarding the mutual interest of the confederacy, that they have failed in the performance of the conditions, or they that complain of it, in order to have them performed? Britain has all along shewn, by a zeal fatal to herself, her willingness to push on the war with all imaginable vigour; in order to which, when her deficient allies, having less concern for the general good, have run the venture of miscarriage, to shorten their expence, Britain, as if the whole charge of the war had been her due to pay, has zealously supplied both their quotas, and her own: While she was willing to do thus, her confederates daily increased their deficiencies, and her expence, as they might very well do, finding her so easy; and while she was willing to sit still, and see herself thus used, it was very remarkable how augmentations, and increase of forces, was every year proposed by the confederates, as well in Flanders as in Spain, and none so forward as the emperor himself to increase the quotas of the troops, and the charges of the war, upon the rest of his confederates; quietly waiting for their supplying additional troops, and taking care to have very few of his own.

While we submitted to all these things, the war went quietly on, but whether so successfully or no, as it might have done, if the allies had answered what we had reason to expect from them, is left for them to answer. At last, the British court enter-

ing into a more narrow inspection of things, have not thought fit so calmly to suffer the weight of the war to lie heavier upon one shoulder than another; and though equally willing to bear their share of the burthen, yet not forward to carry that load which ought to lie upon other shoulders. They are now calling upon their confederates to consider a little the justice of their several treaties, and to look back, and see what they are obliged to do, if they expect the war should be carried on any farther; if they are diffident of the success of these remonstrances from their experience, how fruitless the like have been before, and have therefore at the same time embraced the occasion that has offered, towards putting an end to the war, by an honourable peace, they will be justified in it before all the world, both now, and for ever; when it shall be at the same time understood, in what manner, and for how many years, this war has been carried on; nor can the artificers of an adverse party among us delude many in their suggesting to the world, that the government here is in the interest of France, since they can have no other reason to back that suggestion, than that they were not willing to carry on a war upon unequal terms, and in a confederacy with allies, who would not perform their own conditions, and which those, who expected the greatest advantages from it, paid the least part of the expence towards it.

Thirdly, the third end which this general complaint against a peace has been calculated to answer, and which the party has taken care to make as popular as they can, is a general notion, that those who are for a peace, do it with a design, by the assistance of France, to introduce the Pretender; however weak and inconsistent such a consequence may be, nothing is more certain, than that many innocent and well-meaning people have been prevailed upon to believe it; and though the improbabilities of the thing in its own nature, and the steady zeal of the persons who they charge with it, and who have all along, in a course of many years, testified their abhorrence of that interest, and taken such steps against it, as have been most effectual to the cutting off all hope, both from him and his party, might suffice to any reasonable people, yet this seems to be one of those difficulties which can be solved only by a little patience and time: To those who will be convinced by argument, it seems sufficient, that our putting a stop to a war, which we carried on at so much disadvantage, and which had in view rather an utter impoverishing the nation, than a timely reducing our enemies to reason, however, was not only necessary on many other accounts, but greatly our advantage on this account, in especial manner, that thereby we might be left in a condition to defend our constitution, and to preserve power to maintain our succession, as our parliament had thought fit to limit it, without the help of the Dutch, and without being put to so weak, so scandalous, and dishonourable a shift, as to accept of the guarantee of foreign states, to preserve our own acts of parliament.

When I look farther into this scandalous thing, called a guarantee for our succession, methinks it represents to me our people on their knees to the Dutch for the mighty favour of taking us into their high and mighty protection; and indeed, when this is compared with the manner with which the states of Holland carried on the Gertruydenberg treaty, wherein the making a peace for us was also left wholly to, or engrossed by, the states of Holland, the thing seems very much of a piece. The Barrier Treaty also has much of the same manner in it, which being handled at large by itself, I say no more to here. I have observed, that at the time when we began to talk here of peace, and when the French articles began to appear, we were mightily amused with the Dutch making offers, that they would take away the excuse from us of want of money, or credit, and the Dutch would advance to us four millions sterling, to encourage us to carry on the war. That the Dutch made such an offer publickly in form is known to be a mistake; but that the Dutch might be willing to lend, or to give as much as that amounts to, to have the sole direction of making the peace, that so their particular interest, which they never forget, might be principally provi-

ded for, this there can be no great question of; and the Dutch are not without cunning enough to make it so well worth their while, as that such a sum of money should not all be laid out. But those people should do well to consider two or three things which lie hard in this notion, of the Dutch lending us so much money, and which, by way of corollary, may be of great use to us, in the understanding of other parts of management on that side. (1.) That if the states of Holland, for the carrying on the war, could spare us so much money to encourage us that we might not make a peace without them, though that has not been thought of, then, however, all they thought fit to say in former times, of their being impoverished, and exhausted, and not in a condition to pay their quotas, must be a manifest fraud and cheat, and must be with a design to put upon us the necessity of carrying it on upon unequal conditions; and this they could not have entertained a thought of, without first being sensible that they had us at so much advantage, as that they knew, whenever they thought fit, to ease their own charge, they may put the hardship upon us. (2.) Since it was obtained by the arts of their other conduct, that the Dutch had the sole direction of the peace, it followed then, that we were under an obligation to carry on the war at their bidding; from whence it was most natural to believe, they were not dark-sighted enough not to make their other advantages. (3.) These things make it no longer a mystery, why the Dutch would advance any sum of money for the encouraging us to carry on the war, because it followed, that we should carry it on under the same inequalities and disadvantages which we did before; but now these things are detected, and if we should come to a necessity of carrying on the war, which God forbid, yet that it should be more than probable we may not only demand that they begin upon a new foot, and make up all their quotas for the time to come, but also may call upon them for what is past; also it is more than probable, that they may then plead poverty with us, as they did before, and talk no more of the great sums they would lend us. (4.) There is yet another remark to be made upon this head, viz. of the Dutch advancing such great sums of money to us; we have never found but these sums were to be all lent upon good parliamentary security, and on the interest current in England; and we might not be thought ungrateful to the lenders, if we asked them, where was the advantage of all that? Was it to us or to themselves? That they must not know the Dutch so well as we have reason to know them, who expect to find them ever forgetful of their own interest in a proposal they may make. It is true, we have complained of our being impoverished and exhausted, and not in a condition to carry on the war, especially at the rate which it hath been carried on at, without great inconveniences, and involving, mortgaging, and anticipating for us, and our posterity, at a rate, which neither are like to see the end of; but what is our defect? We do not want lenders, but funds to borrow upon; we have usurers enough among us to devour us, we want no help from the Dutch; we are not without a sort of men among us, who having little or no interest in the freehold, have amassed infinite sums of money in cash, with which they trade upon the rest, and live upon the blood and vitals of the government; these, like the eagles where the carcase falls, gather together; and if the parliament can but find funds, though they boast of having the power of credit in themselves, and often think of making themselves formidable, by threatening the government that they will lend no money, yet they can ruin the publick credit, by refusing to advance their money, yet they can no more forbear, than a vulture can forbear his prey; the funds are the carcase they feed on; they are as hungry for them, as a lion that has been hunting, and found no food; and in spite of their faith, often pledged to their party and friends, to run down credit, and lend no money, let but the ministry find a fund, and the parliament establish a lottery, or subscription, or loan, and they are ready to trample one another to death to get in their money. So that after all that hath been said to the Dutch lending us money, we see nothing to be said to it, but what was said in

answer to some bantering lines in the time of King Charles II. made upon the king, which his majesty by repartee answered him thus:

" Charles at this time having no need,
Thanks you as much as if he did."

It is apparent in our case we want no lenders; we have been devoured with harpies already, who think, as no doubt the Dutch would also think, and perhaps say too, that " the borrower is servant to the lender." But we must acknowledge we want funds to borrow, and where to find them, such excepted as will plunge us yet farther and farther into a gulph, whence no less than a hundred years can redeem us, is past the skill of the best advocates for a war to find out; indeed I cannot but wonder, that in all the noise the faction have made at these things, they have not descended to one argument against the difficulty of raising funds; they have indeed told us great things, *a la gasconade*, that there are funds enough, that England is vastly rich, that there is money enough, that we can with ease carry on the war this seven years, and such rhodomontade, that they have surfeited the people with it for some time; but we do not see one of them that offers any scheme how, and upon what destructive ruinous fund this money may be raised, that the people may judge whether what is alledged be true, yea, or no; and whether those funds they shall so propose, shall not be as fatal to the general good, as those that have gone before; with such fallacious ways have the people been managed till they have led them on to the brink of inevitable ruin; and now, as if it were not enough that the nation hath for so many years been oppressed by the war, through the negligence and knavery of our confederates, we are modestly desired to proceed in the war upon the same foot. I confess, this among our own people is a sign of some national stupidity and blindness, which one would hardly think possible; but for our neighbours, whether the States-General, or others, to desire it, seems to smell of something we want a word for in our tongue, and may be better expressed in French by *merveilleux, surprenant*, and the like. I must needs say I have not yet met with any man so weak, but what begins to feel the force of this argument enter into his soul, if the allies have not performed according to their argument, they should be reminded of it; and if we cannot prevail with them to make up former defects, we ought at least to be careful that they comply punctually for the time to come. Can any people be so besotted to a party, as to expect or desire that a nation, already impoverished by the unfair impositions of her allies, and not able to carry on the war on the terms she hath done for some time, should not insist upon more justice for the future, that she may be able to hold it out?

Neither is this an unnecessary argument at this time, for if we can carry on this war at the expence of three millions and half yearly, instead of seven, then we are better able to go on two years upon the square with our allies, than one year upon the unequal foundation we have gone upon all along; so that to bring our allies to do us justice, and to exert themselves to the uttermost, in carrying on the war, is the truest and best step towards the main point, (viz.) of carrying it on, if we are assured we shall no more be imposed upon; if we see the full numbers of ships in the Mediterranean, and all things in readiness in time and fit for action; if any thing will revive the drooping spirits of the nation it must be this; it must be that they have some hopes of not being cheated again, and that the powerful assistance of the allies will be a means of putting a happy and speedy end to the war, that a safe peace may follow; and it is easy to find that nothing but this will do it; nothing else can persuade an exhausted nation to bleed anew, but some assurance that they shall not be suffered by their allies to bleed to death, that there shall be some end of their sorrows and miseries, and that every hand is fairly engaged in bringing things to a happy end.

But these things seem to call for no further remark from us; they are so natural and plain in themselves, that every child, in these affairs, may understand them; for if we must carry on the war, it must be needful, that we suffer ourselves to be no more abused by our allies; if we are not to expect justice from our allies, then we must be unaccountably besotted if we carry on the war; nay, though a worse peace were to follow, than her majesty hath good reason to expect from the negotiations now on foot.

But it may not be amiss to enquire here, what prospect there appears of these things, and what hopes our allies do put us in, of expecting, for the future, better treatment; and that in the pursuit of the war they will go on upon a different foot from that which they have hitherto gone upon; for if there was but some appearance of an amendment for the future, it might be some encouragement to us, to think of prosecuting the ensuing campaigns with more comfort; but, instead of this, all we yet see amounts to little that way, for at home all the fruit of the discovery shews only a kind of regret that it is made publick, an inward fretting that the fact is too obvious, so that they cannot contradict it, and an envious warmth at the justice done their own country in it, because it touches upon the States-General, as if to touch them were fatal to us all; and perhaps it may indeed be fatal to some projects the party had set on foot here, destructive enough to the liberty of their country, and of which a little time may give us a farther view. This is clear, in that all the reply we have here to the detecting the hard usage we have met with from our allies, issues in exclamations at our exposing the Dutch, and falling upon the Dutch, spreading reports, that we design to fall out with the Dutch, and that we are for a peace with France, and a war with the Dutch; as if we must refrain a due inspection into our own affairs, for fear of the effects it will, or may have, upon the Hollanders: It is no less the duty of every faithful representative, to enquire how other nations may impose upon the people, and waste and destroy us, than it is how we are embezzled at home, for every breach of treaty is, in this kind, a depredation upon the people; and it is most reasonable, that when they have thus discovered the fraud, and by who, as well as by what means, the nation is exhausted and worn out, they should so far expose the matters of fact, and the persons, that the people may know by what means they are impoverished; this hath been the constant method and usage of parliaments, and the members of parliament could not have discharged the trust they have committed to them by the people they represent, if they had omitted it. Nor can this be called exposing the Dutch; they lay open the truth: if that exposes the Dutch, or any other persons or states, the misfortune is their own, to be liable to such a charge; but let such people answer what they would have had the House of Commons have done, when, upon enquiry into the state of the war, they found that we had not been fairly used by the confederates: If they had held their peace, had they not been criminally silent? Had they not betrayed their country? Had they not been accessary to all the frauds of the like kind which should have happened for the future? And what would the language of posterity have been, when they should have seen that the House of Commons knew these things, but took no notice of them, or any care to have the nation informed of them? Must it not have been a just reproach upon them, as it is now upon those who knew it before, and yet took no notice of it, or made any application to former parliaments to have it redressed? But it is evident these people, who make now such loud complaints of the reflections cast upon our allies, appear more concerned that the matter is made publick, than that it is true; and are so far from desiring any cure for the disease, that they spend all their heat and resentment at the discoveries of it; and it is to be observed, from their conduct, that they make ten reflections upon the House of Commons, and the present ministry, for the industry and pains taken in finding out how, and by whom, the nation has been abused, for one just remark upon the integrity and zeal in the war of those allies, who have used us in such a manner: Whence such a spirit can proceed,

and what reason can be given for it, is not so hard to find out, as it is melancholy to reflect, that so it should be.

I might go farther in this observation, to expose the foundation from whence all this proceeds, and by which we should soon see for what uses and purposes some people are so desirous of pushing on the war; and how to do it they care not, upon what disadvantages, and unequal conditions, they did it; being willing to bear any part of the burthen, nay, all the burthen, so the beloved war were but to be pursued: The enquiry into this will open many scenes of private treachery, not yet brought to light, and for that I purpose to do it in a tract by itself; I shall leave it to a fit occasion.

It falls next in view, to interrogate the ministers at Utrecht, how they proceed, and see thereby what measures the Dutch take to convince us, that we shall have a better and more equal balance kept amongst us, in case the war is to be continued. But here you shall find measures calculated rather to compel the Queen of Great Britain to carry on the war, than to invite her majesty to it, by assurances of performing treaties better than in the times past. This is a temper so different from what might be expected from a people, who had so treated their allies, to us who complain of being so treated, that it is, as before, *marvellieux;* or, to put it plainer, a kind of throwing off the mask; as if we were obliged to submit to be cheated, after we had first discovered that it was so; and that what before was done covertly, and under the appearance of a treaty, was now to be done more effectually, openly, avowedly, and in the teeth of the rest of the allies.

This appeared upon the first conference after the French plenipotentiaries had delivered in their paper of explanation, as they called it, on the proposals of the peace, which they had formerly given. It came then to the turn of the allies, to consider in what manner to deliver in their answer to the French proposals; this it was resolved should be by the confederate ministers delivering in their demands, or the several pretensions of their respective principles, without taking any notice of the project contained in the paper given in by the ministers of France; it should have been noted here, in the first place, that after all the Dutch had said, and after all that had been said to them, in order to come to this treaty, prepared to preserve a good understanding among the allies, and to bring the treaty to the desired conclusion, viz. a good peace, the Dutch ministers appeared there without any character, having neither powers as plenipotentiaries, or as ambassadors, or any thing more than mere commissioners, impowered only to hear what was said, make report to their masters the States, and give back their answers, which one of the queen's common messengers may as well do on our side. Nor were the persons, the equipages, or the salaries allowed to the said commissioners any more than what was suitable to common messengers, whose business it was to carry a message, and return with an answer; so that, in the conferences, either general or particular, there was no debating things with them, only just giving in what any one had to say, and all the answer these men could give was, that they would report it to their High Mightinesses the States-General, and would bring their answer. The French plenipotentiaries presently objected against these powers, as not sufficient to admit the Dutch ministers into the conferences. The British plenipotentiaries, though they were sensible of the affront offered in it to their royal mistress, after such assurances on her majesty's part, of her sincere intention to make the interest of all her allies to be as her own, yet, willing to waive every thing that might give an obstruction to the happy issue of the peace, did not insist on this; though they could not but complain, that it greatly obstructed that happy concert of measures, which they hoped might have been the constant fruit of the private conferences of the confederate ministers, which the Dutch, having no powers that extended any farther than barely to hear, and report, and bring back a resolution, was, for want of those powers, quite disappointed; so that the Dutch ministers might as justly be deemed and termed

porters as plenipotentiaries. Well, notwithstanding all this, the British plenipotentiaries, willing to promote the great end for which they assembled, which, as the Lord Bishop of Bristol expressed it, was, in the name of God, to bring the wars to a happy conclusion, in an equitable and honourable peace, all these obstructions were passed over on their side, and they laboured to have the powers of the Dutch ministers accepted, as at last they were, with some difficulty; and thus they proceed to the affair of the demands, as above, which were to be delivered in as the 5th of March. The Dutch ministers concealing the resolution taken at the Hague, to give in no demands, but the very immediate copy of the preliminaries last treated on, insisted that all the confederates demands should be formed into one instrument, and be given in jointly by all the plenipotentiaries, as the general demands of the whole alliance. This, though something surprising in itself, yet was the less so, when it was more known, that this was in order to execute the measures above noted, viz. of bringing in the preliminaries of Gertruydenbergh, as the summary demands of the allies. But the British plenipotentiaries taking notice of it, insisted, that this seemed to be destructive of the treaty itself; that France had twice ventured to carry on the war, rather than agree to those preliminaries; that they had been declared impracticable, and could not be treated on here; and to insist on the very literal form of those preliminaries now, and prescribe the plenipotentiaries to treat on them, was to declare against a treaty at all. That this treaty was understood, by all the parties, to be not a treaty of preliminaries in order to a treaty of peace, but a general treaty of peace itself, wherein the specific demands of every ally were to be heard, debated, and finally discussed, adjusted, and answered, to their satisfaction, which could by no means be done by preliminary articles, which had in them several references to a farther treaty, and some suggested demands left to be farther discussed at another time; whereas they were now met to make a final and general conclusion of all demands and pretensions whatsoever, that there might be no more blood shed in the Christian world, that an end might be put to the miseries of Europe. It was also alledged, that the said preliminaries had not been concerted with a due regard to the interest of all the allies; in a special manner it was asked, what article there was to be found in them which regarded the interest of her Britannic majesty, farther than what merely respected her title to the crown, and the banishment of the Pretender; whereas there seemed a great deal of reason for admitting farther demands for the security, and enlarging the commerce and possessions of her majesty and her subjects; for this reason, as well as in behalf of the rest of the confederates, the said British plenipotentiaries insisted upon giving in the instrument of their demands in particular, every ally by themselves.

It must be something astonishing to such true lovers of their country, who can look back on these things with unprejudiced judgments, to reflect on the temper reigning in this part of Europe at the time of the treaty aforesaid, when in all the numerous articles adjusted at the Hague, and afterwards debated again at Gertruydenbergh by the Dutch and French, the former left out nothing which concerned their own interest, security, or advantage; nay engaged the British court to concern and engage themselves for their particular security and advantages, but not one word, clause, article, or debate, was ever thought of for the English, either as to the security of their commerce, as it then stood, or the increase of it for the future. On the other hand, all the stress on the British side, and for which we were to think ourselves infinitely obliged to the Dutch, was to engage their assistance to keep out the Pretender, and secure the succession of the crown of Great Britain to his Electoral Highness of Hanover; a thing which is so the universal resolution of all the people and parties in Britain, and to which they think all the opposition that can be made from either French, or any else, is so trifling and insignificant, that they cannot be sensible of the exceeding obligation on that behalf to their confederates, or of the great danger which they were in of the Pretender, although no foreign assistance had been engaged on that behalf, es-

teeming the favourers of the Pretender in Britain, notwithstanding their great clamours of a party among us, to be so few, and so inconsiderable, as that there is nothing to be feared from them; but supposing there had been more danger of this clause, viz. the succession, than we are willing to hope there is ground to apprehend, it cannot but be reminded, that it is as much the interest of the States-General to secure that succession in the illustrious house of Hanover, as it is even of Great Britain itself, and much more than it can be supposed to be to Britain to secure to them the barrier of Flanders; for should the dominions of her Britannic majesty ever fall into the hands of a popish or French interest, or into the hands of a prince, who is, or may be, in the interest of France, the territories of the States-General being stript of the powerful assistance of the British troops by land, and fleets by sea, must inevitably be exposed to the powerful invasion of French and British fleets united, and their trade in particular eaten up and destroyed, as was verified by woeful experience to the said States in the year 1672, when, if the English court had not broken off from the said French alliance, the States-General had inevitably sunk under the power of France, and their government been dissolved and destroyed; so that upon the whole it is manifest there was no need on our part to engage the Dutch to appear for the security of our succession to the house of Hanover; for that the sovereign law of their own preservation will always put them under a necessity of doing it, the contrary being most sure to be a great step in their injury, if not their evident destruction: It may be argued, that in rules of government we are not to depend upon this or that state being obliged by their own interest to assist us, but we are to regard what necessity, either for security of trade, common safety of government, or other political interests, we are in, or may be in, of the assistance of the powers we are treating with, and if that necessity appears it is a sufficient reason for us to secure that assistance; and this we have frequent examples of, as of the Dutch themselves treating with us in 1676, when notwithstanding it was the undoubted interest of England not to let Holland upon any terms whatever fall into the hands of France; and if ever the French do again make that attempt, we ought to assist the Dutch with all our troops and power; and that not so much from any care and kindness to them as a nation, but for our interest and preservation; yet the Dutch, knowing the eyes of a nation are not always open to their own interest, thought fit to tie us to assist them in that case, and even articled with us for the proportion, viz. the number of ten thousand men. This is brought for a reason why, notwithstanding its being so much the interest of the States of Holland to preserve the succession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, we ought also to bind them to it by treaty. But though we were to grant all this, it will not follow that this treaty should have such a price which the Dutch should demand of us all they want for this little equivalent; and the reasons above, though they should not be allowed to subsist against the Treaty of Guarantee itself, will certainly take off much of that high price which the Dutch have put upon it, as if we were under such infinite obligations to them to secure it for us, as that we were quite out of condition to defend it ourselves, or as if they had no concern, or were to receive no security, benefit, or advantage, at all by it to themselves: Again, it might pass for some argument in this case, that if any power in Europe ought to have sought this guarantee from the States-General, it should have been the elector himself, who on his part might probably have some more occasion to secure his passage over to England, and the march of any troops which his highness might find necessary to bring with him, to assist his faithful people of Britain to place him on the throne, in case a French or popish interest should make opposition. Here indeed the States-General might be very useful allies, and his electoral highness would have thought very well of such a guarantee of the States; but it cannot be conceived that Britain can be under like necessity of such a security: The succession, which is their own act and deed, being universally approved by the whole nation, a few people excepted, who

are contemptible either for their number or interest; so that on all these accounts it seems however a treaty of guarantee may be useful enough for our succession, and no harm in it; yet it cannot be a thing of that weight as to have so great a value set upon it, and that Britain should suffer herself so much to be imposed upon for it, as it is apparent to all the world she has been on that account.

We return now to the manner of the carrying on of the treaty at Utrecht: The British plenipotentiaries having, as I said above, insisted upon the giving in the demands of the allies in a separate manner, have, by this means, an occasion of securing, for the subjects of her majesty, some other advantages than by the former treaty was thought of; and the people of Britain may now see, not only on what disadvantage for us the former treaty was negociated, when we were to have our markets made for us by our Dutch neighbours, but they may see that all the noise that hath been made of the present ministry, and of the present managers being in the interest of France, amounts only to this, that whereas the others gave up all our interest to the Dutch and the emperor, these men are careful that Britain may reap some advantages by the treaty as well as the rest of the confederates.

Indeed it has been something wonderful in the common discourse of the people on these subjects to find the generality poisoned by these self-denying notions, viz. that all which can be obtained from France must be given to the emperor, and the Dutch, and the King of Portugal, but nothing to the Queen of Great Britain; as if our strength were no acquisition, or our power any safety, to the alliance; nay, rather, as if it were dangerous to the confederacy to entrust any part of that we have fought so long for, and bought so dear, to the Queen of Great Britain: One would think that the Dutch themselves went on that notion, when, as was apparent, they appeared uneasy and jealous at the preparations made by her majesty to send a fleet and forces to Canada; while, not knowing the design, they apprehend it to be for the taking possession of some place or other in the Spanish America, although by the —th article of the Grand Alliance it was agreed that her majesty might lawfully have done so if she had thought fit. These things, however of no other consequence, yet serve to let us see how different, as respecting us, the manner of the allies hath been in all the transactions of this war, and how different their views have been in all their steps towards a peace, from our constant behaviour in the same heads as they respected them; and that in all these occasions it has been the constant maxim of our confederates, that we were to have no share in any thing, but that the Dutch, under a notion of a barrier and security to their frontiers, should make large acquisitions, both to their territory and their commerce, both which have been consented to from hence; whether it be to the honour or the infamy of those who have given in to these measures is left to the impartial part of mankind to determine: It is evident that at length the just representations of the British ministers took place, and the Dutch after much difficulty have yielded that the demands of the allies be given into the French, although in one and the same instrument, yet in separate heads; and the British plenipotentiaries agree and propose to add at the end of every head this general, "and satisfaction of all the rest of the allies," a clause sufficient to remove the scandal and reproach early cast upon the present management, viz. that they designed to make a separate peace, and had actually concluded the conditions thereof with France before the congress was to begin; I must crave pardon if I make these several instances of the usage her majesty hath met with from her allies, rank in with their other conduct relating to forces and quotas, which have already been made publick, and all together to come under the title of deficiencies; for if there had been a more disinterested conjunction of counsel and assistance of measures in the proceedings of the allies, to and with her Britannic majesty and her ministers, no question this treaty had been with more ease brought on, with

mutual assistance to, and confidence in one another entered into, and perhaps the success might have been more promising also.

There seems to be no occasion here of entering into the clauses which the Dutch have obtained in any of their treaties and agreements with us, by which they have gained advantages in commerce, particularly to our prejudice, because even the Dutch themselves acknowledge them in their late letter to her majesty; only declaring, that they do not design to take the advantage of those articles. I am very willing to believe the States-General, especially while a good understanding among the allies, and particularly between them and us, is so necessary to them, would not make use of the advantages which were given them by that treaty; and this does by no means deny, nay, it not tacitly only, but even explicitly, as it seems to indifferent judgments, grants that such advantages are given to the Dutch by that treaty. See the declaration of the Dutch on this head more particularly, as follows:

"For having learnt that the principal exceptions taken to the said treaty were, that it might prove prejudicial to the commerce of her majesty's subjects in the Spanish Netherlands, and that some had entertained an ill-grounded and erroneous opinion, that the States might design to take advantage by it to make themselves masters of the said Spanish Netherlands, their High Mightinesses did declare positively, and by this letter do voluntarily repeat it, that it never was their intention, nor ever will be, to make use of the said treaty, or of their garrisons in the fortified places of the country, to prejudice in any manner the commerce of her majesty's subjects; but that their opinion is, that whatever relates to navigation and commerce there, ought to be settled on an entire equality, that so her majesty's subjects may not be charged with higher duties of importations or importation than theirs, to the end commerce may be carried on there by both nations on an equal foot."

Here the States-General acknowledge, that whatever relates to navigation and commerce in the Spanish Netherlands ought to be settled on an entire equality: This is owning what her majesty has since claimed to be just, and yet that it has not been so is apparent also; and in the same letter they acknowledge it again, by adding, "That if there be some articles of the said treaty, which without affecting the essentials of it, may be thought to want explanation, her majesty shall find them willing and ready to treat thereupon, with all the facility and condescension that can reasonably be required of them."

Now, however satisfactory such an offer is from the Dutch, who indeed cannot be supposed to be so ignorant of the justice of her majesty's demands in this case, as not to come to a farther explanation on these heads, yet all this adds to, and confirms, the complaint against the conduct, at least of those employed from hence, who in behalf of their own country could pass such a treaty, and sign such a convention, by which it appears, were not the Dutch willing to explain themselves upon it, there was effectually given up to them both the sovereignty and the commerce of the Spanish Netherlands, the last being exclusive of the English. There is no doubt to me that this was evident at that time, and therefore it is that I cannot place it to the account of ignorance or inadvertency; for the Duke of Marlborough saw into it, and therefore how willing soever in other cases to oblige the Dutch, he had not so little concern for his own safety, as not to know a British parliament would certainly one time or other call a treaty so dishonourable and prejudicial to Britain in question, and therefore no doubt, whatever other reasons his grace might have also, he thought fit not to be drawn in to set his hand to it, but refused to be a party to it, though at that time a plenipotentiary from hence: But another hand and other management effected it; and now the Dutch are willing to explain these things to our satisfaction, which would admit of many remarks as to the former part of it, which I omit, because satisfaction will be now obtained: Only this cannot in justice to the present ministry and parliament be

omitted, viz. that if this enquiry into these things had not been begun, those explanations had never been obtained, and the Dutch had been left in a capacity when they thought fit to exclude the subjects of Britain from all trade and commerce in the Spanish Netherlands; and had been enabled, whenever their occasions made it for their purpose, to have seized upon the Spanish Netherlands, and have made themselves entire masters thereof; so that the preventing these things seems wholly owing to the vigilance of the present ministry, and to the vigorous resolutions of the present parliament.

There seems indeed one clause in the said letter, which some people are very forward here to take hold of; insinuating, that the Dutch complain of being tricked in England into a consent to a negotiation of peace, by being put in hopes, that after they should do so, the other affair of the Barrier should be adjusted to their satisfaction: The words are these, "That however, having not long since been informed, that in England some were of opinion, that the said treaty in some articles might be prejudicial to her majesty's subjects, they commissioned Mr Buys, their envoy extraordinary then going to England, to enquire what those points were that might be thought grievances, and authorized to treat about them with her majesty's ministers, and to remove, if possible, the difficulties by all the explanations that should appear necessary; which they were put in hopes would not be very hard to do, when once they should have consented to concur with her majesty, as they did, to procure a congress for the negotiations of a general peace. But that the misfortune was, that the said Mr Buys, during his residence in England, was not able to finish that affair to reciprocal satisfaction; and that it having been remitted to the Hague, no way has hitherto been found to terminate it there neither; though their High Mightinesses think they have shewn all the readiness to comply with any just expedient that could reasonably be expected from them."

This seems to be very ill turned by a party among ourselves, and implies, as they pretend, as if the British court had made light of the matter, and promised to adjust it if the Dutch would do so and so; but that after the Dutch had complied and concurred with her majesty to procure a congress for the negotiation of a general peace, they could never obtain the promised condition, although they had shewn all the readiness to comply with any just expedient that could reasonably be expected from them.

This is a black charge, and had not the Dutch, with much more integrity than these people, anticipated this calumny, and given the true reason for their said concurring with her majesty, to be their disposition and persuasion of the absolute necessity there was in the present conjuncture, for the cultivating and maintaining a good friendship, perfect confidence and union, between their said states and her majesty, which, for the better authority, I give you all from their own letter: "That during the whole course of her majesty's glorious reign they have had nothing more at heart than to cultivate and maintain with her a good friendship, perfect confidence and union, and to corroborate them the most they possibly could; having always judged them absolutely necessary, and especially in the present conjuncture. That they likewise judged they could not give a better proof of this their disposition and persuasion, than that which they lately gave in agreeing to the proposition which her majesty had caused to be made to them, to begin the negotiation of a general peace with the enemy, and in concurring with her majesty to facilitate the bringing together of the ministers of all the high allies to the congress at Utrecht."

This effectually contradicts what as before is suggested, viz. That they were induced "to concur with her majesty, as they did, to procure a congress for the negotiation of a general peace," upon their being put in hopes that it would not be very hard to do after they had consented so to concur with her majesty; I say, this is so contradicted by what is said before, that I was tempted to doubt both the said paragraphs

could not be in one and the same letter; and indeed it seems shocking to any reader, that their High Mightinesses should say in one part of their letter, that they concurred with her majesty, "to give the best proof of their disposition to cultivate a good friendship, perfect confidence and union with her majesty," and in another part of the same letter to say, that they concurred "with her majesty, as they did, to procure a congress for the negotiation of a general peace."

These considerations being too hard for my understanding, are left to the logical discussion of the party here, whose talent so eminently lies in equivocation and insignificant raillery; who, when they have chewed it and mumbled it, like an ass upon thistles, will bring it out the same thorny crabbed inconsistency that they found it.

But while we are leaving them to this difficult work, it may be needful to look farther, for we have yet much more work cut out from Holland than in the foregoing piece; the States-General having received a new brush from the British parliament, are very solicitous to wash their negro skin as clean as they can from the imputations which have lain so plainly against them; but now they find it more difficult than they did before; for till now they had only pamphlets and general clamours to answer, such as the suspicions of the people, and the information of a few had made loud; and which began to make them uneasy, these were treated with some contempt by the States, and more by their friends here.

But the parliament finding more truth in these things than perhaps they expected, and much more than the faction pretended, thought it required an extraordinary sanction to make them less disputed, and thought it just to make them publick with an undisputed authority, that the people ought to be undeceived, and that the quarrels about the truth of fact ought to cease among the people; for this reason, having caused all the particulars to be exactly and faithfully laid before them, by the report of the commissioners of the Admiralty, and other proper officers, and those particulars to be critically examined, they deduced from thence the matters of fact as they really were, and making all the cases plain in which the government had been imposed upon by their allies, and the Dutch deficient among others, they came to several resolves about the same, and drawing those resolves up into general heads, referring to the particulars for their demonstration, they humbly represented all in an address to her majesty, and caused both the said resolves and the address to be printed, for the conviction of all her majesty's good subjects, and to confute and silence a party, who, as abovesaid, had made it their business to ridicule all that had been said of these matters as false and empty notions infused into people's heads, to raise ill blood and create prejudices against the Dutch. If these things, coming forth with such an undisputed authority, did a little surprise the world, and consequently open the eyes of the people, much more would they surprise the States-General, whose interest it had so long been to have the people of Britain kept as ignorant as possible of these matters; and, finding it absolutely necessary that something should be said to puzzle the cause a little, and to furnish their friends with arguments for their defence, they issue a paper, entituled as follows:—

A Memorial, serving to prove that the States-General of the United Netherlands are unjustly charged by the Resolutions or Votes of the House of Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain, and by the subsequent Address of the said House of Commons thereupon presented to her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, with having been deficient in divers Respects during the present War, in furnishing what, according to their Quota or Contingent, they stood engaged for, towards carrying on the said War.

This is the paper which I come now to examine, and in which, if I should discover that the States-General have really been so far from clearing themelves of the charge

so positively laid upon them in parliament, that in every part they either directly or tacitly acknowledge it, then there will remain little force in the rest of their paper.

In considering this new and great affair of the Dutch Memorial, it seems very proper to make as few circumlocutions as possible, and come directly to the point. Our introduction therefore shall consist rather of laying down a list of the particulars which we shall leave out, what shall be dropped as foreign to the case in hand, and not worth either the author's while to note, or the readers to be concerned about. As, first, it shall take up little of our time to animadvert on the insolence unparalleled of a scandalous mercenary, who, in defiance of a British parliament, and while that parliament was actually sitting, should have the face to publish the answer or defence of a foreign nation against his own country.

If a man have received an affront from another, and meets one of his servants, and says to him, You Jack, or you Thomas, pray tell your master I say he is a villain and a rascal, will not the servant, if he has any manners or sense of his duty, say to him, Sir, let him be what he will, he is my master, and it is not fit for me to tell him so, pray employ somebody else? On the other hand, if the ignorant fellow should have so little wit or manners as to carry this message to his master, would not the master say to him, Let the man be what he will, you are an unmannerly rascal for bringing me such a message, since you were my servant, and not his? And would he not very justly cane him, and turn him out of his service for his impudence?

This case, as it is unprecedented, unless in the same person who did the like once before, so it will be doubly unprecedented in the publick justice, if he is uncorrected for it. Nay, by how much more the party glory in and boast of having insulted the parliament and the government in this publication, by so much the more necessity they bring upon the said parliament to vindicate themselves, and punish the persons with their utmost rigour: But this is humbly left and submitted to the parliament, who no doubt will do themselves and their defender justice in this case.

Next, it shall take up no part of this discourse to enquire whether the Dutch have ordered these sheets to be thus published in England or no. We are not ignorant how many ways of late the foreign powers concerned in this war have privately endeavoured to make themselves and their actings with her majesty popular here, appealing as it were from her majesty to her subjects; but we shall not suppose however that they are yet arrived to such a contempt of their alliances with her Britannic majesty, as to appear in an action which derogates so much from the usual civilities due from one ally to another, as that they should openly and avowedly make an attempt of this nature.

This leads us to consider how prudently the parliament of Britain has acted in this case, in which perhaps the Dutch, as subtle a nation as they are, and how good soever their politicks have been in other cases, will be put to it, how to behave themselves between the two extremes of owning or disowning this publication of their Memorial.

The parliament have first stigmatized the paper itself as a false and scandalous libel; but in this censure they do not call it the "Memorial of the States-General," but a "Pretended Memorial:" Now as the lie is here given by the whole British nation, and that most justly also, it remains for the Dutch to show us how they please to take it; if they own the paper and the publication of it here, they take the lie aforesaid to themselves, are obliged to fall under the charge, hush it up, and thereby own it just, or resent it, which we suppose they will consider of, before they go about it. On the other side, if they take upon them to mention, answer, or vindicate this paper, they own not the paper only, but the mean step of causing it to be published in England in especial insult to her majesty, and to the parliament of Britain then sitting, and what evil consequences may follow such a thing must lie at their doors. It is true, that as the parliament has not thought fit to take it but as a spurious and pretended paper, we might very well do so also; but as we see it published in all parts of

Europe, and allowed in those prints in Holland, who are said to write *cum privilegio;* and as it is in these countries stiled, "The Answer of the States," &c. we cannot but treat it as such, or at least an answer for the States, if not, "The Answer of the States." And that this may be justified by good evidence, the reader may observe, that our prints, after the resentment of the parliament of Britain had made it too dangerous for our newsmen to go on with printing it, gave this account, April 4th.

Hague, April 17. *All our publick Prints, published by Authority, have been and continue full of the States Reply to the Resolutions of the Commons of Britain, in Vindication of their Conduct.*

This we cannot but think gives sufficient authority to a writer, whether the States-General are concerned in the publication at London or no, to suppose them to be the real authors of the paper itself, and that it is really the States Reply, as above, and as such we shall therefore consider it.

The first thing meet for observation in it, is what we ought not by any means to pass over, viz. That the States-General confess the charge, acknowledging the fact, directly, viz. That the quotas for sea-service were not supplied, or, as the resolution of the House of Commons express it, viz. "That the States-General have been deficient in their quotas for sea-service in proportion to the numbers of ships provided by her majesty," &c.

To this the States, in their memorial, after a very long introduction, answer two things; First, that the quota the British court proposed to fit out, particularly in the years 1704 and 1705, were too many, or more than was needful for the service; viz. more than was needful to make the confederates superior to the French in the Mediterranean, and that therefore they, the States, did not think themselves obliged to furnish so many. That whereas we should have seventy-four ships the year 1704, and seventy-nine the year 1705, they thought the rate of twenty-four ships of their state a proportion against sixty of her majesty's, and that they concerted it so with Admiral Mitchell. So that it is plain here from this very memorial, that the States do no manner of way deny the deficiency itself, but evade the force of the charge, by disputing the proportions, and explaining what they understood by the two-fifths to three-fifths, so insisted on by the parliament, and how they ought to be understood by others. Again, they would patch up the deficiency aforesaid by bringing in the number of their men of war employed in the North Seas to make up their quota, and they express this very subtilly, as a thing which they think ought to be set against the number of ships employed by the British in the narrow seas: This may be considered immediately in their own terms; but, first, it is fit to note, that both these arguments confess the charge in fact, only offer these explanations or extenuations; so that the truth of what the parliament has published, in their representation and address, stand fast, is acknowledged and confessed by the States, and needs no farther defence. But it comes next, of course, to see what force this allegation of the Dutch, as to their ships in the North-Seas, ought to have in this argument; and if it appears, that these are not, and ought not to be reckoned in the proportion above, and that they were not reckoned in the first proportion stated and agreed with the States-General, then all the consequences drawn from those proportions will stand the States in no stead, as to any defence to be made by them against the charge. In the examination of this, we meet with this clause in the state of proportions laid before the House, by the lords of the Admiralty, which stands diametrically opposite to what the States alledge in their memorial, in these words, viz. "That by the treaties between the Queen of Great Britain and the States-General, their proportion of the ships of the line of battle, to act in conjunction with those of this kingdom in the Channel, and in and about the Mediterranean, ought to be three to our five." The first observation meet to be made here is, that the treaties

between the Queen of Great Britain and the States have expressly settled their respective proportions, which indeed the Memorial seems to evade, by alledging, that in the Grand Alliance the respective parties were to assist with all their forces; then, complimenting Britain (I do not say flattering) with being more powerful than the States, they thence deduce the reasonableness of the forces of one being more than the other. But the States-General would think themselves but ill answered if this way of argument was made use of with them, for what is all this to the equality of proportions? Have not the Dutch always, as the Memorial acknowledges, treated every year with the queen upon the just proportions of every year's service? and has not the queen sent Admiral Mitchell always to settle that point? Now the present question is not whether nation is most powerful, or whether we are to send more troops than the States-General, or more ships; but whether, the proportions being settled annually by agreement, the States-General have supplied the numbers agreed on by those treaties, and sent as many as they agreed to send or no; if they have done this, then, it is true, the first settled proportions are of no weight. On the other hand, if they have not, the general treaty of employing all their forces, or any other, are equally of no force.

Now it is apparent that the States-General have not supplied their quota of ships for the services for which they agreed to supply them, and therefore we on our side justly complain, and the account as it was laid before the House by the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, and by her majesty's command, is very plain in the case, admitting of no dispute, wherefore we have, for a further and more effectual convincing the advocates for the States-General in this case, caused it to be annexed at large, and is as follows:—

By the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, Ireland, of all her Majesty's Plantations.

Her majesty's pleasure having been signified to us, by Mr Secretary St John, that we should (in pursuance of an address from the House of Commons) prepare an account of the quotas of her majesty's ships and those of her allies during this present war, and what arguments and conventions have been made for the said quotas, and how the same have been observed, we do in obedience to her majesty's command humbly report,

That by the treaties between the Queen of Great Britain and the States-General, their proportion of the line of battle to act in conjunction with those of this kingdom in the Channel and in and about the Mediterranean ought to be three to our five.

That since the commencement of this war, not only Sir David Mitchell, but Sir James Wishart, have been appointed by her majesty's command to go to Holland, and adjust with the States-General, or their deputies, the quotas of their ships of war to act in conjunction with those of her majesty's, as aforesaid, and what was done in pursuance of those treaties was sent to her majesty's principal secretary of state, to which we humbly refer.

And as to the number of ships in the line of battle which the States-General each year during the war have joined to her majesty's on the forementioned services, the same will appear by the following account, which hath been computed with as much exactness as the nature of the things will bear, viz. In the year 1702, her majesty had forty-four ships employed in the Channel and Soundings of the line of battle, and thirty in and about the Mediterranean, making in the whole seventy-four, and they were joined with no more than thirty-three of the States-General, whereas they should have been forty-four.

1703, Seventy-nine of her majesty's ships were employed in the aforesaid services, and but twenty-two of the States-General, which should have been forty-seven.

1704, There was seventy-four of the queen's ships, and eighteen Dutch, which should have been forty-four.

1705, Seventy-nine of her majesty's ships and twenty-eight Dutch, which should have been forty-seven.

1706, There were but fifteen ships of the Dutch acted in conjunction with seventy-eight of the queen's ships, whereas they should have been forty-six.

1707, To seventy-two of her majesty's, there were no more than twenty-seven of the States-General, instead of forty-three.

1708, The States-General joined twenty-five ships of the line to sixty-nine of her majesty's instead of forty-two.

1709, No more than eleven ships of the States were joined to sixty-seven of the queen's, instead of forty-three.

1710, Her majesty had sixty-two employed in the aforesaid service, and the States-General appointed no more than thirteen to act in conjunction with them, instead of thirty-seven.

1711, There were no more than twelve Dutch ships instead of thirty-five appointed to act with fifty-nine of the queen's ships, which, as well as those in the preceding year, were employed in the Mediterranean, and not so much as one allotted by the States-General to act in concert with those of her majesty's against the enemies ships at Dunkirk and in the Channel.

Here seemeth a most convincing proof of the matter of fact. Now let us see what Dutch cunning will bring them off this, for it is a home charge, and they will not easily parry the thrust. The Memorial in truth does not attempt it, and therefore the matter of fact, as I said before, stands granted. But they plead then that we have not treated them fairly; for say they, "Secondly, it must be observed, that in the aforesaid account notice is taken only of the ships of the State, which, in conjunction with those of her majesty, were employed in the Mediterranean and the Channel, and that the North Sea, which this state, during the war, has generally had the care of, is wholly omitted; which mention of those ships only of this state which have acted in conjunction with those of her majesty, and the omission of the North Sea, make so great a difference between the number of ships reckoned by the foresaid account to have been furnished by Great Britain, and that said in the same account to be furnished by this state, that probably this difference gave occasion to the forming the foresaid prejudicial resolution or vote of the Lower House, which possibly would not have been formed, might this state have first been heard upon it."

This plea needs no farther examination than to look back to the second paragraph of the Admiralty's report above, where it is affirmed, "That by the treaties between the Queen of Great Britain and the States-General, their proportion of ships of the line of battle to act in conjunction with those of this kingdom in the Channel and in and about the Mediterranean, ought to be three to our five."

It must be surprising to all that read the Memorial of the State, to hear them insist with so many introductory paragraphs, and lay so much stress upon their employing ships in the North Seas, when it is thus proved that the North Seas are quite left out of the question, and the treaties they have made were only for ships to be employed "in the Channel in and about the Mediterranean." Now if they have furnished their quota as agreed upon with us for the Channel and the Mediterranean, though they had sent no ships to the North Seas, we conceive the Commons had made no representation; nor had they any reason, for there was no mention of it in the agreements of treaties aforesaid; but if they have not furnished their quotas for the Channel, although they had sent an hundred sail to the North Seas, it had been nothing in the case, any more their sending ships to Batavia, for the same reason as above; the North-Sea guard being not mentioned in the said treaties and annual agreements. To what

purpose then is all the long description of the necessity of the sending ships to the North Seas? And what can be more surprising than to find their High Mightinesses arguing what is or was their sentiments, against what is and was at that very time concerted and adjusted by them, with the persons actually sent over by the Queen of Great Britain for that purpose; and which in the very same paragraph they acknowledge was so concerted and adjusted? For the more ready assisting the reader to make a full and free judgment hereof, the long-pretended defence on that head is here copied out of the said Memorial, and is as follows, viz. "It must be observed, that by the seventh article of the treaty of the ninth of June 1703, by which that agreement was renewed, 'tis provided, that the number of ships of war to be furnished by each for their whole quota according to the said agreement, should be regulated every year, and that the rendezvous, as well as the places where the ships should be employed, should likewise be agreed upon every year; accordingly this has been concerted yearly, her majesty having to that purpose for several years sent over one of her admirals, at which times two things principally were taken into deliberation, namely, the number of shipping and the places where they should be employed; upon which the projects on the part of her majesty proposed commonly the employing a greater number than was proposed by this state, and also more regard was held to the Channel than to the North Sea, of which North Sea not the least mention is made in the aforesaid account of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, from which omission it partly comes that they reckon so low what this state has furnished to the sea-service. The sentiments of this state upon the subject has always been, that the number of ships to be sent yearly to sea ought to be regulated according to the force which it might reasonably be judged the enemy could yearly bring into the Mediterranean, the Channel, and the North Sea, so that men might be morally sure that the fleets and squadrons which on the part of Great Britain and this state should act in conjunction or separately, would be superior to those of the enemy. The term, in conjunction or separately, was used, because it was ever the opinion of this state, that her majesty's ships, and those of this state, sent to Portugal and the Mediterranean, ought to act in conjunction; and that the security of the Channel ought to be left to the care of her majesty, and that of the North Sea to the care of this state, because the Channel is best situate for Great Britain with respect to its countries, harbours, and commerce, and the North Sea for this state with respect to its countries, harbours, and commerce; yet so, that if unexpectedly the enemy should bring any fleet or considerable squadrons into the Channel, or into the North Sea, when the squadrons on both sides, in whole or in part, according to the circumstances of affairs, might join each other."

It is observed here, the States-General first acknowledge in this paragraph of their Memorial, "That both the number of ships to be furnished by each party, and the places where those ships should be employed, was concerted yearly, her majesty having to that purpose for several years sent over one of her admirals:" Nay, they repeated it again, viz. "At which time two things principally were taken into deliberation, viz. The number of shipping, and the places where they should be employed." We can have no occasion to make answer to this in any other manner than by appeal to the States-General themselves, and enquiring whether in the quotas of ships at those times agreed on, and the places where they should be employed, any place but the Channel and in and about the Mediterranean was ever included or inserted: If it were, then we must give it against the representation of the House of Commons, and acquit the States-General: But if not, what means all the preamble and circumlocution of this long Memorial? And to what purpose is it said this or that was the sentiments of the States-General? The representation and address of the Commons, and the report of the British Admiralty, can say nothing to what was their agreement, and what was concerted yearly between the Queen of Great Britain and the States, that they may en-

quire about, and that they do represent fairly and faithfully, viz. That the Dutch have not furnished the quotas which they were obliged by treaty to do, for the service of the confederates in the Channel, and in or about the Mediterranean; what they did in the North Seas, as being no part of the said agreement, the said representation has no ground to meddle with it, nor does it take the least notice of it, as is supposed, for that reason.

It may not be foreign to this case to enquire a little here into the reason and equity also of this argument about the North Seas service, in doing whereof, if it should be found that this service ought not to be thought of in establishing the said quotas of ships, as being wholly and solely a work of interest, protecting their own commerce, fishing, &c. in which the allies have no concern, and that the English had at the same time several squadrons in those seas which were never esteemed part of the said quota on the British side, and therefore that the like ought not to be insisted on the part of the States-General, then all the arguments drawn from these things will fall to the ground, and the impressions which those resolutions of the House of Commons have made on the people must necessarily remain.

It is not questioned at all, nor does it seem material to this case, but that in the several alliances made between England and the States-General they were mutually obliged to assist each other with all their forces. But this is so far from taking off the edge of the complaint, that it rather fixes and confirms the same; for that we alledge that the Dutch have not assisted with all their forces, and to determine the satisfaction of the said term, and how the same is to be understood, we are to observe, that, lest it should create hereafter any misunderstanding among the allies, the several quotas or proportions of the allies were settled between every the particular nations annually. Now the parliament's complaint is clear in this, nor does the Memorial of the States offer one word of answer to it; they do not complain in general, that the States have not supplied their whole forces, but that they have not supplied those several proportions by which their whole forces were by virtue of their subsequent agreement to be understood; and this appears from the very Memorial itself, where their High Mightinesses acknowledge it, and better proof cannot be desired. See their own words.

"By the seventh article of the treaty of the ninth of June 1703, by which that agreement was renewed, 'tis provided, that the number of ships of war to be furnished by each for their whole quota according to the said agreement should be regulated every year, and that the rendezvous, as well as the places where the ships should be employed, should likewise be agreed upon every year; accordingly this has been concerted yearly, her majesty having to that purpose for several years sent over one of her admirals, at which time two things principally were taken into deliberation, namely, the number of shipping and the places where they should be employed."

Here it is acknowledged by the States that the quotas were adjusted between us and them, both as to number of ships, and where to be employed. There are but two objections which the Memorial pretends to make after this, the first is, whether the ships which the States furnished for the guard of the North Seas should not be esteemed part of their quota; and, secondly, whether the number of ships mentioned to be employed by her majesty in the Channel and in the Mediterranean were necessary; these are also their own words, to which may be briefly answered, first, that after they had acknowledged, as above is said, that the number of ships and places where the same should be employed were every year concerted, it can no more be asked whether they were necessary; the question rather lies fairly, whether the numbers concerted were respectively supplied, if there had appeared any subsequent alteration in the face of the war. So that if it had seemed to the States less necessary to send so large a number of ships as was agreed, it must have been reasonable that a new concert between the

allies should have been made, and some mutual agreement offered for lessening the said number on both sides. But to agree, first, that such a number on both sides should be supplied, and then shortening that number on their side, without signifying to the British court that they thought fewer ships enough, so that the British should be left to send their full quota as agreed, and the States only make an abatement, this can be no fair treatment of the British, nor is it esteemed fair dealing in our country, whatever it may be in Holland; therefore the complaint of the Commons in this case seems very just, and is not at all answered by the Memorial, for that the States-General did not supply the number of ships which by their annual agreement was concerted between them and her majesty: Secondly, But say the States, we did supply a great squadron in the North Seas, which ought to be esteemed a part of our proportion, and all the reasons given for this way of acting are, that such were the sentiments of the States-General; yet in another part of the said Memorial it is owned, and in the report of the commissioners of the Admiralty it is expressly said, those quotas were settled only for such ships as were to act conjunctly or separately in the Channel and the Mediterranean. But because this argument is of too much value to have it depend upon the dubious constitution of terms, it may be observed, First, That there is no parity of equality in this argument, for that the concert of proportions of ships to be supplied by us and the States respected only the particular seas, in which the power of the French was particularly formidable, and where their main fleet were to be expected, as in the Streights, and the Channel, or on the coasts of Portugal and Spain. And that the British nation have kept great squadrons and fleets out in sundry other parts of the world, as the Dutch have done in the North Sea, without reckoning any such ships into the quota or proportions of the fleets to be furnished as before, for the carrying on the war, such have been the fleets and ships constantly sent to the West-Indies, to St Helena, to the Canaries, by which it appears, that whatever the sentiments of the States of Holland have been, as above, the sentiments of the British court have also been, that each ally ought to have supplied their full quota of such ships as were concerted for the service of the war in the Channel and in the Mediterranean, without esteeming such ships as part thereof which they respectively were obliged to furnish for the protection of their commerce in any other part of the world; and that this was the real sentiments of the States-General as well as of her majesty, appears for that in all the ships sent by either of the powers into other parts of the world, as into the North Seas, the Baltick, the West-Indies, St Helena, and the like, they very seldom acted in conjunction, but sent their respective squadrons separately, as the necessity of their affairs required. Nor did those ships act in conjunction on any occasion, save only as they found it necessary to take the ships of each other nation under convoy, or into their protection, and made use of the harbours of each confederate as there might be occasion. This is manifest, in that notwithstanding the great fleets which the States-General have upon all occasions sent to the North Seas, as is alledged, the British court have been obliged also to send annual squadrons to those seas for the safety of their trade, as well to Russia as to the East-Country, the Elbe, and the Weser, as also for the defence of the coast of Scotland and Ireland; which ships, though equal, if not superior, to the numbers sent into those seas by the States-General, have not been accounted by her majesty as any part of the proportion of ships concerted as abovesaid with the States.

This therefore can never be the reason of the report of the commissioners of the Admiralty; and it is surprising to all those who know the state of those things, to hear the Memorial say, the States-General had the care of the North Seas, as they do when they sum up that part of their case as follows, viz. "It must be observed, that in the aforesaid account, notice is taken only of the ships of this state, which in conjunction with those of her majesty were employed in the Mediterranean and the Channel; and

that the North Sea, which this state, during the war, has generally had the care of, is wholly omitted: Which two things, namely, the mention of those ships only of this State which have acted in conjunction with those of her majesty, and the omission of the North Sea, make so great a difference between the number of ships reckoned by the aforesaid account to have been furnished by this state, that probably this difference gave occasion to the forming the aforesaid prejudicial resolution or vote of the Lower House, which possibly would not have been formed might this state have first been heard upon it."

It should seem needful here to enter into an enquiry what number of ships her majesty has from time to time sent into the North Seas, and how the States-General may be said to have had the care of the North Seas, when it is well known the British trade, nay, and even often the Dutch to Archangel, have been convoyed out and home by her majesty's ships; and the coast of Scotland, the mouth of the Baltick, and the Elbe, have been constantly guarded by the British ships.

Thus, by the plainest reasoning in the world, the Memorial is fallacious; for that the deficiencies complained of remain confessed by the States themselves, the reasons pretended to justify themselves are directly contrary to the concerted proportions and treaties made between the said States-General and the queen's majesty; and this is exactly agreeable to the report of the commissioners of the Admiralty, and the resolutions of the House of Commons.

The like fallacious way of arguing appears in the case of the land-forces or troops, in which still their High Mightinesses do not deny the matter of fact alledged in the said address, but excuse and extenuate the same by their efforts otherways, as particularly, they alledge an article of their raising troops before us, and this they say deserves some compensation; that is, that they having raised fifty thousand men before us, they should be therefore allowed to maintain fewer than they agreed for afterwards; or, to speak plainly, that because they were obliged to a quicker armament than the British, therefore they were to have leave to break in upon future concert, and fail in the numbers they were to bring in afterwards; This seems no unfair construction of the first clause of the Memorial relating to the troops, which is as follows.

In the first place, it must not be omitted to observe on the estimate, that in the general charge for the year 1701, the forty-four thousand nine hundred ninety-two men which the United Netherlands kept up after the peace of Ryswick, are mixed with the thirty-four thousand eight hundred sixty-six men which were taken into service immediately after the death of Charles the Second, King of Spain; and that for the year 1702, not only the troops which this state took into service that year, but those hired the beginning of the foregoing year, are reckoned all together; which, if put down more distinctly, would have shewn, that this state had reinforced their troops with above fifty thousand men a considerable time before Great Britain came to make any particular augmentation; which earlier arming, to the excessive expence of this state, well deserved to be allowed for by some kind of compensation.

What can the words "deserve some compensation" be supposed to signify, but that the States-General concluded from thence that their future deficiency was to be allowed because of their more arming than the English? Which any one that remembers the occasion may find other reasons to give for, and which the States-General themselves seem to acknowledge, or at least to hint at, which was, in short, that the parliament and people of England did not come into the measures for the last war, or perhaps believe it so necessary at first as the States did, and therefore did not vote such large sums for their proportion as the States-General required, and this they now alledge should be made up afterwards. This is gathered from the following words in the Memorial:—

"This state were obliged to be content with Great Britain's furnishing in the begin-

ning of the war no more than forty thousand men in the Netherlands, in so great a disproportion with respect to this state; not because there was any convention or agreement made about it, or that it was at all reasonable, but because no more was consented to by the parliament, the reasons of which are probably fresh still in the remembrance of many; and at that time the only course this state could take, was to burthen itself with so great a disproportion, and to wait till in the continuance of the war it should be made good to them.

This may imply that the States-General desired to have this disproportion made good to them afterwards by the English, but does not prove that it ought to have made good, or that the Queen of Great Britain had agreed to make it good; much less did it signify that they were thereby entitled to make it good to themselves by a deficiency in such quotas and proportions as they should agree afterwards to bring into the field.

Upon the whole then it seems the sum of the case is this, that the Dutch have really been deficient in the said quotas, but that according to their own sentiments they might lawfully be so, notwithstanding express treaties and conventions to the contrary; and that these sentiments arise from their thinking fit to make reprisal or stoppage upon England, for the Dutch coming into the war a year before us; and because we did not think fit to come into the alliance sooner, they are making us pay for our standing out.

More or less than this cannot be made of their long Memorial; and as to the justice and equity of this the world is left to judge of that affair.

The author of this had resolved to add here some remarks about the pretence of carrying on the war with all their forces, and the States saying that Britain is more powerful, and therefore must bring in more forces, making themselves judges of who is, or is not, most powerful; but her majesty's answer to the States, since published, has made this so clear, and prest it so close upon the Dutch, that it seems needless to say any more to that point.

The miserable Case of poor Old England fairly stated, in a Letter to a Member of the Honourable House of Commons: Or, the most powerful and convincing Reasons why the Elector, the Dutch, the Rest of the Allies, the late Ministry and the Low-Church, are against making a General Peace with France; and all their main Objections in Opposition to it fairly answered. 1712.

This is a very violent and scurrilous Tory pamphlet, preserving and dwelling upon all the exaggerated arguments of the party, concerning the supposed peculations in the army and in the public funds. It holds the high Tory language, such as better accorded with the sentiments professed by the October Club, or violent high-churchmen, than the more moderate professions of Harley, whose ministry was as much embarrassed by those supporters who wished to drive matters to extremity, as by the opposition of the Whigs.

Sir,

Since all our main discourse is for peace on the one side, and many are mightily

pushing forward a war on the other, it is high time to say something in vindication of such true English patriots as are mighty desirous of peace; I mean for the landed men, the men of substance and of bulk, that are likely at all times to feel and bear the burden of an unnecessary, expensive, and bloody war.

And to what end is it carried on? is it not merely to gratify the felonious humours of a company of plunderers of the nation? Do they not at this day stand indebted, at least they have not accounted for thirty-five millions of money, that they have actually received of the nation? Have they not deducted from the Irish army in one year above one hundred thousand pounds out of their pay? And what may they not have cheated the English one of in Flanders, Spain, and Portugal?

I say, if such were the methods they took, then 'tis time to leave off the war; when the nation has been fleeced so finely, and tricked; certainly when trading is almost ruined, our merchants undone, and none enriched by the war but a parcel of Jews, Dutch, French, and English stock-jobbers; 'tis high time for England to redress this national distemper, lest the people that are almost beggared, the soldiers and seamen that are unpaid, should unite and join together, and maraude all such sharpers, stock-jobbers and plunderers of the nation; who do unite in one strength, and endeavour to oppose and hinder this kingdom from so happy a blessing, as a noble, generous, lasting, and glorious peace; which is for the benefit and advantage of England in particular, and for the good of all the Commons, if they'll please to accept the same.

Pray what is the reason the Commons, the late ministry, and the low-church, are so very hot and violent for carrying on this unnecessary and expensive war, I say unnecessary and expensive to England? Is it not for their lucre, benefit, and advantage, and that 'tis very plain there are none but rapacious cormorants and plunderers of the kingdoms on this side of the water that are so forward for pushing it on, and also such as draw from hence many vast sums of money on the other side, which is to screen themselves, whilst we are beggared and undone, and so by no means will accept of peace, though it were upon very reasonable and advantageous terms.

If the people of England are now come to their senses, 'tis, I believe, time to begin to look about 'em, after the expence of 123 millions of pounds sterling, the butchering of so many hundred thousand souls, and the vast loss we have met with in our shipping, in our merchant-men, and in our trading, so that it is now (one would think) high time to put an end to this expensive, extravagant, and unnecessary a war, which has not, nor will be of any advantage to this kingdom, after the rate it is now managed; and 'tis too visible that our present junto is in a deep confederacy with potent allies, as are agreed to drain this kingdom both of their men and money on one side, that they on the other may the easier ruin the government both in church and state.

This if I fairly prove, I hope the honourable House of Commons will take great care of the main chance, and by taking away the effect, the cause of itself will cease; which that they may do, shall be the constant prayers of him that is,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

C. D. L.

The miserable Case of Poor Old England fairly stated, &c.

To begin then with this miserable case relating to England, I shall make it so demonstrable, that it shall visibly appear to be a very sad one to any unprejudiced person; nay what I treat of, you may find in the very votes of the honourable the House of Commons; and it looks as if it stood upon record, that, on the fifth of December 1710, it was then resolved, That 40,000 men, at 4*l.* *per mensem*, including 8000 marines, for 13 months, should be employed in the sea service for the year 1711.

Now 40,000 men, at 4*l.* a month, comes to per annum - - £2,080,000 0 0

That there be allowed for the ordinary of the navy for one year	£120,000	0	0
December 23, resolved, That 40,000 land-men be to act in conjunction with the allies for one year, and that their pay be -	919,092	3	6
January 4, resolved, That 10,000 men, additional forces, be continued for one year longer, and that their pay be - - -	177,511	3	6
That 3000 Palatines be continued for one year, at - - - -	34,251	13	4
That 4639 Saxons be continued for one year at - - -	43,251	12	6
That 800 men of Bothmar's regiment of dragoons be continued for one year, at - - - - - - - - - -	9,269	16	6
That the augmentation troops be continued for one year at -	220,000	0	0
For defraying guards and garrisons in Great Britain for one year at	546,198	17	8½
To the office of ordnance for the land service for a year at -	130,000	0	0
January 8, a year's interest on Irish debenture, comes to -	49,357	17	2
For transporting the land forces into Flanders, comes to per annum - - - - - - - - - - - -	144,000	0	0
For remittance money to Flanders - - - - - - -	100,000	0	0
To defray a year's subsidies to the allies comes to - - -	478,956	16	7
January 16, To make good exchequer bills, granted yearly comes to - - - - - - - - - - - -	45,000	0	0
February 15, Granted to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal this year - - - - - - - - - - - -	1,500,000	0	0
February 21, Granted to the bank, to make 45,000l. per annum good - - - - - - - - - - - - -	157,500	0	0
To make good 2,900,000l. exchequer bills, granted per annum -	45,000	0	0
Now this is a very plain English case, that there has been actually raised to carry on the last year's war the sum of - -	6,799,300	0	9½
The manner how it was raised is thus: On the land-tax - - -	2,000,000	0	0
On the first lottery - - - - - - - - - - -	1,500,000	0	0
On the second lottery - - - - - - - - - -	1,500,000	0	0
On stamps, hackney coaches, chairs, leather, &c. the sum of -	1,799,300	0	9½
Proof	6,799,300	0	9½

Now a question will naturally arise here, what the nation has got this year for so vast a sum of money expended?

The answer will be very plain and convincing; all that the great general has taken this year is that important town called Bouchain, which the French don't stick to call a place no bigger in comparison than an English dove-house, or some such thing, which may perchance be also worth - - - - - - - - 390,000 0 9½

If so, then there is clear loss to England, if they had this mighty great town in their hands (which the Dutch have) the sum of - 6,400,000 0 0

And the noble duke, for this heroic exploit, has been rewarded with an extraordinary rich present; it seems, it is the statue of the present monarch of France, so fine and curious a piece of workmanship, that it can't be valued at less than - - - - 9,000 0 0

If so, then is it not worth while to expend six millions four hundred thousands pounds sterling for one year, to learn the English statuaries the French art of carving such an extraordinary and curious piece of workmanship? nay, this is a vast lesser sum than 123 millions lately spent for only a company of French rags of honour, with which the nation was blest with the glorious sight thereof in Westminster and Guildhall.

But I think it is high time to descend to the most potent and convincing reasons of the Dutch, and the rest of our dear allies, the late ministry and the low-church, why they are at this time so strenuously against making peace with France, which are as follows:—

The first potent and convincing reason is the Dutch's; for should they make peace with France it would be to their great damage and loss per annum from England as follows:—

Imprimis, If the said peace should be concluded with France, then 40,000 landmen which are English, and in conjunction with the allies in Flanders, would be withdrawn from thence, whose pay, that is spent amongst them, comes to per annum - -	919,092	3	6
Secondly, 10,000 additional forces from England, whose pay comes to per annum - - - - - - - - - -	177,511	3	6
Thirdly, for transporting the said forces out of England into Flanders costs the English yearly - - - - - - -	144,000	0	0
Fourthly, for remittance of their said pay in Flanders costs yearly	100,000	0	0
Now are not these strong and potent reasons, nay so powerful and convincing, that how can any one in conscience think that the Dutch will consent to a peace with France, to so great a loss per annum as - - - - - - - - - - -	1,340,603	7	0
The second potent and convincing reason is the Palatines; 3000 annually of them are continued in the States' service on English pay; and should peace be made with France, 'twould be to their loss per annum - - - - - - - - - -	34,251	13	4
The third potent and convincing reason is the Saxons; 4639 annually of them are continued in the said States' service on English pay; and should peace be made with France, 'twould be to their loss per annum - - - - - - - -	43,251	12	6
The fourth potent reason is the several troops of our allies, called the augmentation troops, who are upon English pay, the Palatines, the Saxons, and these troops of augmentation are all paid by the English, and should peace be made with France, it would be to the loss of these our allies, the sum per annum of -	220,000	0	0
The fifth potent reason is, that if peace be made with France, the money which we annually lend the said allies, to defray their own subsidies, will be to their loss per annum - - - -	478,956	16	7
The sixth potent reason is that of King Charles III. now emperor, and the King of Portugal; and if peace should be made with France, it would be to their loss from England a per annum of -	1,500,000	0	0
And 'tis also very plain and visible, that the Dutch and the rest of our dear allies will, if a peace should be made with France, lose from England a per annum of - - - - - - - -	3,617,063	9	5

Now these are such potent and convincing reasons, that no person can believe that our Commons will ever make a peace with France so long as England is able to raise and pay 'em this money annually.

The Dutch has actually got in specie by England, since the war with France began (besides all the prizes they have taken, and their trade all the war with that kingdom) for 22 years last past, the sum of - - - - - - - - - - -	29,493,273	14	0
And 'tis also very observable, that if a peace should be made with France, the Dutch would in seven years time, lose the sum of - - - - - - - - - - - -	9,384,223	9	0

Now pray what recompence could the high church make our dear allies the Dutch for so great a loss as this would be to them; would it not be very unkindly done? certainly it would without doubt.

The King of Sweden, viz. Charles III. in twelve years time has actually had in specie for that service the sum of - - - 18,000,000 0 0

And 'tis also demonstrable that the said king, or now the emperor, in seven years time, would actually lose the sum of - - 10,500,000 0 0

By this account you may easily guess, what in proportion all our allies have got, and will lose; should they make a peace with France, which is by no means at all for their benefit and advantage, and therefore not in the least fit to be done.

Having now done with the Dutch and our dear allies on the other side of the water, it will be very necessary to hasten home to the late ministry, and plunderers, the low-church and stock-jobbers of this nation, to see of what strength their potent reasons are against making a peace with France.

And, first of all, the seventh potent reason is the late ministry's, or plunderers of the nation, who have an account to make up of 35,000,000 0 0

In one article from Ireland, they have actually deducted out of the Irish army for one year - - - - - - - 100,000 0 0

And if what be true, as we find in the letter to a new member of the honourable House of Commons, touching the embezzlements and mismanagements of the late ministry, there has been embezzled or misapplied as followeth:

There has been overpaid to the army the sum of - - -	2,756,911	13	4¾
To the navy - - - - - - - - - -	1,652,659	15	11¼
To the civil list - - - - - - - - -	455,302	8	0
And yet the debt on the army, navy, ordnance, &c. and the civil-list, amounted at that time to the sum of - - - -	6,000,000	0	0
So that in five years time, there was actually embezzled or misapplied - - - - - - - - - - -	10,864,873	17	4¾

And he makes an observation worth the taking notice of, and that is, how much was paid to the army, navy, &c. short of these proportions allowed by parliament, will also be worth the enquiry of the honourable House of Commons, *vide Letter*, *fol.* 16, 17.

Again, a certain late Lord Treasurer, if fame speaks truth, hath fallen down, and cracked, as they say, about - - - - - 2,500,000 0 0

That Sir T—— L———n, a late pay-master to the navy, has died indebted to the sailors about three years wages, amounting to the sum of - - - - - - - - - - - 5,400,000 0 0

And, lastly, that a certain Lord Chancellor was impeached not long since for a considerable sum of money that he had illegally gotten: He was not contented with his place, that brought him in per annum - - - - - - - - - - - 4000 0 0

But the late King William beside allowed him a pension of - 4000 0 0

And yet he procured to himself the grants of several manors, fee-farm rents, quit-rents, &c. to the value of - - - - 33,600 0 0

This is a small trifling account to let the nation into a sight of what the late ministry cheated, not only the sailors and soldiers of, but how finely for several years last past, they may have plundered the nation of considerable sums of money, yet not discovered; and we may remember, when such paymasters used to tell their money over grid-irons, and all that went through they keep for their own use, and therefore there could be but very little remain behind to pay the army and navy with; and are not some of these very potent and convincing reasons, why the late ministry are so very unwilling to have a peace, lest they should be called to an account for their embezzlements and misapplications, and therefore 'tis death for them to come to a general peace?

The eighth and last potent reason is the bank of England's or the low-chuch-men. For these, with Jews, Dutch, French, and English stock-jobbers, not only draw great sums of money from the government for advancing money on the taxes, which are called loans, but do also sharp and bite the people of England by their rising and falling of stock, which in its nature is as it were devouring men alive, as for example:

The parliament of England raises, by way of lottery, to carry on the war against France and Spain in the year 1711, the sum of	3,000,000	0	0
Now the government is forced (to bring this money in quickly, to pay the army and navy with) to allow a premium out of every 100l. to such persons as will readily advance the same; now suppose this premium should be but 3l. per cent. and no more, (yet it is a great deal more) let's see what it stands the government in to advance those three millions of money, it comes to - -	90,000	0	0
Which is so much loss to the government out of 3,000,000l. of money, but if they should allow 15l. per cent. then the sum in 3,000,000l. would come to - - - - - - - - -	450,000	0	0
And for six millions in one year, the loss would be to the queen	900,000	0	0
And in 12 years time, the loss appears to be to the government	10,800,000	0	0

And this is one of their potent reasons why the bank or low-church-men do so vigorously oppose a glorious peace with France.

Again, if what De Foe says be true, that upon the late rumour and flying report, that there would be a change at court in the late low-church ministry, her faint-hearted friends the whigs, in this very great fright sold off 300,000l. of their stocks (goods) at 95l. or 100l. for what cost 'em 129l. so lost 29l. to 34l. per cent upon all that money, which is at least 80,000l. which money he calls it was lost to the tories (which I rather take to be Jewish stock-jobbers, or other cunning snaps like them) who bought the same; and in some time after the said stock or goods was sold back again at 105l. which is 10l. per cent. and is 30,000l. clear to the purchaser, so that upon the whole matter there was 110,000l. clear gain by this wise bargain. *Vid. Review*, 21 *Dec.* 1710. *Fol.* 468.

And therefore, if such great advantages can be made by falling and rising of stock, we are sure these very low-church-men or stock-jobbers will never be for a general peace so long as their trading is thus suffered to go on.

But to blind the eyes of the world, (that they might not see through this hidden piece of villainy,) they cover over these matters with other specious reasons and pretended objections, which shall be in this place all fairly answered.

And, first of all, it seems King Charles the Third of Spain, now Emperor, is resolved he won't make peace with France, until he has the Spanish monarchy put into his hands, for it will otherwise be to the ruin of him and his empire.

The Dutch, the rest of the allies, the late ministry, and the bank or low-church, are of the same opinion, for without this kingdom they say 'tis contrary to the agreement made with the allies, and our government is responsible for the same.

Secondly, if a peace be made with France, that monarch who was able to top a king on the Spanish crown, no question but will soon top the Pretender on England whenever he pleases.

Thirdly, that by joining with their High Mightinesses in this country, they have rescued these kingdoms from popery, slavery, and arbitrary government; and have preserved the protestant religion in the worship of the church of England, as it now stands by law established.

And, lastly, it is not convenient to make a peace with France, unless it be an honourable one, for that king will keep his word no longer than till he has an opportunity of breaking it.

To the first pretended reason, I answer, if the emperor is so very zealous to carry

on the war against France, as he seems to be, who shall be security for the payment of 18,000,000l. that he has already had, and for the 1,500,000l. that he annually receives from England as money lent; what towns—(nay is his whole empire worth the money we have already lent him?) and in whose hands shall they be put as a security, for the payment of the said money, or what persons will be responsible for the same?

Will their High Mightinesses covenant, or enter into articles for the security thereof? if not, then pray why should not our government be as careful of the ruining, impoverishing, and beggaring our nation, as the emperor is of his own, if such a peace should be made, which he won't comply to for that very reason? I think, we have spent upwards of 123 millions of pounds sterling, and have nothing to shew for it but a parcel of poor Franch rags of honour; so naturally is it for Englishmen to part with their money for baggatelles.

And whereas it is said it is contrary to the agreement made with the said allies, how can that be? Did not they enter on the said war to bring the King of France to reason, and to such a general peace as was for the good and benefit of all the allies; don't the emperor say in his circular letter to the States of Holland, that it will be to the ruin of his country if peace be made; and to preserve his country, he vigorously excites all the allies to push on the war against France, so that natural preservation is the emperor's case, and is it not England's case also? for if we carry on the war at such disadvantageous terms, as drawing out of the purses of the people of England six millions yearly, and no returns, and take a Jack Haddoway's security for it, is the ready way not only to ruin our government, but to beggar our kingdoms, and 'tis as natural and justifiable for the Queen of Great Britain to preserve her country from ruin, as it is for his imperial majesty to preserve his own.

As to the topping a king upon the throne of Spain, so by the same reason the King of France by his power may top the Pretender on England when he pleases, yet I am of a contrary opinion; for I am persuaded, should England and the confederates refuse the peace France has offered, who knows but it might so enrage that monarch, as to exasperate him to do it; but I am sure 'tis more to be feared from the low-church-men, who no doubt but are in a confederacy with papists, jacobites, and non-jurors, who, if they do not obtain their ends, they have vowed and are resolved to do it, and who knows but they may be already embarked in the said potent design.

By joining with the Dutch, 'tis said, that they helped to rescue these nations from popery, slavery, and arbitrary government, by which means they preserved the protestant religion in the church of England; 'tis true they did help to relieve these kingdoms from popery, for which great piece of service the nation paid them 600,000l. according to their demands, and therefore not so much beholden to them as the low-church would make us: But if a certain pious lord had not happily renounced the northern heresy, and turned Roman catholick on purpose to out-wit King James of his kingdoms, I question very much whether ever the Dutch would voluntarily have undertook so daring and hazardous an enterprize; but that lord too was very well rewarded for being so great an hypocrite and impostor. And for serving the then good old cause, he had 800,000l. for his said service.

But this nation, church and state, are far off from being delivered of an arbitrary government, for their rights, liberties, and properties, are so visibly invaded by the low-church-men, who daily give them new plagues not only in the city of London, but all over England too, by creeping into their government by occasional conformity, nay are not only insulting the church, but would thrust the church-men out of their places of power in the government, and very fain would top the conventicle on the church, and a commonwealth on the kingdom both at a time.

Nor is it convenient, it seems, for England to make a noble and generous peace with France, unless it be a safe and honourable one. Now who are to be judges of this mat-

ter is easily guessed, for the low-church-men have assumed the boldness to direct her majesty in this affair; for they tell you there is no trusting to the word or honour of France; and why? because that king broke it with them first; but the world may remember 'twas after they had made a felonious partition of the monarchy of Spain, contrary to their former articles of peace settled with France upon that condition.

If the emperor, the Dutch, and the rest of the allies, are so hot and violent to carry on the war against France and Spain, and the Dutch has so much money to spare to lend England to carry it on, a God's name let them have our army and navy to their assistance, conditional the Dutch will pay the queen three millions per annum for them, (though hitherto it has cost the nation annually six millions to equip 'em and send 'em thither) and the emperor be engaged to repay the States again that money so expended. And this will encourage the people of England to push forward a war, and be as hot and violent for carrying it on, as any one of the Commons, let them be whom they will.

And I'll venture to lay an even wager there will be no repining thereat in this kingdom, if the Commons then are willing to carry it on to the end of the world, and the hoarded money that is kept up for advancing loans on the taxes and stock-jobbing, will quickly then appear to assist the merchants and tradesmen at easy rates, and this will quiet all persons; nay, the nation will save six millions per annum ready cash, so that all our taxes will at once cease from being collected, and the kingdom will gain also three millions per annum, which will then be happily circulating in our own bowels; and this is the only way to make peace and plenty in England, while the war is carried on at their charge, against France and Spain, without grumbling.

Certainly since his imperial majesty has so great a prospect, (and it may be for an universal monarchy too) who knows but it may be worth his while to be at the charge thereof; and there's no question but the States will greatly get by it in assisting so just a cause; nay, who knows but the bank, the late ministry, and all our rapacious stock-jobbers, may transplant themselves into the electorate, if but ways and means can be found out there to raise funds to carry on the said war. I am of opinion that then none will be more ready to advance loans on the taxes than they, conditionally his imperial majesty will give but as large premiums for the advancement of ready money, as her majesty of Great Britain; and also suffer 'em to fall and rise the stocks there, as they have done in England; and I don't question but they will be as ready to stay there to suck the heart's blood out of the empire, as they have already done for two-and-twenty years last past in England.

But to carry on the war (as we have done hitherto) at our own charge and expences, is monstrously ridiculous, especially when we sit down to consider what advantage the English has got by it, whilst the Dutch they get all the towns, and the rest of the Commons and stock-jobbers all the money, and nothing but honourable French rags of beggary is left for the nation to subsist on: And are not these potent, strong, and persuasive reasons for carrying on the war to the ruin of Old England?

Troth, if the nation are in their senses, 'tis now time to look about them, after the expence of 123 millions of pounds sterling, the butchering of so many hundred thousand souls, and the vast loss we have had in our English men-of-war, our merchants in their effects and shipping, and our nation in their trading, so that it is now (one would think) high time to put an end to this expensive, unnecessary and bloody war, which has not, nor never will be of any advantage to England, especially when 'tis so visibly plain, that our junto are in a deep confederacy with potent allies, on purpose to drain this kingdom of their men and money on the one side, while on the other, the late ministry may the easier ruin the government both in church and state. Which God of his infinite mercy prevent.

Her Majesty's Reasons for creating the Electoral Prince of Hanover a Peer of this Realm: Or, the Preamble to his Patent as Duke of Cambridge. In Latin and English: With Remarks upon the same. 1712.

It was accounted a piece of extraordinary vanity in Harley to print the preamble of the patent by which he was created Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. Some advocate of the protestant succession, a title of merit which the Whigs were disposed to assume to themselves exclusivly, has here printed the patent of the electoral Prince of Hanover, (afterwards George I.) by way of refreshing the mind of the public, both as to his merits and rights. This was a concealed yet severe attack upon the queen, who had repeatedly protested against any attempt to bring over the prince, upon whom her crown was settled, during her own life, declaring she considered it as equivalent to placing her coffin before her face. Yet there were repeated attempts, on the part of the opposition, to persuade the prince to come over, and claim his seat in the House of Lords, as Duke of Cambridge. Had he complied with this request, in all probability, by making himself an avowed member of the opposition, he might have drawn many of the Tory party into engagements with the exiled family.

Cum serenissima domus electoralis Brunsvico-Luneburgensis e regia majorum nostrorum stirpe oriunda sit, et avita regna (si nos sine prole decesserimus) secundum leges auctoritate nostra sancitas, occupare debeat; cumque tamen enixe cupiamus, ut predicta domus serenissima non minus amicitia nobis, quam sanguine et fœderibus, devinciatur: Nos, pro singulari nostro erga illam affectu, charissimum consanguineum nostrum Geo. Augustum, serenissimi electoris filium, summis honoribus augere decrevimus. Et quamvis tanti principis filius unicus patriis finibus excedere, sine gravi rerum periculo, non possit; his præcipue temporibus, quibus vicini status tam violentis tempestatibus perturbantur: Ut tamen rebus nostris et consiliis, qua licet, honoris et nominis authoritate, etiam absens, quodammodo intersit, illum parium hujus regni numero adscribi jussimus. Hæ illi erunt primitiæ supremæ istius dignitatis, ad quam (nobis, nostrisque omnibus optantibus) destinatur: Ut, ornatus dehinc nobilissimi hujusce regni titulis, quos regii sanguinis principes semper ambierunt nostratem se esse gestiat. Vos interea barones, vicecomites, comites, marchiones, du-

Whereas the most serene electoral house of Brunswick Lunenburgh is sprung from the royal stock of our ancestors, and is (if we should decease without issue) to enjoy, by virtue of laws ratified by our authority, the kingdoms of their progenitors, yet as we earnestly desire that the said most serene house should no less be tied to us by friendship than by blood and alliances, we, according to our singular affection towards the same, have decreed to grace with the highest honours our most dear cousin, George Augustus, son to the most serene elector. And although the only son of so great a prince cannot go out of his native country without the utmost danger, especially at this time, when the neighbouring states are tossed with such violent tempests, to the end, nevertheless, that, as much as possible, he may, by the authority of his name and dignity, though absent, be in a manner present in our parliament and councils, we have ordered him to be added to the number of the peers of this realm. This will be to him an earnest of that supreme dignity, to which (according to ours, and the wishes of all our subjects)

ces, vobis gratulemini, quod tantæ spei princeps, Germaniæ decus et deliciæ, sanctissimæ nostræ religionis vindex, et libertatis publicæ propugnator, vobis olim imperaturus, e vobis interim unus in vestros se ordines referri amet, &c.

he's destined: That being henceforth adorned with the titles of this most noble kingdom, which the princes of the blood-royal have always courted, he may be proud to be ours. You therefore, the barons, viscounts, earls, marquisses, and dukes, congratulate with yourselves, that a prince of so great hopes, the ornament and darling of Germany, the defender of our most holy religion, and the assertor of publick liberty, one that is hereafter to govern you, and till then is one of you, should now delight to be vested with the same honours with you, &c.

Remarks.

Since it has been so fashionable of late to print the preambles of patents constituting peers of this realm, and that this may afford no small light to future history, I have likewise thought fit to gratify the publick with the preamble foregoing: And as others have taken the liberty to censure not only the language, but even the matter of some patents, I may (to be sure) more warrantably make three or four remarks to justify her majesty's wise proceeding and upright intentions in this immediately under our consideration.

I. My first remark, or rather explanation, shall be, that by the present house of Hanover's being sprung from the royal stock of her ancestors, the queen does not only mean from the Princess Elizbaeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter to King James the First, but also from Matilda, or Maud, King Henry the Second of England's daughter, who was married to Henry the Lyon, from whom the house of Brunswick is descended for many generations past; and therefore the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, upon her receiving the act of succession, ordered a medal to be struck with her own bust or head on one side, and that of Matilda on the reverse, betokening the descent of this new Saxon line, from the Norman and Scottish royal families.

II. My second remark is, that the queen notwithstanding does not say they are to succeed to the British sceptres, by hereditary right (seeing so many families or branches, and so many particular persons of each, are in degrees of consanguinity before 'em) but by virtue of laws ratified by her authority, or by parliamentary right; comprehending thereby her own and the acts of King William for settling the new entail of the crown, and for securing the succession in the protestant line. And most certainly the government both of England and Scotland, before the Union, no less than at present, is, in its very fundamental constitution, the medium between an absolutely hereditary and an absolute elective monarchy: The true state of the case is this. To prevent the incertitude, competition, bribery, and confusion of frequent elections (as in Poland) the crown is entailed upon a particular family according to the right of primogeniture, the female succeeding in default of male issue: But to prevent likewise our remediless falling (as in France) under the management of idiots, madmen, tyrants, or other persons incapable of rule, the crown is so limited under certain conditions relating to state and religion, as in cases of extreme necessity to be transferable to the nearest in blood (duly capacitated) or to the most worthy of the same family. This has been often proved, and will be still further proved by ancient laws as well as facts, to be our constitution *de jure*, therefore no less than *de facto*, from the very beginning: Nor is it in Queen Anne's, no nor in Queen Elizabeth's time, that the first law was

enacted, making it treason for any to assert, that the prince and parliament could not limit or alter the succession, and so dispose of it as they saw most conducing to the publick good. Now if the London clergy (whose lay-pupils we may reasonably suppose had no meaning) would have been at the pains to explain their new trumpt-up hereditary and indefeasable right on this foot in their last address (that is, hereditary right, under parliamentary limitations) there's nobody would offer to quarrel with them; whereas till something of this nature be done in a solemn and authentick manner, men cannot help believing they meant no good to the protestant succession, no more than they and some others of their brethren (for, God be thanked, all of the order are not infected) do wish well to the British constitution, by reviving the odious, exploded, and destructive doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance to the lawless commands of the prince, or those commissioned by him, which is to bear allegiance even to his army.

III. My third remark is, that nothing can parallel the imprudence of those who are such fools to believe themselves, or the imprudence of those who are such knaves as to make others believe, that the queen or her ministers have any manifest designs, or secret reserves, in favour of the Pretender, which notion the Jacobites are indefatigably infusing every where. I hold it no wonder that papists should do so, who think it lawful for princes to break their words and oaths for the service of mother church; but that protestants should be found, who are not only shameless enough to insinuate these things, but exultingly show their approbation of such politicks (which yet I prophesy will break some of their necks) is horrible and astonishing beyond any expression; especially after the queen's so clear declaration, on many other occasions, as in this preamble, that the Hanover family is to succeed her immediately, if she should happen to die without issue, and that this new title is to be to the electoral prince the first fruits or earnest of the royal dignity, to which he is destined by her majesty's own wishes (which are the words of the preamble) as well as by the laws of the nation. How can any Tories then that propagate, or any Whigs that countenance, such an abominable fiction, (herein equally deluded by the Jacobites) reconcile it with the character of a protestant princess governing by laws, to whose sincerity and plain dealing (among the crowd of her other conspicuous virtues) the high allies and all the world bear a particular testimony? what a detestable idea would they create, while they pretend to commend, as unfit (in short) to write, as to imagine.

IV. My fourth and last remark is, that although some princes are said to have thought fit not to send during their lives for their immediate successors, or any of their family, who, in case of the reigning prince's death, might take care of their interests, yet our queen has made no such declaration, but only intimates in this preamble the danger and inconvenience of the electoral prince's leaving his country during the war between the Swedes and their enemies, so that after a peace on that side (which we wish may soon happen) he may be safely invited over. But indeed he may come off himself whenever he pleases, particularly when he is summoned to parliament, that he may take care (as I said) of his grandmother's interest, and that of his father, whose most serene highness could not certainly at such a juncture as this securely leave his country, not only as he is a sovereign prince, but as the peace of Germany will very much depend upon the counsels of the wisest and richest prince of the empire. Neither is it by far so dangerous for the electoral prince to venture abroad now, as when the patent was penned; for from an only son he has since secured the succession of his family with several brave and healthy children, by one of the amiablest princesses in the world. The case of Queen Elizabeth, so frequent in the mouths of some well-meaning people, is no manner of parallel: Since, in the first place, no successor was expressly declared in her reign; and that, in the second place, Mary Queen of Scots, pretended a better and antecedent right, never openly disclaimed by her son King

James. Thus their party looked upon them as competitors rather than successors, whereof so wise a princess as Queen Elizabeth could not but foresee the danger; but in the case before us there is no room so much as for a suggestion of this nature, and therefore I doubt not but so wise a princess as Queen Anne will take proper measures to remove the fears and jealousies of her faithful subjects.

Let nobody mistake this last expression as a contradiction to what I said in the third remark: For I am still most firmly of the same opinion, that the succession is so far from being in danger from the queen or her ministers, that I could as soon believe 'em in a conspiracy against themselves, as to be directly engaged against the house of Hanover; yet I neither there nor any where else have said, that the succession was in no danger from any other quarter.

On the contrary, I think it from my soul to be infinitely more in danger, aye growing danger, than the church could ever be conceived to be by the most credulous, when of late so much noise was seditiously raised on this subject by certain persons, who are now quite mute about popery and the Pretender. And therefore, if I be not happily prevented (as I hope to be) by the proceedings of the ensuing parliament, I shall not be such a traitor to my country as to fail of giving it that publick warning, which every good subject is bound to do when he apprehends publick danger: For though with the Irish House of Commons, I shall ever adhere to sound revolution principles, yet I am by no means fond of frequent revolutions.

The History of the Peace, from the Arrival of M. Mesnager, Sept. 18, 1711, *to the Return of the Earl of Strafford from Utrecht, May* 15, 1712. *Wherein the Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament are inserted, and the Reasons for and against it fully considered. Done out of French. Printed in the Year* 1712.

This is a brief narrative of the earlier proceedings in the treaty of Utrecht. Coke has thus enumerated the circumstances which led to this pacification.

"The ministers were now resolved to hold a secret correspondence with France about the preliminaries of a peace, and in their own minds were inclined to abandon the interest of the new emperor in Spain, and leave that crown and the Indies in the hands of the house of Bourbon, to recover which we had been fighting all this while. Prior, in order to this, was sent into France; for which Count Gallas expostulating with the treasurer, I know not with what truth he could answer, he had no reason to be alarmed, for the queen would never make a peace derogatory to any engagements she had with her allies. The schemes of this negociation were given out by degrees, intermixing some truth and falsehood together; and, indeed, if the naked truth had been told at once, the dispositions of the people were such at that time, it would no have bore the test; and this conduct of the ministry, in respect to the beginning and progress of that grand affair, gave my Lord Cowper afterwards an occasion to call it, A dripping Peace.

"There were, indeed, several pamphlets published at this time, to bespeak a favourable reception of the preliminaries, about which Count Gallas, the imperial envoy, talked in such high terms to the ministers, that he was forbid the court, and returned home. The Hanover memorial, now presented against that sort of peace, was what gravelled the ministers most, for though one party endeavoured to explode and make people believe it to be spurious, the contrary plainly appeared, for very many reasons not here to be enumerated; but the States-General, after long deliberation, judged it most advisable to fall in with the queen's measures."—*A Detection of the Court and State of England, vol. III. p.* 412-3.

As a special instance of the great regard that ought to be had to the particular interest of any country or state (not forgetting those with whom they are engaged in alliances) previous to negociations of peace, I shall insert the following piece, from an author of sufficient credit, no less pertinent than curious upon so solemn occasion, which, compared with the arguments for or against entering into the present treaty, may serve as a very proper introduction to this history.

The English having been engaged for several years in a war against Spain in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to the great comsumption both of blood and treasure, as well as great detriment to their trade into Spain, which was always very beneficial, though to the great glory of the English arms both by sea and land; and the queen finding that France by the peace of Vervin began mightily to flourish under Henry IV. she began also to think seriously of peace, for which end she sent Sir Francis Vere in 1598 into Holland, to know whether it would be for the benefit and advantage of the queen and government to make a peace with the Spaniard?

They who were for the peace took upon them to produce their reasons, and urged the following arguments:—

1. That peace, besides that it was both sweet and beneficial, would wipe off that aspersion which lay upon the English as being the disturbers of the whole world, as if they were happy in other men's dangers. 2. The queen would be more secure from treacherous and desperate attempts. 3. There would be an end of the expences of the war against the Spaniard and the Archduke. 4. The Irish rebellion would be suppresst, when the rebels should have no longer hopes of succour from Spain. 5. Commerce and trade would be more free and open to the great benefit and advantage of the queen and her subjects; Spain, which in old times had been so beneficial to the English merchants, would be again opened to them, where they might exchange wheat for gold and silver; and the emperor's mandate against the English merchants in Germany would be recalled. 6. All dangers and tumults at home, occasioned by frequent taxes and levies of men, would be avoided, and the league of Burgundy would be renewed, and so there would be no need to fear the French King: England also would take breath, and lay up wealth, for future occasions. 7. Again, it would tend to the queen's honour, who, in the year 1585, seeing when the states of the Low-Countries offered her the sovereignty of those provinces, she publickly protested and declared in print, That in delivering the Netherlands, she aimed at nothing else but liberty and peace for them, and security to England. If then it seemed a resolution full of wisdom and discretion as the times went, to relieve the Netherlanders, and full of justice to refuse the dominion of those great provinces, when offered her to bear the charges of the war, it would certainly seem now a point of extreme folly to prosecute the war, when the Spaniards offered a peace, and nothing was offered by those who so much desired the continuance of the war.

Others also urged over and above these things,

1. Whether England was able to carry on the war against the Spaniard in Ireland, the Low-Countries, and elsewhere? And whether there were any hopes by continuing the war to bring him to more reasonable terms of peace than what now might be had? 2. They were also to consider well, seeing doubtless it was most expedient for the English to carry on an offensive war, for (woe to them who were forced to defend themselves at home!) on what parts this war was to be made: If on the sea-coasts of Spain and Portugal, the maritime towns might indeed be ransacked and taken in both places, but never kept without a vast charge, without any profit at all: If in the isles of Azores, these also, 'twas true, might possibly be subdued, and that to the great detriment of the Spaniard, but could not be kept without greater expences: If in America, they had now ships of force every where ready in those parts, and the sea-coasts were provided with more and strong garrisons than heretofore; and not a grain of gold, sil-

ver, or pearl, was to be hoped for without great hazard: If in the neighbouring Low Countries, that would be a very difficult task, so thick was that country of strong towns, every one of which would sustain a siege; neither could the States, in conjunction with the English forces, make any other than a defensive war of it, till such time as the Spaniards were diverted by the French war. 3. The axiom in politicks was not to be neglected, that they who were able to maintain a war, might find and obtain a peace; but they who were not able, never should: And they alledged the lamentable examples of the Athenians and others for it, who refused peace when it was offered them. 4. Lastly, Some insinuated, that the States, whatever pretences they made of defending religion and maintaining their liberty, did indeed take away all religion and piety, by tolerating every opinion and persuasion, except that of the Romanists; and for liberty, they sought nothing else but their own profit and advantage, by imposing great excise upon victuals, debasing and corrupting of coin, raising the value thereof at their pleasure, and the like cunning practices; and hereby they did by a strange piece of management maintain the war, and by the war grow rich, whereas all other nations were impoverished thereby: Farther, they hindered all other of trade and commerce, by setting up of monopolies every where; and, as all others did that favoured a democratical government, they prosecuted monarchies with a tacit and sacred hatred, and had rejected all their nobility, save one or two that were of use to them in the wars, and it was evident, they propounded nothing else to themselves (which was a very dangerous example against princes) but to do as the Helvetians had formerly done before them, against the same house of Austria, wherewith they had now to do, and that not with their own blood, but with that of the English, French, and Scots, who for a little glory were so prodigal of their lives in the cause and quarrel of other men.

But to these arguments for the peace others who were stiff against it, replied, and said,

1. That by the peace the Spaniard would heap up such a mass of treasure, that if he brake out into a war again, he would be far too strong for all his neighbours. 2. That a sound and firm peace could not, without the pope's dispensation, be expected at his hands, who had deluded the English at Bourbourg in the year 1588, and was of a belief, that no faith was to be kept with heretics and excommunicated persons; and that he could never digest the losses he had received, but would be inflamed with a desire of revenge. 3. If a peace were made, the queen must forsake the states of Holland and Zealand, and withal, lose her money expended upon the war, or else give up the cautionary towns into the enemy's hands, which would redound to her dishonour, as the other would to her loss and damages. 4. The States, if once forsaken by her, would be reduced under the obedience of the Spaniard, whereby he would become far more powerful in shipping and forces to infest England, and those countries would be a very convenient seat for carrying on a war against the neighbouring kingdoms, in order to his erecting and establishing the Spanish universal monarchy. 5. Supposing that an offensive war in the Low Countries was a difficult and hard task, in the Azores doubtful and uncertain, in the maritime parts of Spain and Portugal fruitless and unprofitable, and in every one of them chargeable and expensive, yet in America it would be highly advantageous and profitable, which vast country was so thinly peopled by the Spaniards, and those inhabitants so far separated, that they could not easily relieve one another: If therefore an army of ten thousand English, under a industrious vigilant commander, were landed, with a resolved purpose to plant and inhabit, it was not to be doubted but Carthagena in Castile d'or would be either intercepted, or kept in America, whereby the trade of the Spaniard might be stopped and hindered, and the king's custom diminished, to his great loss and detriment: Neither would there be any fear of the Americans, a cowardly people, and through the pleasantness of the climate rendered altogether effeminate; or of the Spaniards who should be sent thither, who, being fatigued with the length of

the voyage, and made feeble with sea-sickness, would find it a very difficult matter to drive old soldiers out of their strong-holds. Neither needed they to fear the want of victuals and ammunition, wherewith they might be as easily supplied from England as the enemy were from Spain; for as soon as some should give out, that they had settled themselves there, many people from all nations would flock to them with all sorts of necessaries, forasmuch as the Europeans desired nothing more than a free trade and traffick into America. 6. As for what was objected against the Hollanders concerning religion and monopolies, they were mere calumnies and forgeries of the reformed true religion, and maintained the same with the other reformed churches of Christendom, in fundamental points, which concerned the salvation of souls: In other points not necessary to salvation, they granted a toleration, with respect to the times, in the same manner as the primitive church did; for as much as cockle would every where grow up with the corn: And as for other things, the faults of particular men were not to be charged upon all in general, the public cause being to be distinguished from private men's miscarriages: Among the angels of God, and the apostles themselves, there was some corruption to be found: We were not to envy nor defame a well-established commonwealth, nor that excellent industry and good husbandry of a free nation, if they only of all people knew how to thrive and grow rich by war.

The others, who were eager for peace, rejoined and said,

1. That the queen and her confederates might in like manner gather up treasure in time of peace, and provide themselves no less for defence, than the Spaniard could for offence: That a solid and firm peace might very well be expected from the Spaniard, who having hitherto sustained very great damages and disappointments, might learn at length, how much he had been mistaken in his government of the Low Countries, by a martial and forcible hand, and might seriously now rectify his error by agreeing to a peace: And that peace had been made heretofore with the Dukes of Burgundy and Kings of Castile, the Spaniard's predecessors, and had always held firm, and been extremely advantageous and profitable to the English. 2. Suppose the King of Spain for his advantage had treated of a peace at Bourbourg, not with that fairness and candidness he ought to have done, we in like manner might now, without any injury to ourselves, treat with our swords in our hands. 3. That peace had been kept by popish princes, with excommunicate persons and hereticks, without any regard to the pope, might be proved by many examples, both of Charles V. and his successors in the empire, who still kept their faith and promise with the excommunicate protestants in Germany, whom they accounted hereticks; of Francis I. King of France, who at Paris solemnized the funeral obsequies of Henry VIII., though excommunicated by the pope: And of Henry the then King of France, who, after he was reconciled to the pope, and acknowledged for the nearest and dearest son of the church, entered into an offensive and defensive league with the Queen of England: The ardent desire of revenge grows cold, when strength to act once faileth. 4. The queen might justly forsake the States, since she only obliged herself to assist them till such time as they could get reasonable conditions from the Spaniard, for securing their liberty; which conditions, if they now refused, she was not bound to assist them any longer. 5. That the cautionary towns should be surrendered up to them, was neither just, nor could they with reason require it: That the recovery of the money disbursed upon the war would be easy if a peace was once concluded. 6. That the States could not be reduced in a short time by force of arms under the obedience of Spain, and in process of time many things might happen, which were not now thought of; but if they were reduced by a pacification, they could not sufficiently secure themselves, unless they also secured their profit and interest. But whatever became of them, France and England being now linked together in a firm league, would easily balance the Spaniard, and prevent his extravagancies; the common interest would be the strongest bond of

the league. 7. Lastly, they drew their arguments for peace both from the law of nations, which requires that the safety of the people be the supreme care, and from sound reasons of Christianity, that the effusion of blood might be prevented, and Christendom fortified against infidels: But they said the arguments for war, however men flattered themselves with mountains of gold from America, which the unhappy success of Drake might sufficiently refute, were only drawn from human wisdom, that dangers might be thereby diverted, which it were better to leave to the disposal of Divine Providence, by directing their counsels with a good conscience to a public good, than those things which are never to be commended farther than they are necessary.

Notwithstanding these last as well as former arguments for a peace with Spain, they would not do, but the opposite party carried it for continuing the war against Spain, and assisting the states of Holland in their just defence against the encroachments of the Spaniards.

A new contract was soon after made with the States, which did abate and take off a great deal of the charge of the war on the English part; for the Dutch agreed to pay the queen 800,000 pounds sterling; viz. 30,000 pounds yearly as long as the war continued against the common enemy, until 400,000 pounds were paid; and if a peace were made between the Spaniards and the queen, there would be paid yearly 20,000 pounds, till the 800,000 pounds were paid: That the English in the cautionary towns of Flushing, Briel, and the adjoining forts, should be paid by the States; and if any of the English isles were invaded by the Spaniards, the States were to assist the queen with a certain number of shipping with the English, as the English forces sent over into Flanders were to be joined with an equal number of Dutch troops, &c.

Thus far by way of introduction, where I must leave the reader at pleasure to form what observations he pleases, when he has made a comparative judgment on the various reasons, which he must needs have seen printed on both sides, for and against a treaty.

If I construe right, I may agreeably enough affirm, That the first notion of this new treaty at Utrecht, sprung from the dissolution of the old one at Gertruydenberg; nor does the improbable distance of time divide me from the opinion of what I say: So much did the cautious and inflexible temper of the Dutch ministers at that time aggravate and inflame, not only the plenipotentiaries, but even the court of France, that it will not be hard for the most impartial understanding to agree with me in this point: We may remember the loud complaints of those ministers on their return to Paris, and the pretended ill treatment they met with, That they were mewed up in a sort of prison, had their letters stopped, their visitants examined, with other accumulated grievances; and this to a haughty temper was received with a treble portion of acrimony. The Dutch were not to be forgiven, on whom the blame of all this lay; and from these seeds of animosity grew up so violent a resentment, that France would rather want peace than be at the pains of ever applying to the States on that subject. An advantage was likewise to be made of this pretended disgust, which served as a plausible pretence of seeking their ends elsewhere. Some of our writers likewise espoused the French in this matter, so as to make it one of the articles of complaint against the Dutch, that they treated the ministers of that nation with too much ostentation, and shewed an air of haughtiness not becoming them. Let these writers answer for themselves; it is certain, that however the Dutch treated the ministers of France, (though I think they sufficiently cleared their conduct on that point) there was no complaint from any of the allies; and I believe it will not be objected, but that they receive their instructions from the Hague, to which none of the ministers of the Grand Alliance were strangers: They next therefore singled out some of the lesser princes to tamper with, but found none of them yet ripe for their purpose; till a favourable chance gave them an opportunity of applying themselves to England; nor

was it easy to find access there; however, they were not without hopes of making use of their resentment against the Dutch, at a time too when many complaints were publickly raised against them; and to which, in the end, they owed their good fortune in finding credit enough to be heard.

The first springs of these negociations are still so great a secret, that they are not like to be revealed in any little time, nor perhaps is it requisite they should. But 'tis with reason enough supposed, that the first overtures of it were made to the late Earl of Jersey, by his old acquaintance the Marquis de Torcy, who having desired that a trusty person whom he might discourse freely should be sent over, Mr Prior was soon pitched upon, as a proper person for such an affair, both in regard of his personal qualifications, as also his former employment at the peace of Ryswick, and his acquaintance with the aforesaid minister.

After his return, which was at the beginning of August, it was some time a great secret whether this important affair had been broke off in France, or would be continued in England; but it was not long before the latter was fully believed by the arrival of two French gentlemen, one of which was M. Mesnager, deputy of the council of commerce, and since Count of St John, and one of the plenipotentiaries of France, and the other said to be the Abbe du Bosc, in England, where they landed about the middle of September, 1711, and having continued about a fortnight incognito both at London and Windsor, had several conferences with our ministers, and on the 27th of the same month signed what were then called preliminaries. On the 4th of October following, they took their leaves in order to return home, highly satisfied with their reception in England; having first obtained the signal favour, that Marshal de Tallard might on his parole return for four months to France, who, 'tis thought, had a very diligent hand in bringing about this negociation.

A few days after their departure the said preliminary articles were communicated to the ministers of the allies residing here, one of which, not thinking himself obliged to keep them a secret, suffered a copy of them to be taken, which were inserted in the newspaper called the Daily Courant as follows:

Preliminary Articles on the Part of France for effecting a General Peace.

"The king being willing to contribute all that is in his power to the re-establishment of a general peace, his majesty declares,

"I. That he will acknowledge the Queen of Great Britain in that quality, as also the succession of that crown according to the present settlement.

"II. That he will freely and *bona fide* consent to the taking all just and reasonable measures for hindering that the crowns of France and Spain may ever be united on the head of the same prince; his majesty being persuaded, that this excess of power would be contrary to the good and quiet of Europe.

"III. The king's intention is, that all the parties engaged in the present war, without excepting any of them, may find their reasonable satisfaction in the treaty of peace which shall be made: That commerce may be re-established and maintained for the future, to the advantage of Great-Britain, of Holland, and of the other nations who have been accustomed to exercise commerce.

"IV. As the king will likewise maintain exactly the observance of the peace when it shall be concluded, and the object the king proposes to himself being to secure the frontiers of his kingdom, without disturbing in any manner whatever the neighbouring states, he promises to agree by the treaty which shall be made, that the Dutch shall be put into possession of the fortified places which shall be mentioned in the Ne-

therlands, to serve hereafter for a barrier, which may secure the quiet of Holland against any enterprize from the part of France.

"V. The king consents likewise, that a secure and convenient barrier should be formed for the empire, and for the house of Austria.

"VI. Notwithstanding Dunkirk cost the king very great sums, as well to acquire it, as to fortify it, and that it is farther necessary to be at a considerable expence for razing the works, his majesty is willing, however, to engage to cause them to be demolished immediately after the conclusion of the peace, on condition that for the fortifications of that place a proper equivalent, that may content him, be given him; and as England cannot furnish that equivalent, the discussion of it shall be referred to the conferences to be held for the negociation of peace.

"VII. When the conferences for the negotiation of peace shall be formed, all the pretensions of the princes and states engaged in the present war shall be therein discussed *bona fide* and amicably: And nothing shall be omitted to regulate and terminate them to the satisfaction of all the parties.

"By virtue of a full power from the king, we, the underwritten knight of his order of St Michael, deputy of the council of commerce, have concluded in the name of his majesty, the present preliminaries. In witness whereof we have signed. Done at London, the 27th of September, O. S. and the 8th of October, N. S. 1711.

(L. S.) MESNAGER.

These preliminaries were however no otherwise owned or published, than by this indirect way, and therefore all the parties were the more surprised at their publication; some suspected their being genuine, whilst others concluded, from the silence of the government in this point, that though they came in thus at a kind of back-door, yet they carried with them a certain air of a good authority.

They were supposed to owe their birth to Count Gallas, the Austrian minister, who by an indefatigable diligence and penetration had traced all the secret steps of this negotiation from first to last, and had either expostulated too warmly with some of our ministers about it, or by his letters awakened his master's jealousy, that he began to be disagreeable to our court, and soon after was recalled.

What might incline the court of Great Britain the rather to think it high time to listen to proposals, was the discovery about that time of a clandestine negotiation between France, Spain, and Portugal, for bringing the latter to a separate peace: However, this must be allowed, that after all the rumours it raised, the English made no farther advances in the negotiation till they had received the opinion of the Dutch on the subject of the preliminaries, which was communicated to them by the Earl of Strafford, her Britannick majesty's ambassador extraordinary at the Hague.

It did indeed a little startle the States at first, and many at home were yet more uneasy than the States; so that it was with difficulty enough the ministry prevailed to set a negotiation on foot. However, they appeared fixed in their resolution to pursue the scheme they had laid, and therefore used their utmost endeavours to engage the Dutch to espouse the preliminaries; and the Earl of Strafford was directed to make pressing application to the States on that subject. The contrary winds having kept all manner of intelligence from thence, it was thought fit further to prorogue the parliament (which was to have met on the 13th of November), for a few days; and when the next letters arrived, which happened in this interval of time, it appeared that the Earl of Strafford had not yet been able to carry his point; which was, to persuade them to agree to the settling a congress, and granting passports for the French plenipotentiaries, who were ready at Paris to set out on the first notice.

On the contrary, Count Goes, the imperial minister, had presented a memorial to the States, to induce their High Mightinesess to defer explaining themselves, at least till

they were acquainted with the sentiments of her imperial majesty. This was backed by a letter soon under the emperor's own hand to the States, desiring their High Mightinesses to concur with him, in endeavouring to induce the Queen of Great Britain to reject the proposition made by France, and not to sacrifice the immortal glory she had acquired to the artifices of France: Declaring, that whatever consequences should accrue from such a proceeding, he utterly rejected these preliminaries, and fully resolved not to empower any of his ministers to assist at the conferences to be held upon them.

However, the Dutch at the earnest solicitations of Great Britain, consented to a congress; and that her Britannick majesty should appoint the time and place: With these letters came also blank passports for the French ministers, which were to be filled up here, and dispatched to Paris. These being delivered, a committee of council met at the Cock-Pit, on the 19th of November, 1711, wherein M. Buys assisted to concert the time and place for the congress, which being concluded at this meeting, Mr Secretary St John notified it the next day to the foreign ministers residing in England.

The Circular Letter from the Queen of Great Britain to the Princes and States in Alliance with her.

"The most Christain king having acquainted us with his desire to see the quiet of Europe restored, by a safe and honourable peace for us and our high allies; and having offered some propositions to induce us to set on foot conferences for that end, which propositions have been communicated to all the allies; and the States-General having thereupon declared, that they were inclined and ready to enter into good and general peace, and to join with us to invite the potentates concerned with us in the present war, to send their ministers and plenipotentiaries to the congress, the place and time of which have been concerted with the ministers of the said States-General; we have judged it proper to give you notice, without loss of time, that we have agreed to fix the opening of the said congress to the 12th of January next, new stile, in the city of Utrecht.

"As we have no other view than to put an end to this war by a firm peace, in which every one of the allies may find their reasonable satisfaction, we doubt not you will likewise agree to contribute the forwarding of so pious and wholesome a work. Wherefore we desire you to send forthwith the ministers whom you shall chuse for this purpose, that by the time above-specified they may repair to the said city of Utrecht.

"We think further convenient to acquaint you, that we, with the Lords the States-General, have unanimously agreed to send our ministers to the congress only in quality of plenipotentiaries, and that they will not take on them the character of ambassadors, till the day of signing the peace, thereby to avoid as much as possible disputes about the ceremonial, and the delays the same might occasion, &c."

At the same time the bishop was declared first plenipotentiary to assist at the conferences; and soon after the Earl of Strafford his colleague in this great employment. And though matters went thus far smoothly, yet at the meeting of the parliament the Lords took the alarm, and voted a clause in their address, that no peace could be safe and honourable to Great Britain if Spain and the West Indies were allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon.

This passing over, there remained very little in the way of a treaty; so that on the 27th of December the Bishop of Bristol, with M. Buys, set out for Holland, where they arrived the 1st of January. The next day the lord privy seal came to Rotterdam, from whence he proceeded to Delft, and was met there by the Earl of Strafford, one of her majesty's plenipotentiaries. After a conference of some hours the Earl of Straf-

ford returned to the Hague, and the lord privy seal to Rotterdam; and on the 14th the latter went to the Hague, where, together with the Earl of Strafford, he was in conference with the grand pensionary, and then went back to Rotterdam, from whence he proceeded on the 15th to Utrecht, so that he was the first minister that appeared at the place of treaty. The Earl of Strafford came thither next, on the 17th; and on the 18th Messieurs Buys and Rendwoude, two of the plenipotentiaries of the States-General, arrived there also, and immediately waited on the British plenipotentiaries. The next morning about eleven, the Marshal d'Huxelles, the Abbot Polignac, and Monsieur Mesnager, the French plenipotentiaries, arrived at Utrecht; and the two British ministers, after having been with the two plenipotentiaries of the States to return their visits, went to see those of France, at the Marshal d'Huxelles's house, where they were all three together. They received their lordships at their coaches, and conducted them thither again; and about four in the afternoon the French plenipotentiaries returned their lordships' visit, and were received in like manner.

The British plenipotentiaries having given notice of their arrival to the magistrates of Utrecht, four of their deputies waited upon them on the 20th of January, N. S. in their respective houses, and afterwards paid the same compliment to the plenipotentiaries of France, having had the like notice of their arrival. In the afternoon a conference was held between the British and Dutch ministers at Monsieur Buys's house, and the same evening the Marquis del Borgo, one of the Duke of Savoy's plenipotentiaries, arrived at Utrecht, accompanied by Monsieur de Sales, minister of the Grisons. The next day, the British, Dutch, and Savoy ministers, met together at the lord privy seal's house, to consider of the manner of opening the general conferences, and the method of carrying them on; and on the 22d the ministers of the allies went to the town house to examine and give directions about the place of conference, and the apartment appointed by the magistrates for the ministers on both sides. On the 23d they had a conference together, at which they drew, and agreed to, the project of a regulation, to be observed by all the ministers during the congress, which, being afterwards communicated to the French plenipotentiaries, they made some alterations to it, which were agreed to.

A Project for regulating the Opening and Method of the Conferences in the Congress at Utrecht, and whatsoever relates thereunto.

"The plenipotentiaries shall come to the conferences, each in a coach with two horses, and very slender retinue.

"Those of the high allies shall go into the town-house, where the conferences are to be held at the door which leads to their apartment.

"Those of France shall go in at the door which is on the side of their apartment.

"All the conferences shall be held without ceremony or distinction. Quarrels shall be hindered on both sides between the coachmen and footmen, who shall moreover be ordered to treat each other with good-nature and civility, and to be ready on all occasions to do one another all the kindness and service they can.

"When two coaches meet in such narrow places that they cannot both pass at the same time, far from disputing which shall have the upper hand, or which of the two shall go first, and from creating trouble by this means, the coachmen shall be obliged, on the contrary, to make room for each other, and to forward the passing as much as lies in their power; and he who is first informed of the difficulty, shall stop, and make room for the other, if it appear that he can do it the most easily on his side.

"In the common walks, as well within as without the town, the custom of keeping each the right on his side, as has been agreed upon by those who meet there, shall be

observed; and so likewise in the streets and highways, and generally every where that it can conveniently be done, without the least dispute, or affectation of precedence.

"The pages, footmen, and generally all such as are in liveries, shall neither carry sticks, nor arms, as swords, knives, pocket-pistols, nor any others of what kind soever, whether openly or secretly, in the town, or in the walks. Pages may, however, if they please, carry little wands. Moreover, all domestics shall be forbid going after 10 o'clock at night, unless it be by express order, or for the service of their master; so that none shall otherwise be found abroad at unseasonable hours; and such as shall act contrary hereto, shall be severely punished, and discarded immediately.

"When a domestic of the plenipotentiaries is convicted of any crime capable of disturbing the publick tranquillity, the plenipotentiary to whom he belongs shall renounce his right of punishing him himself, and, having deprived him of all manner of protection or privilege, shall cause him to be delivered up into the hands of the ordinary judge of the place where the fault is committed, be it in the town or elsewhere, and shall even demand the laws to be put in execution against the criminal: And if in the same case the priminal officer, commonly called the Schout, shall catch any one in the commission of a flagrant crime, either by himself or by his officers or others, they shall be permitted to seize him, and even to imprison him, though they know him to be a domestic of the plenipotentiaries, till such time as they can send his master word, which they shall be obliged to do immediately, and without delay. The same shall be done (and this Schout is to take notice) in case any of the said domesticks are found in the cabrets or places suspected after the great bell has done ringing; after which, whatever the plenipotentiary orders, shall be punctually executed, whether he desires that his domestick be kept in prison, or released from it.

"If any plenipotentiary's domestick insults or quarrels with the domestick of another plenipotentiary, the aggressor shall be immediately delivered up to the master of him who is insulted, who shall do him justice as he thinks fit.

"All the plenipotentiaries shall very strictly forbid their domesticks, as well gentlemen as others, having any quarrels or janglings among themselves: And if it happen, contrary to this order, that there should be quarrelling, and any one has the boldness to pretend to clear himself by way of arms, he shall be instantly turned out of the plenipotentiary's house, and indeed expelled the town, without the least regard to what he may alledge in his own vindication, as that he was in drink, or received the affront, or was first attacked; but he shall even be obliged to answer to the complaint which may be made against him in any of the courts of judicature of his natural prince, upon this score, where he shall be punished according to law.

"The ministers on both sides make a mutual promise not to receive into their service any domestick who is discarded by his master.

"If any minister has a mind to punish his footman by imprisonment, the magistrates shall be desired to commit him to the town-gaol for a time, at the minister's charge.

"It is agreed, that the coaches shall be ranged before the town-house according as they come, always leaving room enough for those which follow to set down the ministers conveniently, and then to range behind, so that there may still remain a sufficient space between the coaches and the town-house.

"All that is above unanimously agreed upon, for the order and good government of this assembly, shall not be brought for an example, nor drawn into consequence, at any other place, time, or juncture; and none shall take advantage of it, no more than receive prejudice by it, upon any other occassion. Done at Utrecht, Jan. 23, 1712."

Besides this regulation, it was agreed, That the conferences should begin on Friday the 29th of January, N. S. and that they afterwards should be regularly held on Wednesdays and Saturdays, at ten in the morning. On the 27th the British ministers vi-

sited Messieurs Vander Dussen and Goslinga, two of the States' plenipotentiaries, and Monsieur de Mellarede, one of the Duke of Savoy's, who came to Utrecht the morning before, and immediately notified their arrival to their lordships, whose visits they returned the next day. The states of the province of Utrecht being assembled the 28th, the regulation agreed to by the ministers to be observed during the congress, was communicated to them, and to the magistrates of that city, both which promised to contribute what belonged to them towards putting it in execution; as likewise to keep such guards at the town-house, as should be necessary to preserve good order during the conferences.

These preliminary points being settled, on the 29th of January at ten in the morning, the first conference was opened by eight ministers of the allies, viz. the two British, four of the States-General, two of the Duke of Savoy's before-mentioned, and the three plenipotentiaries of France; and lasted till near one in the afternoon. The lord privy-seal appeared in a black velvet gown, adorned with gold loops, with a long train borne up by two pages in ash-coloured coats laced with silver orriss, and waistcoats of green velvet; and when the plenipotentiaries were assembled, his excellency addressed himself to those of France in the following speech—

"Gentlemen,

"We are this day met together, in the name of God to lay the foundation of a general peace between the high allies and the king your master. We bring sincere intentions, and also positive orders from our principals, to concur in every thing on their part which may tend to the furtherance, and happy conclusion of so beneficial and Christian-like a work.

"On the other hand, we are in hopes, gentlemen, that you are of the same mind, and that your instructions are so full, as to enable you to answer, without loss of time, the expectation of the high allies, in explaining yourselves clearly and roundly upon the points which are to be settled in these conferences; and that you will do it in so plain and particular a manner, that all and every the confederate princes and states may find a just and reasonable satisfaction upon their respective pretensions."

The Marshal d'Huxelles, first plenipotentiary of France, answered, "That it could not be doubted but his most Christian majesty had a sincere and ardent desire to give peace to Europe." After this the Abbot de Polignac made an elaborate speech, wherein, among other remarkables, he declared on the part of the king his master, "that the seven propositions which his colleague Monsieur Mesnager signed at London were obligatory to his most Christian majesty only, and not to any of the allies:" Adding, "that upon this foot the ministers of the said allies might repair to Utrecht, assist at the conferences, and produce their demands and pretensions; and that endeavours should be used to give them a reasonable satisfaction." The Earl of Strafford, and the plenipotentiaries of the States, and Duke of Savoy, made also speeches suitable to that solemn occasion; after which the assembly broke up. The next day the ministers of the allies had a conference together at the town-house, and agreed to meet there in like manner twice a week during the congress, in order to preserve union among themselves, and to take the necessary measures for promoting the interest of the respective princes and states they represented. Accordingly they met again at the town-house the 1st of February, N. S. and in the afternoon the British and Dutch plenipotentiaries had another conference at Monsieur Goslinga's lodgings: And because the French ministers had in their speeches promised to deliver a scheme or plan of the intentions of their court, it was resolved to deliver them in the next conference a declaration to the following effect:—

"The ministers of the high allies, who are already here, will expect, according to the offers of the ministers of France, the plan or scheme they have promised, and will not fail to return a particular answer thereunto for what concerns the particular interests of their principals. And as to the ministers of such of the allies who were still

absent, the ministers aforesaid have reason to believe that they will forthwith repair hither to concur with them in their answer."

This paper was delivered to the French ministers in the second conference held, and they promised to deliver their offers for a general peace; but declared that they wished that all the ministers of the allies were present, that they might at the same time receive a counter-project or answer from all the members of the Grand Alliance. Next day the Count de Metternich, plenipotentiary of the King of Prussia, came to Utrecht, and having notified his arrival, was complimented and visited by the other ministers; for though the French had not yet owned the title of his Prussian majesty, it was agreed as an expedient, that in the visits between the ministers of that prince, and those of France, they should sometimes use the word *master*, and sometimes that of *king*, without the addition of France or Prussia.

On Saturday the 6th of February, N. S. was held the third general conference, at which Count Metternich assisted; but it did not last above an hour, the plenipotentiaries on both sides having agreed to defer the most material business till the next general conference, and allow so much time to the other ministers of the allies to repair to the congress. Messieurs Buys and Goslinga being the next day in the evening returned from the Hague, assisted the 8th in the morning at a conference of the ministers of the allies, and in the evening, together with their colleagues, were in a private conference with the British plenipotentiaries. The same morning Monsieur d'Elorme, minister of the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, arrived at Utrecht; as did in the evening, Monsieur Randwyck, and Count Kniphuysen, two more of the States' plenipotentiaries.

The difficulty the emperor made of sending his plenipotentiaries to the congress having been at last removed, by the positive declaration made by the Earl of Strafford, and confirmed to Prince Eugene of Savoy at the British court, that the seven preliminary articles offered by France, and signed by Monsieur Mesnager, were only bare proposals, and should not be admitted as the basis of the ensuing treaty, Count Sinzendorf and Monsieur Consbruck, two of his imperial majesty's plenipotentiaries, came to Utrecht on the 9th of February in the evening, and immediately went to a conference, at which the other ministers of the allies were then assembled.

The next day the fourth general conference was held between the plenipotentiaries of the allies and those of France, which lasted from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon. It began with reciprocal compliments, but soon turned into a warm dispute between the imperial and French ministers. The Marshal d'Huxelles made a speech, importing, "That the king his master had most sincere intentions to end this war to the satisfaction of the allies: That in order to that they ought to deal roundly and fairly; that he hoped a good success of this negociation, since the ambassadors of the house of Austria had, at last, resolved to come to the congress; and thereupon desired the allies to deliver the proposals they had to make." Count Sinzendorf readily answered, "That the emperor his master had no less sincere intentions to contribute all that lay in his power towards so desirable a blessing as a general peace: But that it seemed Monsieur d'Huxelles, instead of dealing roundly and fairly, began on the contrary with a fetch, since he could not be a stranger to the demands of the allies, nor have forgot where the conferences at Gertruydenberg broke off; that there was nothing for them to do now, but to find out ways and means to remove the difficulties that obstructed that negotiation; and since the king their master had desired this congress of the allies, the latter had reason to expect that he had given his ministers the necessary instructions for that end:" Thereby insinuating, that the allies insisted on the first preliminaries signed at the Hague in the year 1709. Count Sinzendorf likewise took notice of this expression, "The ambassadors of the house of Austria," as derogatory to his imperial majesty. The Abbot de Polignac replied, "That they ought

to talk no more of the affair of Gertruydenberg, since the king had fixed a time for the allies to accept his proposals, which they not having done, he was under no engagement." This occasioned a high debate; and the Marshal d'Huxelles having in relation to the affairs of Spain adventured to say, "That they ought to wait the arrival of the ambassadors of that crown," Count Sinzendorf briskly replied, "He was present, and himself was the person." Monsieur d'Huxelles returned, "He acknowledged none but King Philip's," which inflamed the dispute. The Marshal d'Huxelles having likewise made bold to advance, in relation to a point in debate, that "the Queen of England had engaged her promise," the lord privy seal took him short, and said, "there was no such thing in his instructions." At last the French plenipotentiaries consented to deliver their proposals in writing; which they did accordingly the next day, at an extraordinary general conference.

A specific Explanation of the Offers of France for a General Peace, to the Satisfaction of all the Parties concerned in the present War.

"THE king will acknowledge, at the signing of the peace, the Queen of Great Britain in that quality, as also the succession of that crown according to the present settlement, and in what manner her Britannick majesty shall please.

"His majesty will cause all the fortifications of Dunkirk to be demolished immediately after the peace, provided an equivalent be given him to his satisfaction.

"The island of St Christopher, Hudson's Bay and Strait of that name, shall be yielded up entire to Great Britain, and Acadia, with Port-Royal and the fort, shall be restored entire to his majesty.

"As to the island of Newfoundland, the king offers to yield that up also to Great Britain, reserving to himself only the fort of Placentia, and the right of catching and drying fish, as before the war.

"It shall be agreed to make a treaty of commerce before or after the peace, as England shall chuse, the conditions of which shall be made as equal between the two nations as they can possibly.

"The king will consent at the signing of the peace, that the Spanish Netherlands, which are made over and given to the Elector of Bavaria by the King of Spain, shall serve for a barrier to the United Provinces; and to augment it he will join thereto Furnes and the Furner-Ambaght, the district of Knoque, Ypres, and the castellany of Menin with its verge; in exchange, his majesty demands to form the barrier of France, Aire, St Venant, Bethune, Douay, and their dependencies.

"If the States-General are desirous to keep garrisons in the fortified places of the barrier so formed of the dominions transferred to his electoral highness, and of what France adds thereto of its own, his majesty consents that they shall put their troops into them to as great a number as they please; and besides, that they shall be maintained at the expence of the country.

"In consideration of this cession, and of this consent, the king on his side demands, as an equivalent for the demolishing of Dunkirk, the towns and citadels of Lisle and Tournay, with their castellanies and dependencies.

"The barrier thus regulated between France and the States-General, the king will grant for augmenting the commerce of their subjects what is stipulated by the treaty of Ryswick, and the advantageous tarif of 1664, with an exception of six sorts of merchandize which shall be agreed on, and which shall remain charged with the same duties that are paid at this time; as also the exemption of fifty sols per ton on the Dutch shipping, that come into France from the United Provinces and foreign countries.

"As to the commerce of Spain and the Indies, the king will engage, not only to

the States-General, but likewise to her Britannick majesty, and to all the other potentates, by virtue of the power he has in this particular, that the said commerce shall be allowed exactly, and carried on in the same manner as it was under the reign and till the death of Charles II. and will promise that the French shall submit, as all the other nations, to the ancient laws and regulations made by the kings, his catholick majesty's predecessors, with respect to the commerce and navigation of the Spanish Indies.

" His majesty further consents, That all the potentates of Europe may enter into the guaranty of this promise. His majesty promises, that the king his grandson shall renounce, for the sake of the peace, all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples and Sardinia, as well as the duchy of Milan; in whose name he will consent, that the part of that duchy which is made over to the Duke of Savoy shall remain to his royal highness, provided that, in consideration of this cession, the house of Austria do, in like manner, desist from all pretensions to the other parts of the monarchy of Spain, from whence that house shall withdraw their troops immediately after the peace.

" The frontiers on both sides upon the Rhine shall be settled in the same condition as they were before the present war.

" In consideration of all the terms above specified, the king demands, that the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria shall be re-established in the full and entire possession of their dominions, dignities, prerogatives, goods moveable and immoveable, which they enjoyed before the present war: And, reciprocally, his majesty will recognize in Germany, and in Prussia, all the titles which he has not yet acknowledged.

" The king will restore to the Duke of Savoy what he has taken from him during this war; as in like manner his royal highness shall restore to him what he has taken from France; so that the limits on both sides shall be the same they were before the declaration of war.

" All things, as to Portugal, shall be re-established, and remain on the same foot in Europe, that they were before the present war, as well with regard to France as to Spain; and as to the dominions that crown has in America, if there be any differences to settle, endeavours shall be used to agree them amicably.

" The king will consent freely, and *bona fide*, to take, in concert with the allies, all the most just measures for hindering the crowns of France and Spain, from being united on the same head; that is to say, that one and the same prince shall never be at once king of both.

" All preceding treaties, that is, those of Munster, and others, that have been made since, shall be repeated and confirmed, to remain in their full force and virtue, excepting only such articles from which the treaty of peace, now to be made, shall derogate, or alter something."

Signed, HUXELLES.

Copies of these offers were taken by the secretaries of all the ministers of the allies, who dispatched expresses with them to their respective principals. The Count de Tarouca, the King of Portugal's first plenipotentiary, and Count Maffey, one of the Duke of Savoy's ministers, ordered to the congress from England, arrived at Utrecht the 10th, as did, the next day, Count Stadian from the Elector of Mentz; the Baron Dalwhich from the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and several other ministers. On the 12th of February the two first assisted at a conference of the ministers of the allies; and the next day was held the sixth general conference, which the Earl of Strafford opened with acquainting the ministers of France, in pursuance of what was agreed the day before between the confederate plenipotentiaries, " that they had found it necessary to take time till the fifth of March, N. S. to give the specific demands of the respective parties engaged in the present war, to which the ministers of France agreed. As during that interval the subjects of the general conferences were to be less mate-

rial than at other times: It was likewise agreed on all sides, that they should be held on the Saturdays; but, on the other hand, the plenipotentiaries of the allies resolved to meet more frequently. On Sunday the 14th, in the evening, the Count de Sinzendorf and Monsieur Consbruck visited each of the British plenipotentiaries, and the next morning set out for the Hague, where they immediately repaired to the congress of the confederate ministers, and protested against the specifick offers of France. The same evening, Count Denhoff, the King of Prussia's first plenipotentiary, arrived at Utrecht, so that by this time the congress was almost complete.

These propositions were entertained with different sentiments in Great Britain; and the House of Lords taking notice of them, they were there called trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majesty and her allies. This was seconded by several peers of both parties, who said, in substance, "that those propositions ought to be rejected with the utmost indignation; that it plainly appeared France had no other design than to amuse and divide the allies; and, in particular, that it was derogatory to her majesty's honour to enter into any negotiation with that crown before her majesty's just title was acknowledged." Some endeavours were used to adjourn the debate to the Monday following, or, at least, to the next day, by suggesting, "that the offers that were handed about, having yet no other authority than their being inserted in the Holland gazettes, might not be genuine; and therefore the lords ought not to take any notice of them till such time as the queen had communicated them to the House.

But to this objection it was demanded, by some present, whether, on their honours, they knew of any better? Who answered, No: So that, without dividing, it was resolved to address her majesty on the disagreeableness of these specifick orders.

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave humbly to represent to your majesty the just indignation of this house, at the dishonourable treatment by France, in having proposed to acknowledge your majesty's title to these realms no sooner than when the peace shall be signed. And we cannot forbear expressing our utmost resentment at the terms of peace offered to your majesty, and your allies, by the plenipotentiaries of France: And we do, with the greatest zeal and affection, assure your majesty, that this house will stand by, and assist your majesty with our lives and fortunes in carrying on this war, in conjunction with your allies, till a safe and honourable peace can be obtained for your majesty and your allies."

But, to return to Utrecht. The ministers of the allies, at a sixth general conference, held the 12th of February, having found it necessary to take till the 5th of March to give in their specifick demands, nothing of moment passed to that time.

The Demands in the Name of his Imperial and Catholick Majesty and the Empire.

That the decrees and conventions concerning the constitution and internal state of the empire, made, or to be made amongst themselves, remain unalterable, and in their vigour. France shall entirely restore to the emperor and the empire, for their satisfaction and future security, whatever was yielded to that crown by the empire and the house of Austria, by the treaties of Munster, Nimeghen, and Ryswick, or has been otherwise kept or retained by the crown aforesaid. France shall likewise, according to the instances and desires of the associated circles of the empire, and for their necessary security, restore to the most serene Duke of Lorrain, renouncing all manner of pretensions of vassalage, homage, &c. upon that account; his sacred imperial majesty, and the empire, reserving to themselves to make a further and more ample declaration.

His sacred imperial and catholick majesty insists, That besides the kingdoms and provinces he is already in possession of, in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, the whole Spanish monarchy, such as it was possessed by King Charles II. be entirely restored unto him, saving, however, the conventions already made, or that shall be made, by the said most serene house of Austria, with the most serene King of Portugal, and his royal highness the Duke of Savoy, as also with the most serene Queen of Great Britain, and the lords the States-General of the United Netherlands, to remain for ever, and without any interruption, to the princes of the said house of Austria, their heirs and successors, according to the order and disposition made in the last will and testament of Philip IV.

However, his imperial and catholick majesty will not refuse to enter upon further negotiations, in concert with his allies, if the plenipotentiaries of the most Christian king offer hereafter, in his name, more reasonable propositions than the former.

All satisfaction shall be given to all the allies of his said imperial and catholick majesty, and the empire, according to the tenor of the alliances and conventions, whereby they have respectively bound themselves to each other, as to what they may pretend from France, and now demand, or shall demand hereafter.

Sufficient reparation shall be made to the other friends and states of the empire, their vassals and subjects, for the damages they have received on the part of France, or their adherents, both before and after the breaking out of this war.

As to the rest, his sacred imperial and catholick majesty, reserving to himself the power and faculty of enlarging, interpreting, and also of altering the present demands, as it shall be thought fit for the good of the peace, and the good of public security. Done at Utrecht, March 5th, 1712.

The specifick Demands of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, for what relates to France.

The most Christian king shall acknowledge in the clearest and strongest terms the succession to the crown of Great Britain, according as it is limited by acts of parliament (made during the reign of the late King William the III. of glorious memory, and her majesty now reigning) to the protestant line in the house of Hanover.

The most Christian king shall promise besides, as well for himself as for his heirs and successors, never to acknowledge any person for King or Queen of Great Britain, other than her majesty now reigning, and those kings or queens who shall succeed her by virtue of the abovesaid acts of parliament.

The most Christian king shall likewise oblige himself to cause the person who pretends to the aforesaid crown of Great Britain to depart forthwith the territories of France.

The most Christian king shall promise for himself, his heirs and successors, never to disturb the said Queen of Great Britain, her heirs and successors of the aforesaid protestant line, in the peaceable possession of the crown of Great Britain, and of all depending thereon; as also never to grant any aid or assistance directly or indirectly, by sea or land, in money, arms, ammunition, ships, mariners, soldiers, or otherwise, to any person or persons, who hereafter would attempt under any pretext or any cause whatever, to oppose the aforesaid succession, or to favour those who should oppose it, directly or indirectly by open war, or by fomenting seditions and conspiracies against such prince or princess who shall be on the throne of Great Britain by virtue of the afore-mentioned acts, or against her or him on whom the succession to the crown of Great Britain shall devolve conformably to the aforesaid acts.

The plenipotentiaries of France shall forthwith enter into negociation with those of Great Britain, to make a treaty of commerce between the two kingdoms.

The most Christian king shall cause all the fortifications of Dunkirk to be demolished, as also that port be filled up, and the sluices which serve to cleanse it to be destroyed; the whole at his expence, and within two months after the signing of the peace: And his said majesty shall likewise be obliged never to cause the said fortifications, port, or sluices, to be repaired.

His most Christian majesty shall remit to her majesty the Queen of Great Britain the day of exchanging ratifications of the peace to be made, authentic acts, and formalities of cession of the islands of St Christopher, and of Newfoundland, with the town of Placentia, and the other islands situate in the sea round the same; as also Acadia, with the town of Port Royal, otherwise called Annapolis-Royal, and such part of the said country as depends thereon.

The most Christain king shall restore to the Queen and kingdom of Great Britain, Hudson's Bay and Straits, together with all the countries, seas, coasts, rivers, places, and forts belonging thereto; and shall consent that the limits betwixt the said Hudson's Bay and the possessions of the French on the sides of the river St Lawrence, shall be regulated, and the subjects of Great Britain and of France prohibited from ever passing the said limits, or going by land or sea one to the other.

The most Christian king shall likewise cause just and reasonable reimbursements to be made to the English Hudson's Bay company of all the losses which the said company has suffered by the invasion and depredation done by the French in time of peace to their colonies, ships, persons and effects.

The subjects of France who are the inhabitants of Canada, and others, shall for the future forbear to hinder the reciprocal traffick between the subjects of Great Britain and the natives of the country of America; as also to disturb the five Indian nations or cantons, or others who are under her obedience.

Her majesty, conformably to her alliances, insists that the most Christian king shall cause just and reasonable satisfaction to be given to all and every one of the high allies upon what they demand of France.

Although it be found convenient that every one of the high allies should make their own particular demands, yet because the ministers of his Electoral Highness of Hanover are not yet arrived, and for other considerations, her majesty's plenipotentiaries insist that France shall own the electoral dignity of his said highness, with all the rights and prerogatives thereto appertaining.

Her majesty the queen reserves to the allies, whose ministers could not yet come to the congress, the privilege of delivering in hereafter their pretensions and demands, which shall be received and considered in the same manner as if they were now presented; it being her majesty's intention, that the same regard should be had thereto, and just satisfaction given them.

The queen demands likewise that the better to preserve tranquillity in the empire, the clause added to the fourth article of the treaty of Ryswick shall be abolished, and that France shall not in any manner oppose the settling of all affairs of religion in the empire, conformably to the treaties of Westphalia.

What her majesty thinks herself obliged to demand in favour of the reformed protestants of France, of those who are in or condemned to the gallies, detained in prisons or other places, or are refugees, shall be expressed in the course of the negociation, in concert with those of the allies who concern themselves therein.

Her Britannic majesty demands further, that the most Christian king cause good and speedy justice to be done to the house of Hamilton for the duchy of Chastellerault, to Colonel Charles Douglas for the lands taken from him by France, and others of her subjects.

Her majesty demands besides, that France cause just and equitable satisfaction to be given to her friends who shall be named in the progress of the negociation, for the losses and damages which they have suffered by France, with the re-establishment of the liberties and privileges which they have right to claim.

The specifick Demands of their High Mightinesses the Lords the States-General of the United-Provinces, of his Most Christian Majesty the King of France, for a General Peace.

THAT his most Christian majesty, as well for himself as for the prince or princes his allies, and all others who might pretend thereto, shall renounce or cause to be renounced, in the most strong and most ample terms, all the right which he or the prince or princes his allies, or others, might claim to the Spanish Netherlands as they were possessed, or ought to have been possessed, by the late catholic King Charles II. conformably to the treaty of Ryswick; and because the duchy town and fortress of Luxemburg, with the county of Chimay, the county town and castle of Namure, as also the towns of Charleroy and Newport, are still in the power of France or its allies, his most Christian majesty shall cause the said duchy, counties, towns, and fortresses, with all their appurtenances and dependencies, and whatever else might further appertain to the said Spanish Netherlands described as before, in the condition in which the whole now is, with the fortifications, as also with the cannon, artillery, and ammunition of war now actually therein, and with all the papers, letters, records, and archives, which relate to the Spanish Netherlands, or to any part of them, to be immediately after the peace, and at furthest within fifteen days after the exchange of the ratifications, put into the hands of the said lords the States, to be restored with the rest of the Spanish Netherlands, already reconquered, to his imperial and catholic majesty, as soon as the said lords and States shall have agreed on the manner wherein the Spanish Netherlands shall serve for their barrier or security, and as soon as his imperial and catholic majesty, conformably to the treaty of Munster, shall have likewise made over to them, in all propriety and sovereignty, the upper quarter of Gelder for an equivalent to be agreed on.

II. That the towns and places of Menin with its verge, Lisle with its citadel, Doway with the fort of Scarpe, and Orchies, and all the castellany of Lisle, with the governments and bailliages respective therein contained, also the county of Loen and the bourg of Gorgue, Tournay, its citadel, and the Tournaisis, Aire with its bailliage or government, with fort Francis, Terouanne, Lillers, with its bailliages, St Venant with its dependence, Bethune with its government or bailliage, and Bouchain with its dependence, shall remain to the said lords the States, with the whole extent of their verges, castellanies, territories, governments, bailliages, appurtenances and dependencies, parts annexed or parts inclosed, within other jurisdictions, without any exception, the whole in the same manner as the most Christian king has possessed all the said towns, places, forts, or countries, with all their appurtenances and dependencies, parts annexed or parts inclosed before the present war: And that the most Christian king, as well for himself as for the princes his heirs and successors, born, or to be born, shall renounce in favour of the said lords the States, in the most expressive and most ample terms, all pretensions to the said towns, places, verges, castellanies, governments, bailliages, territories, and all their dependencies, appurtenances, parts annexed, parts inclosed within other jurisdictions.

III. That his most Christian majesty, as well for himself as for the princes his heirs and successors, born, or to be born, shall yield, by the treaty of peace now to be made, in the most positive and most ample terms, and immediately after the peace, and at

furthest within fifteen days after the ratifications, shall cause to be evacuated and delivered up to the said lords the States, Furnes and Furnambacht, therein including the eight parishes and fort Knock, the towns of Loo and Dixmuyden, with their dependencies, Ypres, with his castellany and dependencies, and the towns and castellanies of Baillieul or Belle Merville, Warneton, Comines, Warwic, Poperingen, Cassel, and what depends on the places here above specified, Valenciennes, with its provostship, Conde and Maubeuge, with its provostship, the whole with all their dependencies, appurtenances, parts annexed and parts enclosed, without excepting any thing; the whole in the same manner as the most Christian king does now possess all those towns, places, forts, and countries, with all their appurtenances, dependencies, parts annexed, and parts enclosed, and with the fortifications as they are at present, as also with the cannon, artillery, and ammunitions of war now therein, and with all the papers, letters, archives, and records which concern the said towns, places, forts, their dependencies and appurtenances.

The said lords the States to be entirely allowed to agree as well concerning the said Spanish Netherlands, as concerning the said towns and places which they shall retain and keep in their hands, and concerning the others which they demand besides of France for their security, with his imperial and catholic majesty and his successors in the Spanish Netherlands; and to make thereupon such conventions, from time to time, with his imperial and catholic majesty and his successors, as the said lords the States shall think proper.

This condition to be positively understood, viz. That no province, town, fort or place of the said Spanish Netherlands, nor of those which shall be yielded by the most Christian king, shall ever be yielded, transferred or given, or devolve to the crown of France, or to any prince or princess of the house or line of France, either by virtue of any donation, sale, exchange, matrimonial contract, inheritance, by will, or *ab intestato*, or any other title whatsoever, nor ever be put in whatever manner into the power or under the power of the most Christian king, or of any prince or princess of the house or line of France.

IV. That his most Christian majesty shall not in any manner oppose or hinder the garrisons which now are, or hereafter shall be, on the part of the said lords the States in the town, castles, or forts of Huy, the citadel of Liege, or the town of Bonn, from remaining there till it be agreed otherwise with the emperor and empire.

V. That his most Christian majesty shall grant to the said lords the States, and to their subjects, all the advantages of commerce and navigation contained in the treaties of peace and commerce of Ryswick, and by consequence likewise exemption from the duty of fifty sols per ton on foreign ships, as that exemption was explained by the separate article of the said treaty of commerce; that besides his most Christian majesty shall grant to them absolutely and positively the tarif of the year 1664, without exception of any sort of merchandize, or other exception: And no posterior tarif, edict, or declaration, ordinance, or arrest, shall be of any force, but all those posterior tarifs, edicts, declarations, ordinances, and arrests, and all other grievances introduced since the year 1664, to the prejudice of the commerce and navigation of the subjects of the State, as also the tarif settled the 29th of May, 1699, between the commissioners of France and of the States, shall be abrogated, cancelled, and annulled, so far as it relates to the said lords the States and their subjects; nor shall any thing of all this with respect to them be altered hereafter directly or indirectly under any denomination or pretext whatever.

VI. Whereas many French of the reformed religion having been obliged to quit France, have as refugees settled themselves under the obedience of the lords the States-General, and are become their subjects, by right of naturalization, burghership, or other right; and among those refugees some have left in France their husbands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, or other near relations, and several have left their

goods and estates there, or have since acquired goods or estates there by succession, inheritance, or otherwise, without having been able to draw off those effects, or to enjoy them, the lords the States-General, in consequence of the protection which they owe to their subjects, demand,

1. Permission to those husbands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, or other near kindred of the said refugees, to retire freely out of France, and to come to live with their husbands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, or other near relations settled under the obedience of the said lords.

2. Restitution of all the effects moveable and immoveable of right belonging as well to the said refugees as to their descendants, born subjects of the state, or to their heirs living under their obedience.

3. That as well the said refugees as their descendants, born subjects of the state, may be considered and reputed, in all respects, real subjects of the state, and that accordingly they may enjoy, as well in France as throughout all its dominions, all the rights, privileges, franchises, immunities, and advantages which the other subjects of the state ought to enjoy by virtue of the treaties of peace and commerce.

The lords the States-General are desirous, besides, that it may please his most Christian majesty to grant, in consideration of the friendship which is to be re-established by the peace, liberty of conscience to those of the reformed religion who shall remain in France, as also to cause to be enlarged and set at liberty, all those who, for the sake of the reformed religion, are detained in prisons, convents, galleys, and other places.

VII. That his most Christian majesty shall yield up likewise immediately after the peace, to the said lords the States, in quality of executors of the last wills of the late King of Great Britain, and of Frederick-Henry late Prince of Orange, the principality of Orange, and all the other effects and lands which belonged to the said King of Great Britain, and which are situated under the dominion of the most Christian king, the whole, with the revenues, profits, and advantages, and with all the rights, actions, privileges, usages, and prerogatives, in the same condition, and in the same manner, as the said King of Great Britain did enjoy, or ought to have enjoyed, them before the present war, that in consequence they may be restored by the said lords the States to the person or persons who hath or have a right to them.

VIII. His most Christian majesty shall cause all the fortifications of the town of Dunkirk, of the forts of the ports, of the risbanks, and whatever may belong to them, without any exception, to be demolished; as also the port to be filled up; the whole at his own expence, and without any equivalent, in such manner, that half of the said fortifications be razed, and half of the port filled up, within the space of two months before the exchange of the ratifications, and the other half of the fortifications, and what remains of filling up entirely the said port, within the space of two months more: Nor shall the said fortifications ever be rebuilt, nor the port made navigable again, directly or indirectly.

IX. Whereas the clause added at the end of the fourth article of the treaty of Ryswick, made between the emperor and empire on one part, and the most Christian king on the other, (importing that the Roman catholick religion should remain in the places restored) was a manifest contravention of the treaty of Westphalia, and has occasioned others which have disturbed the quiet of the empire; and there being no way to preserve tranquillity there, unless ecclesiastical affairs be re-established on the foot of the said treaties, the lords the States being extremely interested that the publick quiet (after it shall be restored likewise in the empire by a good peace) may not be troubled there, by any cause whatsoever, demand of the most Christian king, that he consent, as far as it relates to him, the said clause be demolished in the treaty of peace now to be made; and that in consequence the most Christian king shall not in any manner oppose the re-establishment of ecclesiastical affairs in the countries, towns, and other places al-

ready restored, and which he shall yet restore to the emperor and empire, and their continuance afterwards, in the state they ought to be according to the said treaty of Westphalia.

The said lords the States demand, besides what is above specified, satisfaction for all and each of their high allies, conformably to the mutual treaties and alliances made on occasion of the present war; and this in such a manner, that by virtue of the same treaties the lords the States may obtain likewise the security of their republick, and the interest of their commerce.

Reserving to themselves further, the liberty of explaining, interpreting, and enlarging the contents of these articles, as they shall think good, in the course of this negociation.

The said lords the States reserve likewise to those of their high allies whose ministers or plenipotentiaries could not yet come hither to the congress, the liberty of making and delivering in their demands, which shall be received in the same manner as if they had been now given in.

Their High Mightinesses do moreover reserve to themselves the liberty of supporting and seconding, during the course of this negociation, the other demands and interests of their allies; as also the interests of the kings, princes, and states their friends, and those of their own subjects.

The specifick Demands of his Majesty the King of Prussia.

His majesty the King of Prussia shall be acknowledged in that quality, without restriction or condition.

His said majesty shall be acknowledged for the natural and lawful sovereign prince of the city and principality of Orange; and that city and principality shall be restored to him, with all the rights, appurtenances, and dependencies thereof, in the quality of lawful successor of the house of Chalon-Orange.

All the estates of the houses of Chalon-Orange and Chatel-Belin, situate in the Franche-Comte, Burgundy, and other provinces under the dominion of France, shall be restored to his said Prussian majesty by virtue of the aforesaid rights of succession, and others, conformably to the treaties of peace between the princes of Orange, and the kings of France and Spain, to the last of which princes his Prussian majesty succeeded, together with all their rights, appurtenances, and dependencies, which shall be restored to him, with the incomes, rents, and revenues of the said principality, and the revenues of the other estates situate in Franche-Comte, and others under the dominion of France, received since the death of his late Britannick majesty.

That his said Prussian majesty shall likewise be acknowledged for the lawful sovereign prince of the counties of Neufchattel and Valingen, with all their rights, appurtenances, and dependencies, by virtue of the sentence of the three states of the country, the 3d of November, 1707; and the said country of Neufchattel and Valingen, as also of the succession of Chalon-Orange and Chatel-Belin, wherever they are situate, shall be entirely revoked, annulled, cancelled, and annihilated.

That the arrests, ordinances, and judgments, given against the protestants of Orange, issued in 1703, and since, shall be likewise revoked, annulled, and annihilated.

Swisserland, their allies and confederates, and particularly the cantons of Zurich, Berne, Glaris, Basil, Schafauysen, and Appenzel, the sovereignty and the towns of Neufchattel and Valingen, the city of Geneva, that of St Gall, Malhausen, and Bienne, with all their appurtenances and dependencies, shall be comprehnded in the treaty, as a condition of the peace; nor shall any part of the laudable Helvetick body, particularly of the laudable protestant cantons, and their confederates, be attacked, nor their tranquillity disturbed, under any pretext whatsoever.

To the states of Neufchattel shall be united, in all sovereignty, the small part or tract of country of the Franche-Comte, which is on the side of the river Doux, the castle (or seat) of Joux, and its dependencies therein included; and this shall be done by way of emendation and reparation to his majesty, for the waste and havock made in different parts of his lands, estates, and provinces.

His majesty's subjects every where shall enjoy all the advantages for commerce that shall be enjoyed by the subjects of her majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and of their High Mightinesses; nor shall his said subjects be obliged to pay higher or other duties, gabels, or imposts whatsoever, on account of their persons, goods, ships, or lading, directly or indirectly, than what shall be paid by the subjects of the said potentates.

The town of Gelder, with the canton of that province, and the town and country of Erkelens, which his Prussian majesty possesses, shall remain to him in full sovereignty and propriety, as taken from France by his majesty's arms, and for other considerable pretensions, for which his majesty is not satisfied by Spain.

Whereas many French of the reformed religion having been obliged to quit France, have settled themselves as refugees under the obedience of his majesty, and are become his subjects by right of naturalization, burghership, or other right; and whereas among those refugees some have left in France their husbands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, and other near relations, and several of them have likewise left their goods or estates, or have acquired goods or estates there since, by succession, inheritance, or otherwise, without having been able to withdraw or enjoy the same; his majesty, in consequence of the protection which he owes to his subjects, demands, first, that it may be permitted to those husbands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, or other near kindred of the said refugees, to depart freely out of France, and to come to live with their husbands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, or other near relations who are settled under the obedience of his said majesty. Secondly, the restitution of all the goods or estates, moveable or immoveable, by right appertaining as well to the said French refugees, as to their descendants born under the obedience of his majesty, or to their heirs in his dominions. Thirdly, that the said refugees, or their descendants, born subjects of his majesty, shall enjoy, as well in France as in any part of its dominions, all the rights, privileges, franchises, immunities, liberties, and advantages, which his majesty's other subjects ought to enjoy there, without any exception or reserve. His majesty is desirous, besides, that it may please his most Christian majesty to grant, in consideration of the friendship which is to be re-established by the peace, liberty of conscience to those of the reformed religion who shall remain in France, as also to enlarge and set at liberty all those who, for the sake of the reformed religion, are detained in prison, convents, galleys, and other places.

The clause to the fourth article of the peace of Ryswick shall be abolished, and the affairs of religion in the empire, and particularly in the places restored by the peace of Ryswick, and to be restored by the peace now to be made, shall be put into the condition they ought to be, according to the tenor of the peace of Westphalia.

One or more articles shall be made of what is mentioned above, with clauses necessary for the explication or security of what shall be agreed.

His majesty's high allies shall have satisfaction, conformably to his alliances.

His friends, who shall be mentioned in the progress of the negotiation, shall have just and reasonable satisfaction for the losses and damages which they have suffered by France, as likewise the re-establishment of the liberties and privileges which they have right to claim.

His majesty reserves to himself the right and liberty of making other demands according as the course of the negociation for a general peace shall require.

Done at Utrecht, the 5th of March, 1712.

Signed, O. M. C. DE DENHOF, C. DE METTERNICH.

The Demands of his Royal Highness of Savoy, for the General Peace about to be made.

As the just satisfaction of his royal highness of Savoy cannot be better regulated than by his treaties of alliance, and by a reasonable security for his dominions, his royal highness demands,

That in the treaty of peace to be made, the known and incontestible right belonging to his royal highness, and which was declared by the last will of Philip IV. King of Spain, to the succession of the monarchy of Spain, immediately after the most august house of Austria, be maintained whole and entire, without having the least prejudice done to it; and that no third prince, preferable to his said royal highness, shall be introduced or established in any of the dominions of the said monarchy of Spain.

That his said royal highness be immediately restored to the possession of the duchy of Savoy, and of the provinces depending on it, the county of Nice and its dependencies, and all the places and counties which belong to his said royal highness, and which have been taken by the arms of his most Christian majesty during the course of this war, without any restriction.

That his most Christian majesty quit, in favour of his royal highness, and make over to him all his rights of propriety and sovereignty to the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles, and to all the valleys on the other side of Mount Genevre, and other alps, including therein the valley of Chateau Dauphin; and that (to form the barrier of the dominions of his said royal highness, who will accept it, at the same time, in reimbursements for the places of his dominions which have been demolished) his most Christian majesty yield to him, on the side of Piedmont, the fortresses of Mount Dauphin and Briancon, with the Brianconois, and the valley of Queirasque on the side of Savoy; Barrau, with its fort and territory, and the small extent of ground from thence to the confines of Savoy, on one side of the river Isere, and on the other side of the Gonselin, and drawing a line from thence to the Coi de Vaugiani, with what shall be between the said line and la Rochette, and other lands of Savoy, together with the lands, places, and villages, which are on the other side of the Rhone, towards Savoy, the navigation of the Rhone being in common between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy, from Geneva to St Genis d'Aoste, this latter included: And on the side of Monaco, the most Christian king to stand bound to indemnify the prince of that name.

The cessions made by the Emperor Leopold, of glorious memory, to his royal highness, by the treaty of alliance, and the secret article of the same, dated the 8th of November 1703, shall remain in full force and firm, and have entire effect; and on this occasion his most Christian majesty shall acknowledge them to be so, and not contest or infringe them directly or indirectly, at any time, for any reason whatsoever; nor shall hinder, by force or otherwise, his royal highness from enjoying all the countries, territories, places, lands, rights, and the exercise of those rights, which are comprehended in the said cession.

That it shall be lawful for his royal highness to make such fortifications as he shall judge the most convenient in all the places which he acquired by his precedent treaties.

That the Prince of Monaco shall acknowledge in his royal highness the superiority and direct dominion of the places of Menton and Roccabruna, and take the investitures of him, as his predecessors have done.

That the commerce from France to Italy, and *vice versa*, shall be carried on in the manner specified by the 6th article of the treaty of Turin, and the letters and mails by the ordinary posts shall continue to be sent by the same road, observing on that account in the territories of his royal highness what has been practised in France, with respect to the mails from Italy and Spain, and *vice versa*, since the time of Charles II. without altering the roads. The French shipping shall pay the ancient Dace (commonly called the right of Villefranche) conformably to what was practised in the time of his royal highness's predecessors Dukes of Savoy; nor shall any opposition be made thereto for the future, on the part of the most Christian king, or of his subjects.

That his royal highness shall be at full liberty to sell the barony des Essarts, and other estates and effects which he has in France, without any hindrance formed on the part of his majesty, who shall recede from, in favour of his said royal highness and of his successors, or persons acquiring from them, all rights which he might claim to the lands which are in Bugey, and which do at this time belong to his said royal highness, to whom, if it be required, the most Christian king shall yield the irrevocable property of them, for his royal highness and his successors Dukes of Savoy, and others acquiring from them.

The treaty of Turin of 1696 shall be kept and observed punctually in every thing that is not derogated from by the present.

His said royal highness reserves to himself the explaining and specifying more amply the above-mentioned demands, and the enlarging them as the negociation shall give him occasion, and as shall seem to him convenient and reasonable.

His said royal highness insists besides, that, pursuant to the treaties of alliance, all the high allies, and each of them, find and have their satisfaction, and that the treaties of peace they shall make with France be included, and stipulated respectively in those which the other high allies shall make with his most Christian majesty, as if they were inserted therein word for word; reserving to the allies absent, and whose ministers could not yet come, to make their demands.

He demands further, that France cause to be given to his friends and subjects, who shall be named in the progress of the negociation, satisfaction for the losses and damages which France has occasioned to them, and upon the demands which they have a right to make.

Done at Utrecht, the 5th March, 1712.

The specifick Demands of the Most Serene and Most Potent King of Portugal.

His Sacred Royal Majesty of Portugal judging, that the interest of Portugal would not be sufficiently secured, unless all and singular the dominions of which the Spanish monarchy was formerly composed when possessed by the catholick King Charles II. be restored to the house of Austria,

I. Demands, that the whole monarchy of Spain, including the West Indies, be yielded to the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince Charles VI. Emperor of the Romans, except those cities, towns, fortresses, villages, territories, lands, and rights, as well in Europe as America, which by agreement between the Most Potent Prince Leopold, Emperor of the Romans, and the Most Serene and Potent Prince Peter II. King of Portugal, and the other allies, are to be made over and given for ever to his Sacred Royal Majesty of Portugal, or promised to the other allies.

II. That France shall yield to him and to the succeeding King of Portugal for ever, all the right which that crown pretends to have to the countries about the north promontory, commonly called the North Cape, belonging to the territories of the state of Maranon, and situate between the river Amazons and that of Vincent Pinso, notwith-

standing any treaty either provisional or decisive, made concerning the possession of those countries; as also that France yield, or renounce, whatever other right which that crown pretends to have to any of the territories of Portugal.

III. His said Sacred Royal Majesty of Portugal reserves besides to himself the right of making a more ample explanation of the aforesaid demands, during the course of these conferences.

IV. He insists likewise, that, pursuant to the alliances, just and equitable satisfaction be given to all and each of the allies, upon their demands.

V. Lastly, that the like just and equal satisfaction be given by France to the said most serene and potent king, who shall be named when the negociation of peace is more advanced, for the losses and damages they have sustained from France.

Utrecht, March 5th, 1712.

The Elector Palatine's Demands.

The Most Serene Elector Palatine being informed that the ministers of his most Christian majesty sent to the conferences for peace have therein made some propositions, and that the plenipotentiaries of the allies have thought it convenient that each of them should give in their particular demands, his electoral serenity desires above all things, that all and every one of the allies shall obtain just and reasonable satisfaction,

He demands to be maintained in the peaceable possession of the Upper Palatinate and the county of Chamb, in which he was reinstated by the deceased emperor, with the consent and approbation of the whole electoral college, with all the dependencies, rights, privileges, emoluments, and the ancient pre-eminence of his electoral dignity, conformable to the tenor of the investiture and patent which had been granted him; as likewise to be re-established in the places, territories, towns, bourgs, and castles which have been taken from his most Christian majesty, under pretext of a right of superiority, sovereignty, confiscation, or otherwise, and that he receive due satisfaction for the damages and injuries suffered, and for the contributions extorted without measure.

Done at Utrecht, March 5th, 1712. MUNDHEIM.

The Demands of His Most Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

His most serene highness having the honour to be of the grand alliance, and of being engaged to it by other particular treaties, he neither can nor ought to desire any thing in the world more, than the said alliance should be executed in all its points and articles, and that each of the allies should enjoy by the general peace the benefits it contains.

Conformably to this, his most serene highness demands in the first place entire satisfaction for all the high allies in general, and for each of them in particular.

He demands, secondly, the conservation and re-establishment of the protestant religion in the countries belonging to the empire on the foot of the peace of Westphalia, and that the clause added to the fourth article of the treaty of Ryswick be abolished.

Thirdly, he demands for his own security and satisfaction to keep for ever the fortress of Rhinfels, the town of St Goar, Fort Katz, and the little bailliage depending thereon: And that the forty-fifth article of the treaty of Ryswick, so far as 'tis contrary to this demand, shall be abolished.

And it being just that reparation should be made him for the damages he has suffer-

by this war, and that he be reimbursed the expence it has engaged him in, he demands, fourthly, that just and full satisfaction be given him.

Fifthly, that the most serene house of Lorrain have just and reasonable satisfaction.

And, sixthly, that all the estates and effects belonging to the succession of the house of Orange, and now in the hands of France, be restored, with the revenues received, and whatever is become due since the last war, to their High Mightinesses as executors of the last will of his majesty the late King of Great Britain of glorious memory, for the use of those who shall appear to have a right thereto.

For the rest, his most serene highness reserves to himself the liberty of declaring and explaining hereafter more amply, and adding what he shall think to be for the security and indemnity as well of all the high allies, confederates, and friends, as of himself and of his most serene house.

Done at Utrecht, March 5th, 1712. B. DE DALWICH.

The specifick Demands of the most Reverend Lord the Bishop and Prince of Munster and Paterborn.

His highness having been necessitated to employ immense sums during the present war, undertaken for the liberty and safety of all Europe, to be at a great expence for maintaining his troops, and for that end to burthen his good subjects with excessive contributions; and his country having suffered great damage by the continual marches of auxiliary troops; on this account his highness demands, in right of satisfaction and indemnity, that those expences and damages be made good and repaired by the most Christian king: And this with so much the more justice, because in a like case the bishopricks of Munster and Paterborn were obliged by the treaty of peace of Westphalia, to pay a great sum of money, under the denomination of satisfaction, to the allies of France at that time.

Done at Utrecht, March 5th, 1712. DE DUCKER.

The specifick Demands of the Serene Prince of Wirtemberg.

'Tis demanded for the most serene prince and Lord Eberhard Lewis Duke of Wirtemberg and Tecce, Count of Montbeliard, Lord of Heidenheim, &c. and his most serene house,

1. Equitable satisfaction conformable to the treaties, for cost and expence in this war, and for the damages suffered therein, a particular deduction of which is reserved to be produced, as also means to repair them in some measure.

2. Confirmation of the possession of that part of the lordship of Wiesensteig, which is included in the duchy of Wirtemberg, and which formerly belonged to the house of Bavaria, in the manner it has been given and made over to the most serene duke.

3. Entire restitution of the principality of Montbeliard to the Most Serene Duke and Lord Leopold Eberhard, with what belongs thereto; viz. the county of Horbourg and the lordships of Reichenwecher, Granches, Clewal, and Passavant, to be held immediately of the Roman empire, as well as the principality; as also the free baronies (ennobled with all territorial jurisdiction) of Hericourt, Chatelot, Blamont, and Hemont, in their ancient and aforesaid state of independency, as well with respect to spirituals as temporals, and in all the rights, immunities, prerogatives, and revenues, without any exception of whatever belonged formerly thereto, or in whatever manner the same ought to have belonged, with abolition of all that has been done, or pre-

tended to the contrary, over, just satisfaction to the abovesaid lord duke for the town of New-Brisac, and its fortifications, as being built on the territory of Horbourg.

Done at Utrecht, March 5th, 1712. A. G. V. HESPEN.

The specifick Demands of the most Reverend and most Serene Prince Elector of Trier, &c.

The most reverend and most serene elector of Trier demands, that the city of Trier be restored to him, and its fort called S. Martin, as also the town and castle of Saarbrug, in the condition they are at present, without demolishing any thing more, and without destroying in them any publick or private buildings, with the cannon found in them at the time they were taken: Also, that he be put into possession, and entire enjoyment for ever, without trouble or hindrance, for the future, on the part of France, of the village of Feppin, and of all the other places, fees, revenues, rights ecclesiastical and secular, that himself or predecessors have had or possessed, or ought to have had or possessed, as well before as since the peace of Munster, with respect to the archbishoprick, and the electorate and the abbey of Prumes, reserving to himself to set forth, in particular, the losses suffered on occasion of this war.

His electoral highness further demands, to be re-established in the peaceable possession of the grand priory of Castile, and the abbey of Palermo, and of all the revenues and rights depending thereon, with the perquisites and emoluments which have been unjustly detained from him during this war.

In conclusion, the most serene elector demands, that, according to the tenor of the treaties, just and fit satisfaction be given to his allies, on the part of the most serene King of France.

Done at Utrecht the 5th of March, 1712.

Signed, J. W. V. B. D'ELV. DE KAYSERFELT.

The Demands of the Associated Circles.

Sad experience having shewn, that the circles adjoining to France, have not, from the time of the treaty of Munster, been suffered by the most Christian king to enjoy the fruits of peace, but have been continually molested by him, as well as in time of war, either by re-unions, or by open hostilities, the security of those circles does therefore absolutely require, that the most Christian king do restore, with reimbursement or reparation of the damages occasioned by the present war, all that was yielded up to him by the peace of Munster, and the subsequent treaties, by the circles, and by the house of Austria; as also, that he restore those parts of the two Lorrains, and of the duchy of Bar, which were wrested from them, either by treaties, or by force of arms, and that all obligation of fealty for the same be absolutely annulled: That so the peace now to be made, may be a bar against such ills as have already been sustained, and might be apprehended for the future; and publick tranquillity between the kingdom of France, and the adjacent circles of the empire, may be established, and held firm.

Done at Utrecht, March 5th, 1712. STADIAN.

On the 9th of March, at a general conference, the French plenipotentiaries declared, that these demands of the allies were so very extensive, and indeed surprising, it could not reasonably be expected they could return an answer till they had received instructions from the courts of France and Madrid, to whom they had imparted the same, and therefore demanded till the 30th of March to be fully impowered to make their reply, which was easily granted by the other side.

On the 30th of March the assembly was very numerous, for after a tedious expectation of three weeks, it was generally supposed the French plenipotentiaries would have explained themselves on the specific demands of the allies; but instead thereof they only made a formal declaration, "that as they had communicated in writing the specifick offers of the most Christian king, and the allies had likewise given in writing their specifick demands, they were ready to treat by way of conference." Having been told that something more clear and satisfactory had been expected from them, the plenipotentiaries of the allies retired to their separate apartment, and after about half an hour's communication together, returned, and told those of France, "that they fully expected an answer to their demands in writing, and the rather, because they had, in effect, promised so to do." This rose to a debate, but was deferred, by agreement, to the 2d of April, when M. Buys (according to a resolution taken the day before, among all the ministers of the allies) delivered himself to the plenipotentiaries of France, in the following manner:

"Messieurs, you know that on Wednesday last we declared, that we had expected a specifick answer in writing to our specifick demands delivered to you in writing, and that we continued in that expectation of an answer in writing: We have since conferred together on that subject, and are still unanimous in the same opinion, and consequently insist, that an answer be delivered to us in writing."

The French ministers answered as they had done before, "that as they had reciprocally given each other their pretensions in writing, they could not perceive how they were obliged to give any further answer in writing; but declared themselves ready to enter into a negotiation with all the allies in the usual form observed in other treaties."

This refusal of the French raised a very great heat in the congress, and some ministers were ready to give it as their opinion, that such trifling was a sufficient ground to dissolve the congress; for the French plenipotentiaries refusing to answer in the method all the allies had punctually agreed on, it would be fruitless, as well as dishonourable, for those of the allies to remain at Utrecht. It was, besides, urged as their promise, to give a satisfactory answer, and no answer could be esteemed so that was contrary to the method the allies had punctually resolved to proceed in. And this was urged with so great strength of reason and judgment, that it drew the Mareschal d'Uxelles to a plain confession, "that if any such promise had been made, it would be but just to perform it; but then a very doubtful question would arise, whether any promise of that nature could be proved." The Count de St Johns seconded him, and pretended to shew, out of the protocol of the former conferences, that there was no such promise; which arguments was soon overthrown by some of the ministers of the allies, who shewed, by undeniable instances, and amongst others, by the resolutions taken in the first conferences, and inserted in the protocol, wherein it was concluded, "That all proposals, on both sides, should be signed by one of the plenipotentiaries;" which resolution would have been useless, not to say, ridiculous, if both parties had not intended then to treat in writing. The reply made to this was very feeble, pretending, that the resolutions so entered were in relation only to the specifick offers they had made, and the specifick demands they had received from the allies. Those who sought to allay this ferment, found no way so essential as proposing to break up the assembly for that time, and referring the dispute till the next general conference, on the 6th of April.

On the fifth of which month the ministers of the allies had a very long conference among themselves, and persisted in their former resolution, of obliging the French to answer in writing. Yet there were some, who seemed to express themselves of the opinion, that the negotiations might be carried on the foot proposed by France; but when they observed, that the tide ran too strong against them, and that the genera-

lity were of contrary sentiments, they concurred with the rest, and declared that they had positive instructions from their principal to conform themselves to the general opinion of the ministers of the congress. According to which resolution the next day M. Buys delivered a second declaration in the name of the allies.

" Messieurs, you know that on Saturday last we persisted to demand an answer in writing to our specifick demands: We have consulted again among ourselves, and have all unanimously agreed to insist upon a specifick answer in writing to our specifick demands in writing."

In answer to this the French ministers declared, " That as they had positive instructions not to engage themselves into a negotiation in writing, they could not do it without new orders from the king their master, to which end they would immediately dispatch a courier to acquaint him with this last resolution of the allies." Some of the ministers of the allies replied, " That it was time to have expected they had not now wanted such instructions, but, however, they were willing a longer time might be taken, if it were designed with purpose to answer effectually." The French ministers added, " That they could promise no more than to follow the instructions they should receive, since they did not expect the allies would have dealt with them in so tyrannical a manner." This expression was taken notice of, and will very probably be the subject to ground a complaint to the French court. The French added, " That they pleaded for no more than what was practised at the treaties of Munster, Nimeguen, and Ryswick: " But their assertion was proved to be wrong, with respect to those treaties, where every thing was not transacted by word of mouth without writing. Besides, there were mediators there, but none at Utrecht, which made this an irregular sort of a congress. The Marschal d' Uxelles answered, " That they had no reason to deliver any thing in writing, since the confederates made a bad use of the last, to irritate the people against them." To which one of the imperial ministers replied, " That the French had no more to do but to give in just and reasonable proposals in writing, and then it would irritate the people against the allies if they refused to accept them." Another of the confederate ministers was so plain as to tell the Marschal d' Uxelles, that the French court would be deceived if they expected a peace by tampering with some of the allies in order to divide them from the rest. To this I hear the mareschal replied, " That not only the present King of France, but even the whole royal family, would enter into a vow to take a severe revenge on the Dutch if they obstructed the peace." To which the other of the confederate ministers said, " That such discourses would only serve to keep the Dutch on their guard, and arm them against all future revenge, by inducing them to lay hold of this opportunity to crush the power which now threatened them.

I am informed likewise that some high words happened between the two plenipotentiaries of one of the confederates, which 'tis probable will occasion mutual complaints against each other to their principal, who, 'tis said, does not approve of some steps that have been taken to hinder the states of Brabant from supplying the imperial troops which are marching to the Netherlands with bread and forage, upon the security proposed by the emperor to reimburse them.

Since the conference I have last mentioned there has nothing happened that deserves to be mentioned. There was indeed a general conference on the 23d of April, but the French answered as they had done before, That they were not fully instructed; so that the time of the confedera e ministers is spent in frequent journies from hence to the Hague, and back again. Nor will I presume to give you any certain account of what has been transacted in the frequent conferences held between the ministers of Great Britain and the States, both at the Hague and here, the secrecy wherewith they were managed not affording any opp › tunity: But on my Lord Stafford's arrival, who is set out for England, I make no doubt but you will hear.

What occurs further in this very memorable treaty, for in many respects I may reasonably call it so, you shall be sure to receive from me. But I must now tell you that so little of what is done is managed publickly, that you must not be surprised that the relation I have hitherto given you has been no fuller.

A full Answer to the Conduct of the Allies: To which is added, some Observations on the Remarks on the Barrier Treaty. By the same Author. Printed in 1712.

This is another reply to Dean Swift's celebrated "Treatise upon the Conduct of the Allies," and his "Remarks upon the Barrier Treaty," which formed a sort of appendix to that celebrated pamphlet.

How much the design of this pamphlet is owing to the miserable necessity of state policy, may be best proved by considering the purpose it is writ to serve, and by the protection it receives from those, who would not, I believe, upon any other reason, give it countenance. Whilst I am speaking of this, I cannot forget a lively instance of such a kind of miserable policy in those mariners, who, when their vessel strikes on a rock, forgetting their common safety, have recourse to some extraordinary and mistaken means; the advice, perhaps, of a few hardy persons among them, who, out of a caprice of gratifying their own judgment, or, more probably, with too near a regard for their own private safety, occasion the ruin of themselves, and all that are embarked with them. How near a situation is there in the infamous conduct of those, who let out their pens to hire, and for the vile consideration of pay, write in opposition to all truth and honesty, nay, even to their own consciences; and there is much more to be said for those who only take a scandalous pension to be silent.

It was long before this book fell into my hands, and longer before I formed a resolution to spend any time about it, till a second or third reading every line presented me with a fresh instance of aggravation. As to the author, I esteem it needless to enquire after him, since libels of this kind usually receive their grand master-strokes from those to whose interest and service they are calculated and assigned. Now is it not matter of wonder and reflection, that there should be those, who will countenance an ill thing for the good they are to receive by it? These are what I call, The miserable necessities of state-policy, where, to support the measures of a few, a whole nation shall be exposed to danger and ruin. And it is possible sometimes a good man may be spirited away by their enchanting devices, but that is only for a time, for such will, of course, find out the deceit, and desert those by whom they have been drawn in to act wrong, through an implicit oversight, and this with the utmost reflection of hatred and contempt. For as such politicks genereally require the most violent measures to support them, so their course is seldom long, and generally terminates by some sudden and unexpected event.

I come now to our Conductor, whose arguments, I confess, I cannot but admire; there appears in them throughout, such a wonderful and peculiar spirit of cunning as

can be equalled by nothing but a falsehood as notorious: And it may, with very little circumspection, be observed, how close he follows his blow, and how little regard he has to truth, when he handles any particular point, where the reputation of his friends seems most at stake, and while he is only pretending to write for the interest of his country, is betraying the honour of it to a base degree; from whence, it is probable, he has borrowed his excellent maxims of treating crowned heads, abusing those in alliance with us, and at the same time extolling our enemies, and making way for our being imposed upon,—a proceeding so very new and extraordinary, that, I confess, I am at a loss what name to give it.

What shall be done to the man whom the king honours? was said of old; so, by a parity of words, What shall be said to the man, that vilifies and exposes his country, whose chief business, it seems, is to represent her in a languishing and ruined condition? And what effect can it have, but to afford our enemies the advantage, to render us despicable abroad, and insecure at home, and to remove all obstacles in his power out of the way of peace; such a peace as his friends are treating, and he writing for? What is this, but to give our enemies a handle to treat us with barbarity and insolence? the effect of which, I think, they have already given us a very melancholy instance of already; and I doubt not but we shall taste more of their innate love and goodness to us hereafter, according as they receive encouragement from the Conductor and his friends: And it has been found, by former experience, that a very small encouragement will serve turn, when, in breach of all that is solemn and religious, they put on us the greatest indignities that ever any nation suffered, by which our honour was lessened and impaired, and the standard of it scarce valuable in any nation in Europe, till the successes of this reign, (under the conduct and management of those who have been treated accordingly) raised it again to its intrinsic value: And does he now say, we might with honour and safety have declined entering into the present war? Could we sit down with the scandalous affront put on us, in proclaiming the Pretender? or, rather, should we not resolve never to forget it, but make a reprizal, now it is in our power, by imposing something as mortifying on the enemy, if I may be allowed to term the King of France so? Do we not bleed for it this day? And is it any more than a prelude to the scandalous affront lately put on her majesty, and to all the indignities he shall think fit to impose on us hereafter, even the Pretender himself, when an occasion presents, if we leave no better bulwark than this Conductor and his friends? And this, he says, the French king had as much reason to do, as we to impose a king upon Spain. The world may see that he does not desire to make much difference between the Pretender's title to the crown of England, and that of the house of Austria to the Spanish monarchy; and no doubt he'll have a reason ready to back this traitorous innuendo when opportunity requires: But, to put an end to this point, we will not dispute which had most reason to do, but which had least reason to suffer what was done. It was sufficient to justify, past all exception, our conduct of entering, as principals, into the present war, and instead of not being so much concerned as our neighbours, to prove that we were a great deal more, and even most of all: The Dutch fought to enlarge their frontiers, the emperor for the right of the house of Austria, and others upon the different views of interest; but we entered into the war to preserve what we had; to secure ourselves against popery, and the friends of it, and a very great point too, if we gained it, contrary to the ridiculous similitude of the house on fire, where he says—"The neighbours ran with buckets to quench it; but the owner is sure to be undone first, and it is not impossible that those at the next door may escape by a shower from heaven, the stillness of the weather, or some other favourable accident." Was there ever such a wretched and silly position? What does it but allow that we must have trusted merely to a possibility for our salvation, which they that rely on deserve to smart for, as the reward of so much folly? I believe, should one en-

deavour to persuade a person when a fire is next door to him, that he need not stir, for it may possibly fall a-raining, or some favourable accident may happen to preserve his goods, that such a one would be apt to compliment you with his excuse: And truly, he that would not come out of the fire to hear this, deserves to be burnt. But, indeed, it is consonant to the miracle that must have saved us, had we stood still till the Dutch had been destroyed before our faces, and not acted with that great vigour and harmony which the case required; where we should only have experienced the miserable courtesy of Polyphemus to Ulysses, of being reserved to be last devoured.

His encomium, and the wrested comparison of a civil war, bears much the same analogy to reason and good sense; for when we shall once be convinced where those people dwell, who are so fond of the inconvenience and ravages of an army, that they would not pay a little money to be rid of their good company, I shall grant this Conductor to have more reason of his side than I thought he had: But so miserably fond is he of saying any thing that he thinks may make for his purpose, that he very often forgets himself.

His admirable instance of the Dutch wars, in the reign of King Charles the Second, (which, indeed, he might have termed a civil war too, if quarrelling with our friends be so) is very moving: "This," he says, "was begun, and carried on, under a very corrupt administration, and much to the dishonour of the crown, (as all Dutch wars will be) kept the king poor and needy, by discontinuing, or discontenting, his parliament, when he most needed their assistance, but neither left any debt upon the nation, nor carried any money out of it."

No, but the expence of three or four millions then had saved us a hundred since; and I dare engage it was such another set of principals as now reign, that advised the king to that unreasonable and unnatural war, who concurred with him in acting contrary to the interest of his country: But the parliament, it may be remembered, would never be wrought upon to give in to such destructive measures; nor have we yet retrieved that false step in weakening ourselves and the Dutch by a kind of intestine war, voted merely to humour those who were friends of France, and acted in a parallel with too many at this juncture.

The Revolution is one of the next things he has a fling at; and here he tells us, that a general war broke out, wherein several princes joined in alliance against France, to check the ambitious designs of that monarch; and here the emperor, the Dutch, and English, were principals. And that the ground of this war, as to the parts we had in it, was to make France acknowledge King William, to recover Hudson's-Bay. It is certain, that these two points were chiefly insisted on, but the war in general was to check the ambition of France, who, by unheard-of breaches of faith, had borne a heavy hand over all his neighbours. As an instance of it, the French king had begun a war, by invading the empire just before the Revolution; which might have prevented the success of it, and thereby the more endangered the liberty of Europe. Nor is it true, that the sea was neglected; for, I think, during much the greatest part of that war, which began in 1689, we were entirely masters of the sea, by our victory in 1692, which was only three after it broke out; so that for seven years in ten we carried the *broom*.

And for any neglect of our sea-affairs, otherwise, I believe, I may, in few words, prove that all the princes, from the Conquest, never made so remarkable an improvement to our naval strength as King William. He should have been told, if he did not know, what havock the Dutch had made of our shipping in King Charles the Second's reign, and that his successor, King James the Second, had not in his whole navy, fitted out to defeat the designed invasion by the Prince of Orange, one individual ship of the first or second rank, which all lay neglected, and mere skeletons of former services, at their moorings. These this abused prince repaired at an immense charge,

and brought them to their pristine magnificence. Let us add to this, the glory of re-establishing the value of our coin, and, I think, these are two things the friends of France ought never to forgive him. To this assertion, the Conductor adds, "That the greatest part of six millions was annually employed to enlarge a Dutch frontier, because the king was a general, and not an admiral; and, though King of England, a native of Holland." This is no more than a scandalous assertion, and not justified by the appearance of any matter of fact; for what I have said before, proves us clearly out of danger as to the sea, and therefore that it remained but a necessary consequence to make all possible efforts against France on the side of Flanders, and all that we did make proved little enough, partly through the ill treatment the king received at home, and partly through a bad trade and ill credit, nor did the service, after all, employ the greatest part of six millions, as may be seen by the estimates laid before the parliament every session. And coming to the end of the war, he says, "That after the loss of an hundred thousand men, and a debt of six millions remaining, a peace was concluded with great advantages to the empire and Holland, but none at all to us." Whether, but as a reflection on the late king, as he designs it, this ought not to have been charged on the perfidy of the King of France, who made peace at that time only with design to break it, who, having private assurances of the ill state of the health of the King of Spain, deceived the allies by false terms of peace, to get into quiet possession of the Spanish Netherlands, which, if he had not effected by a special instance of treachery, he must have won by the sword, though his grandson had succeeded to the throne. Neither could I ever perceive the great advantages of this peace, either to the empire or Holland. We all know the emperor was abandoned, and left such terms as were allotted him, nor could we be brought to listen to his representations, though never so pressing, which, if we had done, as is much the case now, 'tis very probable we had not been troubled with this second war. And besides, having been unsuccessful, it will not be easily conceived what advantages any in the grand alliance could reap by it; and even those that were stipulated for the empire and Holland, it is well known were never executed.

To shew his contempt of the monied interest, he tells you, that in this war began the custom of borrowing millions upon funds of interest, the true reason of which, he adds, was for the security of a new prince, not firmly settled on the throne. This it is known was occasioned by a set of men in parliament, whose ambition it was to affront the king, and cramp him in his subsidies, for which reason they would never be brought to think of any thing like an excise, which method however has been taken up since, and those very persons most forward in voting it; which had they done at first, the nation had not been charged with so many heavy debts. Nor, after all, is there any thing in this method, but that all the nations engaged in these wars have put in practice as well as ourselves, and lie under the same engagements for money.

I should be glad to get over some assertions that lie in my way, that I might come to matters of fact; but as there are many of them so ridiculous, false, and absurd, it will appear of some service to give a check to them; the chiefest of which he lays down under three distinct heads. First, "That against all manner of prudence and common sense, we engaged in this war as principals, in which we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries;" which, I think, I have given sufficient reasons to confute already; besides its being contrary to the sense of all the parliaments since the war begun, the constant and repeated sense of her majesty and all her allies; nay, even of the present parliament a year ago, who, in their representation, speak of the absolute necessity of carrying on the war. Nor is it only contrary to the sense of the present parliament, but I think of the present ministry too, no long time ago. The Duke of Marlborough was again sent to command the army in Flanders, notwithstanding the clamours against him since. This makes it plain, that people may fluctuate in their opinions according

as their purpose requires; for what he has been charged with since has not been committed since, and might as well have been laid to his charge before the last campaign as now; they cannot deny the knowledge of it, I suppose, and it would not be believed if they did; therefore it must be affirmed, that out of choice, in their own sense, they put a general at the head of the army that had cheated his country and wronged the soldiers, and was like to do the same again, because the matters in dispute were grand perquisites which he had taken all the war: And to do them this justice, I believe all the generals in Europe ever did the like, though perhaps with some difference in the incidents. Now the use I make of this, is only to prove that the sense of some people has greatly changed in a twelvemonth's time, and especially since Mr Prior's journey to Paris. There was then some new steps to be taken, and even the very scribblers of the party, that had been kept in ignorance before, began now to catch at the new sentiments of their masters, as may be seen by many scandalous pamphlets after that memorable time, and especially that before me, which led the van; and now they let go their hold of the late ministry, and began to fasten on our allies, for their malice in blackening the former would not carry the point far enough; there must be a quarrel picked with the Dutch in particular, and the Duke of Marlborough first be sacrificed to humour it; neither the zeal or the vigour of the one, nor the services of the other, can skreen them; it is sufficient that they stood in the way of bringing a very material purpose to bear; and their treatment of them and the rest of the confederates, added something very sanguine to the complexion of peace, and was the true reason why the Conductor comes to say, "That it was against all manner of prudence or common reason, that we engaged in the war; and that her majesty, by the grand alliance, is not obliged to demand the restitution of Spain."

"The queen's declaration for war," he tells us, "does not take notice of the Duke of Anjou's succession to that monarchy, as a subject of quarrel; and has given us a good part of that declaration in his libel. The grand design of which being to instil into the nation a corrupt notion of peace, and the necessity of it, he labours with great industry to remove all scruples that may arise in honest minds, in relation to it. And if he can but persuade them that the war in itself was wrong begun, that the Grand Alliance does not oblige us to insist on the restitution of Spain, and that the allies having acted basely by us, it is no dishonour to abandon them: What difficulty ought we to make of compelling them to make peace upon our methods, without Spain and the Indies. Is not this a rare scheme contrived to break the Grand Alliance, and for the same reasons to undermine the Revolution, which I presume is to be the Conductor's next work, when he has fully carried this preliminary point towards it. And this, perhaps, is the meaning of that blunt intimation he gives us, "that the necessities of the nation may require to alter the succession." And this, though he says he has explained in a later edition, yet the hint remained good. Now I would have the author let us know what kind of reason or necessity it can be that should make us alter the succession, (even though, as he says, in future ages) and whether any necessity, according to his beloved doctrine, can give the legislature a power to alter the succession, which our representatives are chosen to preserve, but not to destroy. But of this hereafter.

To prove that England, by all her treaties, is obliged to insist on the restitution of the Spanish monarchy, the best way will be to look into the treaties themselves, where we shall expressly find ourselves under that obligation. And can it be said, that these treaties are not as binding as the Grand Alliance? I am sure there is one reason they should be more; they were made upon a great deal more deliberation, nor can these treaties be called the contrivance of a faction, that were transacted in the second year of the war, when the ministry was in the hands of such as were well affected to the church; and the parliament of the same complexion. So that our Conductor was not in any great concern for the reputation of his friends, when he endeavours to

weaken the authority of treaties which were concluded under their auspicious conduct; of which nobody at that time pretended to complain, but were pleased with the restoration of credit, the successes of the war, and the wise and frugal management of the treasury.

I hope the Conductor will allow, that no treaties were ever better considered than those made with France and Savoy, at that time; where the restitution of the Spanish monarchy is stipulated past all manner of contradiction. But to put the matter farther out of dispute, it is easy to prove, that the restitution of Spain and the Indies to the house of Austria, is not a new demand, started since the Grand Alliance, as it is pretended, but was the first separate article in the former alliance of 1689, where the States and we engage, "That in case the King of Spain (chap. 2,) should die without issue, they will with all their forces assist his sacred imperial majesty, or his heirs, in taking the succession of the Spanish monarchy lawfully belonging to that house." Is not this a very insolent charge then of the Conductor, that it is the work of a late faction? a new incident, to insist on the restitution of Spain, when the allies obliged themselves to it, about a dozen years before, and even at the time of the Revolution; and which does and will appear to have been the constant sense of all the allies, and of every body else, till the contradiction of it has been taken up, as an expedient to serve a particular end.

And is it not plain, that the first Grand Alliance is the original ground of our quarrel, the source of all we have been endeavouring at since? Did our being in more danger alter the necessity of our engagements with our allies, with all the benefit of the Partition Treaty thrown into the scale? What can the arguments made use of by the Conductor tend to, but utterly to overturn the Grand Alliance, which is the main pillar and support of the Revolution, and will, in all probability, draw along with it the utter subversion of it?

He tells us, "we had no quarrel with France, but his owning the Pretender, but only gave him the title of king, which was allowed to Augustus by the King of Sweden." What an utter falsehood is this! King Augustus was allowed by the treaty to stile himself king, but not King of Poland; whereas the Pretender was not simply stiled King James, but his Britannic Majesty, and King of Great Britain; and this, I think, nobody disputes, that read, at that time, the Paris gazettes, and other publick newspapers. But our Conductor's purpose required to shuffle in this equivocation; and to give a little colouring to help it out, he translates the VIIIth article in such a manner as to make the world think that nothing else was meant on the part of England, but to insist on satisfaction for this great affront. The sense of which article plainly covenants for the security of his majesty's kingdoms and commerce, as well as that of the States-General; and in the article just before this, we have it thus: "For obtaining satisfaction for the emperor, and the aforesaid security for his Britannic majesty and the States."

The same article says, "that no peace shall be made without security; that the French shall never get into possession of the Spanish West Indies, nor be permitted to sail thither on account of traffick, directly or indirectly, on any pretence whatever." Now, pray let this author tell us, how, or by which way, we shall be secure of this, if Spain be left to the house of Bourbon? Is not France at this time in possession of the West Indies, and have they not actually settlements there at Lima, and other places, and can we believe they will easily quit them? Or have they promised such a thing to our negociators of peace? if they have not, I think we cannot make peace with them upon the terms imposed. And here I must make an observation by the way, that whoever shall compare the late offers of France with any manner of circumspection, to the conduct of the allies, will find how critically they are built upon the author's arguments, and even the very words, in some places, interwove in the same artful manner, to sha-

dow the imperfections, that I think it is plain, the conduct had been well read over in France before they concluded on their proposals.

Next, I would fain know what security they can ever propose, that France and Spain shall never be united unless giving it wholly out of their power, or how either we, or our allies can be safe, when the exorbitant power of France, founded on such destructive maxims, shall be strengthened by the riches of the Indies? where, besides what he enjoys already, he has treaties with his grandson for much larger encroachments.

What therefore can be meant by saying, "That the allies demand no more for the emperor than a just and reasonable satisfaction?" And is it any more than just and reasonable satisfaction, that he should have those dominions which the King of France has solemnly renounced for himself and his descendants, besides the undoubted right thereto of the house of Austria? or shall it, by the same rule, be called any more than a reasonable satisfaction to us, that a strict regard be had to putting it out of his power, before we make peace, ever to throw in the Pretender upon us? which, experience may sufficiently convince us, will never be the effect of his Christian majesty's conscience.

The next point he finds necessary to support his cavil by, (a reason which, no doubt, he understands as well as he handles) is to persuade us, "That we have pursued the war in a wrong method, and spent all our vigour where it would least answer our ends; and made no efforts where we might have weakened the common enemy, and enriched ourselves." And again, "That we suffered each of our allies to break every article of those treaties and agreements, by which they were bound to lay all the burthen upon us." Now the method the war has been pursued in, as well in the choice of it, as in the event, must be attributed to general councils of war, unanimously agreed among all the allies: No positive directions is, I presume, meant to proceed from hence, as an unreasonable charge upon the late ministry; nor can it be thought the result of a secret agreement between our general and the Dutch, to make way for their advantage. Well then, where shall I fix this author's meaning, "that we might best have weakened the enemy," since he is not so honest as to tell us, which he might easily have done, and it would have been much to his credit, as well as of advantage in proving this point.? Or was he afraid to discover so rich a secret, lest we should yet make use of it to weaken the interest of his friends? No, I have a better opinion of him; but that, according to his usual method, it was to raise a great deal of dust about something that has nothing in it; I must therefore run through the several branches of the war, that I may be sure to hit the right nail, which by the way is giving himself and me more trouble than there was absolutely occasion for.

To say therefore that we should have pushed the war in Spain, the recovery of which is what we entered into the war for, is a very mistaken motion, if it be our author's meaning. Let us but consider upon how unequal a foot we must have managed an offensive war in that country in regard to the many conveniences the French would have found to disappoint us; and the reasons, which would not have been sufficient to convince the wrong notion of a set of men at home, might perhaps have had as little force on the inclinations of our allies, in persuading them to comply with measures so very unlikely to succeed. We know the party have more than once hinted at the weakening ourselves in Flanders, to make efforts in Spain, but this was merely urged as a mark of their good-will to the Duke of Marlborough, who once gave them an answer in the Lords House to this point that stopped their mouths. Suppose then we had followed their advice, and been inclined to send a reinforcement of 20,000 men from Flanders, which way were they to be got thither? First, they would have proved an excessive charge to transport them thither; which we had no other way for, but an uncertain passage by sea from England, where, what by the hazard of storms, contrary winds, sickness, desertion, and the danger of losing some transports by the ene-

my's privateers, or otherwise, these men, before they had arrived on the spot for service, would have been very probably reduced to half their number; and even those not fit for service, till they had been sent into quarters of refreshment, where it was much, but by eating the rich fruits, the change of the climate, and drinking the strong Spanish wines, their number had been a second time greatly diminished.

And again this could not have been done without lessening our army in Flanders, which the enemy would have made their advantage of, by making a detachment of half the number serve, as an equivalent for the war in Spain, and gain a superiority of 10,000 men out of 20,000, or in proportion to the half of what we sent on every such occasion. And these they might have drawn from Dauphine, which might have been supplied from the Rhine, or even from Flanders, by an easy and very certain march, which might have been done, at a proper season, and with little hazard, as we have often seen through the course of the war. Besides the generals of the enemy might have concerted their measures accordingly, because they might have received accounts to the very day those troops had reached them, and what number, almost to a man, they consisted of: Whereas, in our case, the generals could have made no advantage; they could resolve on nothing, but to have lain under a tedious expectation, waiting for succours, of which they could have no account till they saw them; and even then could have expected no immediate service, and very probably the season for the campaign had been almost wasted. Their transportation being not only hazardous and uncertain, attended with many unlucky events, but likewise an excessive charge, and always double to the service it procures, because provision is made for such a particular number of troops, when I have said, seldom above half their number arrive complete. Whereas the march of the enemy's troops stand them in little or nothing, and when they arrive, they are what they set out, and agree in constitution with the climate. Nor is this all that might be said; I would ask the Conductor, if we should provide for an offensive war in Spain, how they must subsist, when the country is hardly able to subsist its own inhabitants? Those parts especially where our armies quarter. Of what then are we to form magazines, if the growth of the country affords barely enough for present necessity? And whence are they to be fetched? Why either from Italy, England, or the coast of Africk, but then, as I have observed, the transporting them thither is very hazardous and uncertain. And if even in Flanders, which is the finest country in the universe to subsist an army in, our soldiers are sometimes driven to straits, by being at some distance from their magazines, when the roads are spoiled in a bad season, 'tis easy to guess what it must be in Catalonia, where to subsist a very moderate army is difficult enough. While the French, by the contiguity of their country, and the nearness of their ports, have the advantage of supplying the magazines of Spain; besides the Duke of Anjou possesses all those provinces which are in tranquillity, and therefore capable, if any are, of affording relief to his armies.

This I think is sufficient to prove, that Spain is not the place where we should have pursued the war; where even a defensive war, with more success than we could well have hoped for, has proved difficult enough; and this by the way is one reason, why the Dutch have for these three or four years past, sent no fresh troops thither, but added their proportion elsewhere, as I shall shew anon.

But if this be the case, it will be said, why did we then begin this war at first, or have not long since quitted it? either of which propositions may be easily answered. When we entered upon the war, it was upon the most promising suggestions that could possibly be conceived, that the Spaniards were ripe for a revolt, could we once get footing, and though they did not answer our expectations, when once we had lodged ourselves, it must have been a great oversight to have quitted our ground; and I think the wonderful struggles we have had there, have given the enemy sufficient charge

and trouble, and been often very fatal to their affairs, and had not the inconveniences I have spoken of hindered us from sending any necessary and timely assistance after any of our successes, the war had been at an end there long ago; which is a sufficient argument against an offensive war in Spain by weakening our army in Flanders, which has been always the cry, but is notoriously wrong. Besides when those forces embarked, as it was very difficult to determine at this distance which way they may best answer the good of the common cause, whether to land in Catalonia, or give some relief to the Duke of Savoy, who was at that time in need enough of it, it was left to the determination of the Kings of Portugal and Spain, what measures were to be taken; and after it had been thoroughly debated in several great councils of war, it was resolved, at the intercession of King Charles, to sail for Catalonia, who shewed the many repeated assurances he had received from the Catalans to declare for him, if he were once in a condition to protect them. And it was the rather agreed to, in regard of the desperate state of affairs in Italy, where it was probable it would give some diversion to the enemy. Besides, at this time, there was hardly an appearance of making so great an impression in Flanders, much less could we hope for a probability of penetrating into France on that side, as is become the case now, and was some time ago, or you had scarce had such humble entreaties to be heard on the subjects of peace, and such concessions made, notwithstanding you had been in possession of the Spanish monarchy, the Indies excepted. These were the reasons for making trial of a war in Spain, and though it did not wholly answer our expectations, it has been of consequence enough to deserve to be supported, and especially after we had set their king once among them, when to have abandoned him, or withdrawn our troops, could not have been done, but with the greatest advantage to the enemy, and the highest dishonour to ourselves and him, sufficient to have made the Spaniards for ever after contemn him, though we had obtained the crown for him, which was not then disputed, but we must do, by some method or other, before the war should cease.

Again, our keeping footing in Catalonia, and being masters of Barcelona, as it keeps the enemy, the Spaniards especially, in perpetual alarms, so it gives life and spirit to our friends, who by this situation are encouraged to act; and 'tis certain the Miquilets do great service, whereas the enemy are obliged to weaken their troops on the side of Portugal, which might have turned to a much greater advantage than we see has been made of it. However it has obliged the enemy to employ an army much superior to ours, to watch our motions, and alarm the Duke of Anjou with continual distrusts of his subjects, and to think himself safe in nothing but French councils and French armies, which may have a better effect than perhaps we can yet foresee. Which arguments, with many other of less consequence that might be brought, are sufficient to justify the beginning of the war in Spain, and the carrying it on in the method it has been, without enlarging the scheme of war, which, instead of doing service to the common cause, as I have shewn, would render a double advantage to our enemies.

Now, if to have carried the war on on the Rhine is the method meant, which I hardly think it is, a few words will easily convince us of the improbability of making any advantage on that side. It cannot be so much as thought, that they could be wanted there to act on the defensive; and all the world is convinced, that the empire on that side, have no one thing necessary for an offensive war; neither money, magazines, ammunition, &c. and supposing they had, to what purpose would it be, if the army did not take the field betimes, which is a thing never to be hoped on the Rhine; and this is doubtless the chief reason that the emperor for some years past sent such a number of troops from thence to Flanders, where they might act to most advantage, and where nothing was like to be wanting to render them serviceable in the highest manner. Then lest another thing should be said, that they might clear their way to the Moselle, (on which side France is indeed most exposed) and there have pursued

the right method, I think it were easy to answer, that that experiment, has been made already, when the Duke of Marlborough, by an incredible success, had, in a few weeks, drawn the seat of the war from the Danube to the Rhine, and thence to the Moselle: He marched, the next campaign, with a glorious army thither, where, had not the reasons I have given before been found too true, 'tis probable the war had soon been ended. Here he obliged the French general to retire before him, and to leave him at liberty to besiege Saar Lewis; but when he had done, he found the imperial general very far from being able to answer any of his engagements on which the measures for pushing the war on that side had been concerted; which, together with the necessity of his presence in Flanders, obliged him to march back, and to make no more unhappy experiments where the promises of the empire were not to be relied on.

And it is from hence very probable, that should a project have been started for his marching to Savoy, which was once his grace's thoughts, and to have attacked France on that side, had this been liable to any more success; and would not the party have exclaimed, as they did on his march to the Danube, that he was run away with the army? And what is ever to be hoped, where the snows, and bad season, leave not above two months to make good the campaign, and the French might have drawn what strength they pleased from Flanders or the Rhine with half the ease to have opposed us? Or had the Scotch expedition happened in that interval, as it is within the compass of the same time, what clamours would the restless spirit of the duke's enemies have raised against him, as if he had betrayed and sold us to the enemy. But I shall say no more of this, as hardly deserving notice, but that the Conductor's cunning assertions draw one into it, and that he may have no recess, or asylum, to fly to for the future.

But quoting his assertion again, I find there is a sting in the tail of it; "where we might most have weakened the common enemy, and enriched ourselves." By this, I begin to think, we have, all this while, misunderstood him; and that we should have carried the war into the Spanish West-Indies, if we had pursued the right method; a wonderful project indeed; but till the Conductor and his freinds give us a better account of the Canada expedition, which, I presume, was founded on this noble scheme, I must beg his pardon for approving of burying men and money at that rate; it looks, I must tell him, a little too much like a castle in the air: But I hear nothing said of it; the general has been rewarded for losing our ships and men, more than another would have been who had come home with spoil and conquest; a very pretty way of enriching ourselves, and carrying on the war in a right method, while, for want of such a squadron, we suffered our allies and ourselves to be plundered at Brazil: And this, I suppose, is what the Conductor means by conquering something for ourselves; but the experiment is over, and, I hope, we shall make no more of them at so dear a rate.

Flanders therefore is the place where we have pushed the war in the wrong place, France being covered by so formidable a barrier on that side. The Conductor, as I observed before, should have shewn us a better place to lay the stress of the war, than in Flanders, and then I would have answered him, that 'tis probable, be where it will, it might not have met with half the success it has done there; and though it might be wrong at first, it has certainly answered beyond our expectations, and is right now: Had I not shewed, that all places had been tried, or, at least, prudently and deliberately considered in the most consummate councils of war, the unanimous consent of the generals of all the allies for beginning the war there, and the great alacrity and chearfulness with which they always sent their troops to fight under our general, is sufficient to license and approve the measures entered into for carrying on the war in Flanders, though a much less prosperous event had attended our arms. Or why, if it were a wrong step, did the most consummate generals the world ever knew, go into it so readily, that all our allies, all our generals, and all the world, should be mistaken,

but the Conductor, is very strange. That the emperor, when even his own territories were threatened with an invasion, the dreadful effects of which he had, just before, experienced, should send such a body of troops to Flanders, with the best general in the world at the head of them, to do nothing, or, at least, what was quite wrong, is another mystery; and a greater mystery than all is, that nobody should know this but the Conductor and his friends.

Well; but, however, it was wrong begun, 'tis certainly (the event having answered beyond our expectation) the only place now, (where, by a little more patience, if the Conductor and his friends were not in such haste for a scurvy peace) to bring France to such terms as should put it out of her power to begin a new war upon us, at the hazard of imposing the Pretender with it, in any little compass of time: He is willing to allow, that the conditions of peace turn upon the events of war, and yet seems very tender of having it pressed too strongly against the French king, as if he was sensibly concerned to ward off any blow on that side. From whence we may venture to draw this supposition, that though such a peace as he lays down may be necessary for us to accept, will it do him or us any harm, if we can, at this time, obtain a better? Was there any necessity for us to betray ourselves, for fear the events of peace should rise too high for us? Could we not have treated with the French, without making our condition so wretched, and plainly telling them, that if they grant us any better terms than we hint at, they are unwise, since we have a party ready to embrace even them, bad as they are, open-mouthed: A blessed story, when it shall be told to our children, drenched in blood, and involved in new misfortunes, through our headlong mistakes and unhappy oversights. What will the world say, but laugh at us and our divisions; and when we should hereafter want the assistance of our allies, to be able to obtain of them not so much as their pity.

But I return from this ungrateful subject to the Flanders war: Since the judgment of our allies, and all our generals, will not pass for reason with the Conductor and his friends, there is no dispute to be made, but they will agree to the sentiments of their own friends. What is it the enemy have more dreaded, at any time, than the progress of our arms in Flanders? And what difficulties have they struggled under to oppose us there? And what drew them to make us submissive offers of peace, both after the Ramillies and Lille campaigns, but the effect of our wonderous successes in Flanders, and the dread of penetrating quite through a broken frontier? And what is the meaning that Spain and the Indies should be offered us then, if we had been wise enough to take it; and now, after we have, by new unheard-of successes, almost swallowed up the remainder of that frontier, we are to bate of our demands, and receive dishonourable conditions from a beaten and dispirited enemy? Is our case so very hard and irretrievable, that we must never hope to have this fairly explained, till it is too late, and till our enemies are in a capacity of protecting those who have so faithfully served them.

Again, if Flanders were not the right place to push the enemy in, why are they so very apprehensive of our efforts, that they seek and contrive all manner of ways to divert our arms there? What time is there to be named, when, in the interval of any campaign, they have not threatened, with terrible denunciations, to invade the empire, or drive our forces out of Spain the next spring. Their letters, their gazettes have been full of it; and what was all this for, but to divert the course of the war in Flanders, which they found pinched them so hard, and was likely to pinch them harder, if nothing could stop our career? Nay, what was the Scotch expedition for, but for the same reason, that they were willing to run all hazards to divert the current of the war in Flanders? but all this, by the good conduct of our ministers and general, was wonderfully defeated, and has set us as much above the necessity of accepting what the enemy contemptibly offer, as we ought to prefer a glorious and successful war to an ignominious and precarious peace.

I think nothing more need be said to prove, that the clamour raised against the method of carrying on the war, is like all the other arguments made use of by the Conductor, false and nefarious; only tinselled over with gay and glittering words, to serve a present purpose, without being sufficient to stand the test of future enquiry. Indeed I might have added, that the war in Flanders lay so hard on the enemy, as occasioned the French king to draw his forces out of Spain, to oppose us on that side; and that it was the sole reason of his offering to abandon his grandson, and which he would now be content with, were our friends at home but half as civil as our enemies abroad.

The next part of his proposition is, that we suffered all our allies to break every article of those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay all the burden upon us. This bold assertion is not to be wondered at, taking the rest along with it, for what can be said less after the treatment they have been exposed to, which was no more than a necessary conclusion, that we might now break all our articles with them? To enter into the proof of this, he offers some remarks on certain articles in three of our treaties, viz. the Barrier Treaty, and our two alliances with Portugal, offensive and defensive; from whence it might be reasonably judged, that these were some of those treaties that are pretended to be broke, whereas two of them do no way come into the dispute. The first, particularly, does not concern the operations of the war, and therefore, in reality, has nothing to do here, unless, as necessary to serve a purpose, that of railing at the Dutch, and ridiculing the late ministry for endeavouring to establish a firm union between the two nations for the security of both. One would think no objection could be made to this treaty; nor, indeed, would it have happened, but that, according to some present schemes, we are obliged to take something from the Dutch, that we may be in a capacity of complimenting the enemy with the securest part of their barrier in case of a peace. But to fall in with his objections against this treaty, he says, "First—That neither her majesty, nor her kingdoms, have any interest or concern in it, farther than what is mentioned in the second and twentieth articles: By the former of which the States are to assist the queen in defending the Act of Succession; and by the other, not to treat of peace, till the King of France acknowledges the queen, and the succession of Hanover, and promises to remove the Pretender out of his dominions." Are not these now most surprising and dangerous objections, that we should offer to concert with a powerful neighbour and ally, the means of strengthening our Act of Succession? And what greater interest can the queen or kingdom have, than such a treaty gives them? What Englishman that has these things at heart, and dreads the mischiefs of popery and arbitrary power, but must look on the Conductor with the utmost indignation, while he sees him treating the care of the protestant succession with so much contempt; especially when he considers with what insolence the French king treats her majesty's title, in the late offers of peace, in such words as give a just occasion for distrust? But what does the Conductor mean? Can a point which so nearly concerns us be too well secured? Or is he afraid it should be so? Whatever his intentions be, the sense of the nation, in parliament, has been otherwise; and he knows very well, that the Barrier-Treaty was transacted in pursuance of an address of both houses, and in execution of the queen's own sense, expressed in her answer to them. And will any body now pretend, that points recommended by parliament, and approved by the crown, ought to be thus treated, whatever the reasons may be for recalling our own act and deed? But the Conductor is pleased to observe, "That it is certainly for the interest and safety of the States-General that the protestant succession should be preserved in England; and therefore infers, That 'tis unnecessary to bind them by any other obligation. By the same rule he must acknowledge it is our interest and concern to preserve the Low-Countries from falling into the hands of France, and that we can have no greater security, than by insisting on a sufficient barrier for the Dutch, the larger the better. And is it not necessary there-

fore, in concert, to take all the care we can to preserve those two points mutually between each other, and may not things that are necessary to be done be sometimes omitted? Does he not charge our allies with having neglected their quotas, and yet it was plainly their interest not to do so? Now, can it be a subject of difference to strengthen our interest in them, by a matter that would cost us so little, or allowing them a point which we could lose so little by, and in which our own interest and security is as much involved as theirs? "What an impression," says he, "of our settlement abroad, to see our ministers offering such conditions to the Dutch, to prevail with them to be guarantees to our acts of parliament." What would this man make of this? Is our calling in the Dutch to be guarantees of our succession, which he says himself they are concerned in, prevailing with them to be guarantees to our acts of parliament? Is it not the same thing that we are guarantees for their barrier, which indeed there is no more occasion for than the other, but to shew the mutual friendship that ought to reign between us, for our mutual security? Nor is the right he speaks of so well established, but the assistance of the Dutch may hereafter become necessary to preserve it, and equivalent to any exorbitant article in the treaty he finds fault with on their side. But why these unnecessary cavils against the Dutch at this time? 'tis plain they have a right to their barrier, previous to this treaty, as may be seen by the 5th article of the Grand Alliance, which expressly says, "That the allies shall use their utmost endeavours to recover the Spanish Netherlands, to the end they may serve as a fence, rampart, and barrier, to keep France at a distance from the United-Provinces, as formerly; the Spanish Netherlands having been the security of the States-General, till the late seizure of them by the French king." Likewise in the 9th article 'tis said, "That the allies, at a treaty of peace, shall agree on what are the proper ways to secure the States-General, by the aforesaid barrier;" pursuant to which articles, as fast as the towns in Flanders have been taken, the Dutch have garrisoned them, by the unanimous consent of the allies; and 'tis for the same reason, in the 22d and 23d articles of the preliminary treaty, agreed, "That as well the towns which did not belong to the crown of Spain, at the death of King Charles II. as those that did, which France, by those articles, was to deliver up, should be yielded and made over to the States, to serve for their barrier, and to be garrisoned by their troops." So that in the Barrier-Treaty we may see, after all the clamour about it, that her majesty in reality agrees to no more than to support the States in a sufficient barrier, such as had been granted them before by all the allies, and under such regulations as were every way necessary to support it, without being in any manner inconsistent with the honour and interest of Great Britain.

"The 20th article," he says, "is a natural consequence that must attend any treaty of peace we can make with France, being only the acknowledging her majesty as queen of her own dominions, and the right of succession by her own laws, which no foreign prince has power to dispute." And is this all that the 20th article is binding in, when he tells us himself but just before, "That no peace should be made with France without a promise to remove the Pretender out of his dominions?" Nor does this article barely insist on his acknowledging her majesty as queen of her own dominions, or on the right of succession by our own laws, which general expressions 'tis easy enough to elude, but on her majesty's title to the crown of Great Britain, and of the right of succession in the house of Hanover, as established by our settlement; which is, by the said articles, fully to be acknowledged by France, as a preliminary previous to any treaty of peace; and not left to be a consequence of one, as he wittily pretends it must be. Nor was it found so at the peace of Ryswick, since which time the French king has denied the queen's title, and owned the Pretender, and assisted him to invade her dominions. The next of his objections is against the unreasonableness and exorbitant articles which, he says, are granted the States by the rest of the treaty: And,

first, "That by the Grand Alliance the Spanish Low Countries were to be recovered and delivered to the King of Spain, but by this treaty, that prince is to possess nothing in Flanders during the war." This is falsely represented again, for 'tis no where said, by the Grand Alliance, that the Low Countries should be delivered to the King of Spain, much less during the war: And 'tis well known, that long before this treaty was made, the government of those conquered places has been administered by the queen and the States, with the consent of the emperor, and King Charles, and were never designed, as I think appears plain enough, to be delivered up to King Charles, though this treaty had never been transacted; but yet, to show the regard that was had to that prince's interest, it is expressly reserved, that the sovereignty of those provinces, both as to their civil and ecclesiastical rights, shall be and remain to him, as well in those towns where the Dutch are to have garrisons, as where they are to have none; that of the military command being only reserved for the Dutch, in those towns which they are allowed to garrison: These the Conductor makes to be about 20 in number, with their dependencies; for which, he says, "the Dutch, after a peace, are to have 400,000 crowns a year from the King of Spain, to maintain their garrisons; by which means they will have the command of all Flanders from Newport to Namur, and be entirely masters of the Pais de Wais, the richest part of those provinces." Now he has distinguished between those towns in this barrier, which were in the possession of the crown of Spain, at the death of King Charles II. and those that were not, for of the last only, and their dependencies, the Dutch are to have the revenues, with the addition of 400,000 crowns yearly for maintaining the whole barrier; which, considering the great number of troops that it will require, and the vast expence of keeping up and repairing the fortifications, and supplying the Dutch with all warlike necessaries, and the ruined condition they find the country in, it must be allowed the Dutch have no such bargain of it, and that nothing but their own preservation could have prevailed with them to have engaged themselves in such a hazardous and troublesome an undertaking.

He farther adds, "That the Dutch have liberty to garrison any places in the Low Countries they think fit, whenever there is an appearance of a war, and consequently, to put garrisons into Ostend, or where else they please, upon a rupture with England." This unlucky hint of a rupture with England, the Conductor seems very fond of, though 'tis all a very frivolous assertion: For, first, the Dutch have no right to this liberty of putting garrisons into such places as they please, but in case, where they are attacked or in apparent danger, which is chiefly with a view to France, against whose insults, experience shews, they can never be too much upon their guard. And it may be possible, by the intrigues of France, that others may join with her against them, as they have done in former wars, and may do again, from whom it is very reasonable that they ought to be guarded. But as to a rupture with us, 'tis out of the question, and what I hope will never happen: And should the friends of France prevail in that point, I think we should scarce go to Flanders to attack them. Nay, in case we did, this article can never hurt us, unless we break with the emperor at the same time, because 'tis otherwise impossible for the Dutch to put troops into Ostend, since, by this very treaty, that place is entirely left in the hands of the emperor, and to be garrisoned by him.

His next objection is, "That the Dutch, by this treaty, will be, in effect, masters of all the Low Countries; may impose duties, restrictions in commerce, and prohibitions, at their pleasure; and in the fertile country, may set up all sorts of manufactures, particularly woollen, by inviting the disobliged manufacturers in Ireland, and the French refugees, who were scattered all over Germany." What an accumulated heap of false assertions is here! merely contrived to terrify and incense the people of England against this treaty, without having the least ground of truth in it. I think nothing is plainer than what I have proved already, that the civil power, with all the privileges belonging to it, is expressly to remain in the emperor, how then can it be said, that the Dutch,

who have only the military power, should impose duties, restrictions, &c.? But suppose it at worst, even as he represents, yet it is very far from being liable to such dreadful consequences as he sets forth. The principal trading towns, as Amsterdam, Harlem, Leyden, and the rest, will make it their care to prevent the establishing new manufactures in that country, which they would never hitherto suffer, even in those ancient places which have appertained to the States from the time of the Munster treaty: So that should the disobliged manufacturers of Ireland attempt to settle in any of the towns comprised in this treaty, it is very probable they will find themselves worse treated than they were in their own country. Another frightful objection against this treaty is, "That all the ports in Flanders are to be subject to the like duties the Dutch should lay upon the Scheldt, which is to be closed on the side of the States." Thus all other nations are in effect shut out from trading with Flanders; yet, in the same article, it is said, "That the States shall be favoured in all the Spanish dominions as much as Great Britain, or as the people most favoured." This now has no more in it, after all the colour given to it, to make us look like an injured people, but that all matters relating to commerce shall be put upon the same foot as they were in before the war, when it was always thought we had as much right and favour as the Dutch: Besides is it not a frivolous as well as false assertion, that other nations are, in effect, shut out from trading with Flanders, when I have so plainly shewed before, that all the civil right is lodged in the emperor, of which there never could have been any danger, but from the unreasonable provocation that has been given to our allies, by the friends of France: Besides, for avoiding all difference between the two nations on this head, in pursuance of the Grand Alliance, the queen and the States do not only by this article mutually engage to preserve commerce upon the same foot it was before the war, but engage that the subjects of each shall be treated alike, and as favourable as those of any other nation, in all parts of the Spanish dominions. Therefore to say that we are in danger as to our trade, by this Barrier Treaty, is utterly false; or we have conquered Flanders for ourselves, as well as the Dutch, and by this treaty our own trade is re-established and secured as well as theirs. What then the design of all this violent resentment can be, against a treaty so very reasonable in itself and even advantageous to ourselves, is very unaccountable, and it will be out of the power of any one to imagine, unless from the scandalous intimation the Conductor has given us, "That it has put it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession without the consent of our guarantee." Which, I think, take it under what construction you please, ought to add a double value to so beneficial an alliance.

I think it is time to have done with this head. Let us next examine into our alliances with Portugal, which, because they stand equally in the way of an unsafe peace, are under the same necessity of being damned with the Barrier-Treaty. In speaking of these treaties, in order the more clearly to justify the transacting them, the reader ought to be pre-advised to consider what circumstances affairs stood in at that time, and the great influence the French have in that court, as all who are competent judges in the matter do very well know, and then it cannot but be looked upon as the effect of the most refined politicks, that they were to be drawn off from their engagements at all; which, in respect to the good state of our enemies affairs at that time, had been impossible to do, had not the most ardent courage and resolution of the King of Portugal, contributed beyond any thing that human prudence could have devised. Now, in consideration of so great a benefit to the common cause, as was reasonably expected from these alliances, let us see how much we over-reached them, by the terms granted in the treaty.

Both the offensive and defensive alliance were made at the same time, and signed the same day, viz. 16th May, 1703. The first consists of XXIX articles, in which 'tis agreed, "That for the land-service, and the invasion of Spain on that side, the King of Portugal shall maintain, at his own expence, 15,000 men, and raise 13,000 more to

be paid by the allies. And to this body of Portugueze troops, the allies are to join 12,000 men of their own or other nations." This is the substance of the first sixteen articles; the two next, which are those that the Conductor is so angry at, relate chiefly to the sea-service. By the first, the "maritime powers are obliged to keep on the coast of Portugal, a competent number of men-of-war to defend their ports, and protect their trade." Then follows, "That upon certain advice, that the enemy intend to invade them with a superior force to what the allies shall have on their coast, that they shall increase their number of ships, so as to be able to protect them; and that such ships shall continue in those seas, or ports, so long as his Portugueze majesty shall judge necessary." In the next article, they (the allies) oblige themselves, for the defence of the Portugueze dominions beyond seas: And we lately see how well we kept this article of our treaty, where I do not find that we had one ship, either to protect them or ourselves. And this upon certain advice, that they are designed to be invaded, in which case, if any strong place be taken from them, we are to continue our assistance till it is retaken. What is there now in these articles so unreasonable for the Portugueze to ask, or we to grant? Was it reasonable that his Portugueze majesty should break with France, to support our interest, and expose himself to the insults and invasions of such powerful enemies by sea and land, which he knew himself in no condition to withstand, and not so much as demand to be protected from the naval strength of France, which could not be done, but by keeping a squadron upon his coast, and increasing it upon any sudden notice of an invasion; and this he impertinently calls, "taking the King of Portugal's word, whenever he has a fancy he shall be invaded, or when he is in a humour to apprehend an invasion." Is not this imposing, in the grossest manner, upon the judgment of all those concerned in the treaty, as well as those who read such intolerable reasoning? Do not the very words of the treaty say, "upon certain knowledge or advice?" And who is the most proper person for this knowledge to come from but the king himself? Ought not princes to be allowed to have the quickest and best intelligence of their own danger? And are our admirals such novices, that they are to be governed by humour and fancy, and not be suffered to have the conduct to know when they are imposed on? And if they find, or conceive they are so, may they not, by their own instructions, refuse to go upon such errands? But there is this fate in its lying exposed to the Conductor's insults, that I do not think it possible to express so advantageous an alliance in any better, or indeed in any other manner, considering, that in all treaties, something is, of course, to be left to the faith and honour of the prince, or state, it is concluded with; and how easily they are eluded and broke into, when any caprice serves turn, he has himself given us a very glaring instance of.

Another thing offends the Conductor, and that is, "That these fleets must not only be subject to the king, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors, which," he says, "is an indignity that was never offered before, except in a conquered nation." How vile an inference is this! The substance of which is expressed thus, "That all auxiliary ships shall be subject to the king's orders, and in parts beyond the seas, to the orders of his viceroys and governors." This is no more than saying, that they shall be applied to the use they were agreed on. For I would ask the Conductor, if all auxiliaries are not subject to the supreme command, in whatever place they serve in? And this is no more than necessary, to avoid all disputes and disorders that might otherwise arise, and render their service useless: And, again, whatever is necessary to make an alliance useful, can never be said, with reason, to be an indignity. So that whatever he has urged against these four articles, is both malicious and absurd; since nothing has been agreed on, which was less than Portugal could ask, or we could grant, without derogating from the honour of our country.

In the defensive alliance, which is perpetual, the articles relating to our shipping are much the same, and therefore are to be answered by the same words; but the Conductor does not care to meddle with the 18th article, which has this difference, that if

the ships of any of the three nations are to act in conjunction in any expedition which is the common concern of them all, (and not in particular to Portugal) that then the commander, who has most ships under him shall give the signal, and act in all respects as admiral of the whole. 'Twas by this article that Sir John Leake, in 1705, had under him a flag of Portugal, with the flower of the navy royal. His quarrels at this treaty are, in many points, so very frivolous, that it is no easy matter to pick out any thing that deserves an answer; of this species is the assertion following; "That if we or Holland are invaded, yet if we expect any assistance from the King of Portugal, we are to supply him with forces in the same manner as if he were invaded himself, which," he infers, "must be a very prudent course for a maritime power to take, upon a sudden invasion, by which, instead of making use of our fleets and armies for our own defence, we must send them abroad for the defence of Portugal." Now is it possible to expect, when there is such a vast disproportion in the strength of the parties who are to manage this alliance, that the assistance on each side should be equal? Would it not be an unreasonable thing, to ask one of the petty electors to furnish as much toward the war as the emperor himself? It is the same thing here. When the publick service shall render a diversion on the side of Portugal of advantage, would it be any crime to make such an addition to their naval strength, as might, in all probability, enable them to do to purpose, which their own force was not sufficient for? And if, otherwise, we think it more for our service to keep our ships and men at home, do these articles substitute us to the contrary, but upon our own voluntary choice? But the Conductor seems to mean, that he would have the King of Portugal make some extraordinary effort of himself, to assist us, in case we are invaded; and, in truth, so would I too, but that I and all mankind know it is not in his power, and this is, indeed, the true reason why the Dutch have not continued to perform their part in the first of these alliances: For, as to the second, as I have shewn, it does not properly take place yet: And if we have kept closer to our articles than the Dutch, it was, and is, because they are of much more consequence to us, in respect to the real benefits we reap from thence in our trade.

They who remember how impatient the nation were to have these alliances made, before they were entered into, and what hopes we had of reducing Spain, by an impression on that side, on which the whole country lies open to Madrid, as has been experienced by one or two happy events, though not prudently or successfully followed, and the inevitable ruin and decay, not only of our Spanish trade, but that of the Mediterranean also, which must certainly have followed, if the port of Lisbon had continued shut to us: All, I say, who remember this, must allow, that instead of blaming the late ministry, there are no thanks or praises too much for them. And had our expectations answered in all respects, from those treaties, as well in the advantages of war as trade, which, by the way, nobody could foresee they would not, they would have been worth to us infinitely more than what, by the terms of the treaty, we were to have given the Portugueze in lieu of them: Nor do I believe, if the war were to continue, even the new ministry would advise the breaking of them; while it is plain that the advantages of our trade sufficiently overbalance all the inconveniences we are said to receive from them, nor has it happened from the articles themselves, but from the ill execution of some of them, which was almost unavoidable. The treaty made with that prince at the end of the year 1703, for admitting our English cloth, which at that time stood prohibited in Portugal, is, of itself, of more real advantage to us, than any thing they could reap by us. Their own manufactures were immediately ruined by it; and both Portugal, and its dominions in America, have ever since been forced to depend on us for their woollen goods: Besides, we have in a manner carried on the Spanish trade through them, and almost engrossed the whole return of bullion from Brazil, which behoved us to have taken a little more care of that trade than it appears we have done. Nor this only, but our troops in Spain and Portugal have

been chiefly paid by the advantages of the balances of trade on that side, without sending any specie from England. This the Conductor very well knows; but these ends are not comprized within the reasons of his exclaiming against these alliances, which are the same in the main with his wrangling so heartily at the Barrier-Treaty, viz. Because the latter secures to the Dutch such towns, as by such a peace as he writes for, are to be given back to France, which cannot be done till we have taken them from our allies for that purpose; and by our alliances with Portugal, we are engaged not to leave the Duke of Anjou in possession of Spain and the Indies. We may remember how oft it has been said, the French would endeavour to divide the allies; and what application these things afford the world is to judge.

After all this clamour against the substance of our treaties, which I have shewn were no otherwise faulty, than as they stood in the way of such a peace as the Conductor is writing for, he comes at length to prove, as he calls it, that we suffered each of our allies to break every article in their treaties, and in order to prove it, which is pleasant enough, he proposes negatively, "to consider in what manner they have observed those treaties, &c." And even this charge is only against the emperor, the Dutch, and the King of Portugal; and, first, the Dutch, whom he attacks in the manner following.

"That whereas, by a convention subsequent to the Grand Alliance, 'twas agreed, that Holland should bring into the field 60,000 men in Flanders, and England 40,000, yet there was an augmentation made by the Dutch and us of 20,000 men, for the year 1703, upon a par directly contrary to the former stipulation." A very pretty way of proving that our allies have broke their treaties, by maintaining what, indeed, has nothing to do with them! That such an augmentation was made, and upon a par, we all know, but how much is it contrary to any former stipulation is a mystery, because it was built upon an agreement perfectly new, and upon new conditions; and chiefly, that if we agreed to this augmentation upon a par, it was insisted by our parliament at that time, the Dutch should prohibit their commerce with France, which, with the benefit of the augmentation, they thought was a hard bargain enough; however, for the good of the common cause, they consented to it for one year, but finding, by experience, that their people neither could nor would bear with it any longer, our parliament was contented to continue the augmentation, without obliging the Dutch to this hardship. Besides, this augmentation, upon a par, was not breaking any former stipulation, but making a new one, and if any new regulations are to be made, are not the Dutch at liberty, as well as we, to make the best terms they can for themselves? It would be, in effect, arguing, that in any war that shall break out for the future, we shall oblige the states of Holland to an observance of all the articles now in force, either for or against them. This is the true state of the first augmentation that was made, and we might have refused it if we would. It is certain the Dutch made the greatest effort imaginable, at their first setting out, and raised above 60,000 men, besides 45,000 they had in their pay before the war began, which was so heavy a charge, that they soon found they could not bear the expence of taking any more troops into their service, jointly with England, upon the first foot.

His next charge is, "that the next, and some ensuing campaigns, farther additional forces were allowed, and in every new supply the Dutch gradually lessened their proportions." But to satisfy the reader in the falsity of this we shall here shew what forces the Dutch annually contracted, after the aforesaid augmentation of 10,000 men in 1703.

The next year, 1704, the States took into their service one regiment of dragoons, and three of foot of Wirtembergh, making 4000 men.

In the year 1706, they took, together with Great Britain, by contract, two regments of horse, and a battalion of Hessians, by which their body of 9000 men was augmented; the States' share is 600.

And by a second contract the same month, together with Great Britain, 3000 Palatines; the States' third part is 1000.

In the beginniug of the year 1707, the States augmented their national horse with eight men in each company, amounting to 1160.

By a contract of April 30, the same year, Great Britain and the States took into their service 4639 Palatines, their share 2319.

Again, by contract the 27th of August, the same year, one regiment of dragoons of 800 men, the States' half 400.

The States, besides, took into their service, by a contract of the 21st of February 1707, two regiments of foot of Wolfenbuttle, making 1400 men.

By another contract, March 22, the same year, together with Great Britain, 4092 Saxons, the States' share 2046.

Likewise by that of the same month, one regiment of foot of Holstein Gottorp, of 797. And by another contract, 18th April, one of Munster of 800 men.

The States did, at the same time, augment the Swiss and Grison regiments with 22 men in each company, making 1144 men.

And, lastly, the States agreed, the 29th of June 1711, for a Swiss regiment of 1200 men, which is now raising and in good forwardness.

Now, where is the lessening their proportions, gradually every year, from the augmentation made in 1703, at a par? Besides which, 'tis observable, that all the troops, set down in this account, on their part of the supplies, receive ordinary pay of the States, and money of them more, one Hessian regiment excepted; whereas Great Britain has allowed theirs, besides one regiment of the Landgrave's, a body of Hanoverians, and 6000 Prussians, a much lower pay, so that they only supply their wants by means of the winter quarters they have in the flat countries. And 'tis likewise to be observed, that, besides the troops before-mentioned, the States pay, since the year 1706, together with her Britannick majesty, the bread, forage, agio of the money at 26 per cent. for a body of 10,370 Prussians; and that this payment does in relation come so much the nearer to the ordinary pay, because a great part of that body has every year its winter quarters in the flat countries of the state, which prevents getting in the taxes, which otherwise would turn to account; so that there is good reason to infer that the States pay one half of that body, which is 5185 men.

By all this, the reader may see that the States have not only borne their due proportion from the first augmentation, but have made several additions to the troops in their service, in which we bore no share at all; so that nothing can be more false than to say, "that in every new supply the Dutch gradually lessened their proportions." Whereas the first augmentation was made upon a par, and, at least, it must be granted, that so were all that have been made since, for the service of Flanders. There were indeed, in the year 1706, 3000 Palatines taken into the service of us and the States, of which we pay two-thirds, but then these troops, though put on the Flanders establishment, never served there, but in Spain, the service at that time requiring it: And besides, in lieu of this, the States increased their horse against next year with eight men in a troop, amounting in the whole to 1200 men, which is more than their proportion, according to the first augmentation at a par. And as to the parliamentary addresses to the queen, "that the States might be desired to observe their proportions," the reader is to know that whatever was done of this kind was upon general rumours only, and not upon any facts that appeared before the House; nor is there any thing more groundless than the effect he pretends these addresses had upon the States. "That they eluded them by making their troops nominal corps, which they did by keeping up the number of regiments, and sinking a fifth part of the men and money." Whereas, in truth, the Dutch corps are so far from being nominal, that they are esteemed to be the compleatest in the whole service; no troops are so strictly mustered once, at least, every cam-

paign, and every captain is obliged, upon pain of being cashiered, to have his complement to a man.

The next complaint is the most frivolous thing that I think can be said by any man who pretends to be in his senses. "The more towns," says he, "we conquer, the worse condition we are in, because they make no scruple of employing the troops of their quota towards garrisoning every town, as fast as it is taken, directly contrary to the agreement by which garrisons are excluded." This is so empty a notion, that all who know any thing of the matter must allow that frountier garrisons are the strength of an army, else it might properly be said, that the enemy are stronger, and in better condition, for every town that is taken from them, because we are the weaker for every man we put into garrison; which would be a pretty way of arguing. But to leave this to those who are better soldiers than either the Conductor or myself, what he alledges is otherwise no more than a mere equivocation; for if he would give us the words of this agreement, we should find "That the garrisons excluded," mean no more than the garrisons of the towns which at that time belonged to the States, and not those which should be taken from the enemy in the prosecution of the war. Besides, it is known to those who understand such affairs, that what troops remain in garrison are but a trifle in comparison of the whole army, and generally of such regiments as suffered most the campaign before, and scarce in a condition to take the field. As to those troops which lie nearest the enemy, they have indeed larger garrisons, but, at the same time, as I have observed, they are as useful for the service of the war as those in the field: First, in regard of securing our convoys and other extraordinary services; and likewise, that upon any emergency, the greatest part of them may join the army upon the least signal. Now if the Conductor be so good a proficient in the art of war, to tell us which way we shall find troops to put into the towns we take, without drawing them from the army, I shall believe the Dutch, by pursuing such a method, have broke their alliance.

This at length, he asserts, arrived to such a height, "that there are at present in the field, not so many forces under the Duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintains for that service, nor have been for some years past." One would have thought it out of the power of malice to have suggested any thing so foolish and absurd! That if there was nothing else in his whole book, this alone were, in a reasonable community, enough to destroy the credit of all he has said. In the estimate of the troops in her majesty's pay in Flanders, it appears that they make something above 62,000 men, which may be computed at 52 battalions of foot and 68 squadrons of horse: Now if the Duke of Marlborough has, for some years past, beaten, pushed, and harassed the French army, besides taking their towns, with an army consisting of no more than 52 battalions and 68 squadrons, when the enemy were, at least, by their own accounts, 170 or 180 battalions, and above 200 squadrons, it must certainly be allowed, we are the more obliged to his grace's conduct to do all this for us; which acknowledgment, I find, the Conductor was unadvisedly drawn into, contrary to his constant and natural reflections on that general in other parts of his libel; but 'tis to be presumed that his reasons for blackening the Dutch, in this remarkable instance, made him quite forget himself, or, by a wilful mistake, to choose the greatest instead of the least of two evils: Though at the same time it was an error in a purpose, perhaps less significant; the blackest arts being then on foot to ruin and displace the duke, and render him contemptible to the eyes of the people, which, it has since appeared, is not possible to be done, neither by any thing the Conductor can write, or his freinds devise for him.

But to pursue his complaints against the Dutch, the next is, for their not complying with the Duke of Marlborough's project for winter-quarters last year. And here I cannot but observe, to the honour of the States, that neither in this, nor in any one

instance through his whole book, does he prove them to have broke any one treaty. I do not find, by any agreement, that they are obliged to come into all the projects we propose; and if they did not come into this, it was not for the reasons the Conductor lays down, that it was because the Dutch would not lose the paultry benefit arising by contribution: On the contrary it is certain, that the States gave several prudent reasons against this project, alledging, That to crowd such a number of troops upon the frontier, would, in many respects, be very inconvenient, and not only render them unfit for service at the opening of the campaign, but leave the Netherlands, and their own provinces, too much exposed; and that the extraordinary expence for building, stabling, and other necessary charges, was too great for them to bear, considering the prodigious expence they were already at. However for the good of the common cause, provided the troops of the several nations, in that service, would furnish their quota towards these cantonments, and the queen would come into a proportion of the other articles, besides forage, they would agree to it. This project the Earl of Stairs came over with so early as July last. But so long time was taken here before it was consented to, that it was forced to be laid aside, though the best care had been taken that the execution of it might not be lost for want of time.

As to the paultry benefit of contributions, the Dutch have sufficiently cleared themselves in that point, by shewing, That the treaty for contributions was made before this design was formed, and interfered but little therewith, viz. to hinder the enemy from erecting magazines, since the said treaty for contributions only says, "That the product of those countries, under contribution, shall pass free and unmolested." But the product of that country was entirely eaten up by our armies, and therefore the French magazines must be made of what is not the product of that country, and consequently are not affected by this treaty. By which it appears, that the Conductor's paultry benefit had no part in it: Though at other times, 'tis a benefit which he will not allow to be a paultry one, when he and his friends endeavour to make it amount to a mighty sum, and to persuade the world, that the Duke of Marlborough had a considerable snack of it; though by this treaty, they well know, that 'tis allotted to the States, in consideration of the contributions they pay themselves, and of the vast expence they are at in sieges, which, by the success of the war, and the loss of engineers, exceeds whatever could have been expected or imagined they were able to bear. And, after all, if it were true, that the States did not agree to this proposal, to exert themselves, who can blame them? With what heart could they enter into an expensive project for the war, when they were assured, that negotiations for peace were privately carried on? Was it likely for them to expect a project of such importance, wholly formed by the Duke of Marlborough, and highly for his honour, would be supported, when measures were then actually taken to supplant him, and where he had no longer any credit?

Again, I must observe, that, after all, this project did not miscarry under the late ministry, which was a point that the Conductor should have proved, when he says, "That we suffered our allies to break all their treaties." Who he means by *we*, I suppose, will be no otherwise interpreted, than the old ministry, when, if it had any ill consequence, it was under the influence of his new friends. But, I believe, I may shew that it had no ill consequence at all; for the States so far complied with the extent of it, as enabled us to prevent the enemy from making any new lines, which they intended, and cutting off Bouchain, as we may remember they afterwards attempted. And, for the rest of it, we see, in fact, that they have since overturned all objections to their conduct at that time, by burning the enemies magazines, the foundation on which the cavil was first built, which, perhaps, was then their design, and has cost us not much less than the cantoning such a vast number of troops all winter.

He now brings the Dutch to account for their navy affairs, and begins with saying, "That instead of making up their fleet what they fell short in their army, they never once furnished their quota either of ships or men." I know some who bore considerable commands in our navy at that time, and never made the least dispute of that then, till they were put on it to serve a purpose, in being vexatious to our allies. But, as I have already shewn, that they never did fall short in their quota for the army, but rather exceeded it, as appears by the list of their forces, whereby they stand charged with the payment of 143,385 men, there was no obligation to make any addition to their fleet on that account. So I am likewise pretty well assured, that what they are charged withal, in relation to their navy, will appear only some prudent steps of good husbandry and frugality, and not any contempt of us, or neglect of the common cause, which they have zealously and constantly shewn to have so much at heart: And this the Conductor seems to intimate himself. "Or if," says he, "some few of their ships now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing, for they immediately separated, to look to their merchants and protect their trade;" which is a thing they are, it seems, very careful in, and 'tis much for their honour, as well as advantage, they are so small a state, to hold out so expensive a war, equivalent to their neighbours, who have much larger territories. And if this be retorted as a reproach to them, I wish it could be laid at our door; who may remember, 'tis not much above a twelvemonth since our Virginia fleet was lost, upon our own coast, for want of a little Dutch care.

But to judge of this more exactly, let us remember what it was we proposed to do with our fleets when the proportions were settled at the beginning of the war: Was it not chiefly that we might be able to act offensively against the common enemy, as well by sea as land? And did not the States join heartily in this till we had gained our point? Have the French ever been able to shew their heads since the fight at Malaga, 1704? where we ought to remember how serviceable the Dutch line was, and what encomiums both the enemy and ourselves bestowed on 'em. And if they contributed their share till the point was gained, and the enemy had no more a fleet to put to sea, ought they not to enjoy the benefit of doing double service whilst they were at it? It is but natural to imagine that when the quotas were first settled, it was upon a plain supposition, that the enemy would have such a number of ships at sea, of which some near computation might easily be made, and no doubt but it was made at that time. But we cannot conceive, nor imagine, that, if it could have been supposed the enemy would not have kept out a fleet, the proportions on either side would have been so large. And this I cannot but take to be a good reason for their frugality to save what might be saved: Or let me ask the Conductor, what they should have done more with the ships they sent to sea, since, it appears, on any emergency, we had sufficient to execute our purpose? I can tell him, the Dutch are too wise a people to be fond of expeditions, and I believe, had they never such a number of ships to spare, they would send none to make conquests in the Indies, or the Lord knows where; where, at best, they are liable to so many accidents as seldom fails to ruin both the ships and troops employed on such adventures; and this, I think, may be witnessed by our late voyage to Canada, where it had been happy for us, had we, like our cautious neighbours, the Dutch, kept our ships in our harbours, or employed them in securing our trade, and not have suffered the enemy to sail after us with an equivalent squadron, and come home at the heels of us, big with the plunder of our faithful allies; not wholly forgetting ourselves too.

He has still another charge against the Dutch, "that these guarantees of our succession, having not one ship in the Mediterranean for many months, they sent that part of their quota thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the rumour of an invasion." This is said to insult the Dutch as guarantees, by the Barrier Treaty, of our succession; that being the hinge upon which all his argu-

ments turn. Now the fact is this: It having been agreed, upon the consideration of the posture of affairs in Spain at that time, that the English and Dutch squadrons should winter in the Mediterranean, contrary to what had been done in former years, the States sent two expresses by land to Genoa, and, as I remember, one by sea; but all these unfortunately missing their admiral, he inadvertently returned; whereupon they immediately fitted out another squadron, where they lost no time in sending away. But now he talks of "the rumour of an invasion;" I remember indeed, about that time, we had such an alarm, and that it gave great offence, where it ought rather to have been cherished: And because an invasion did not actually follow, 'twas presently said to be a plot of the Dutch and the late ministry, but I rather wish we don't suffer another time for discouraging such useful intelligence. And if no invasion was so much as intended, I can't see where the design of the Dutch could be upon a supposition only to give us notice: The French were at that time fitting out a fleet, and making preparations for an invasion somewhere, though it fell in another place; and the Pretender was sent on a sleeveless errand to visit the provinces of France, with no other purpose, to be sure, but to amuse us, and give occasion of a rumour of an invasion; and if the Dutch were too hasty in taking the alarm, I believe there were thousands in England of the same mind, that were far from any plot or design against the government. "But the Dutch sent their ships to the Mediterranean, and furnished nothing to us:" There is the complaint. Now I would ask the Conductor, what occasion there was, if, as he says, 'twas only the rumour of an invasion? and whether they might not, notwithstanding the squadron sent to the Mediterranean, have spared us on an exigency eight or ten men of war? The few ships they sent upon that service were not all they were masters of; or if indeed they were, I never heard that any application was made to them to desire them to delay a while the sailing of that squadron till the rumour was over; and would it not have been time enough to have given assistance, when either our request, or the reality of the danger, had made it necessary?

In short, his complaints against the Dutch are so many and so violent, that I grow even weary of taking notice of them; nor would I indeed say more, but that the following is something remarkable: "Sir James Wishart," he affirms, "met last year with such a reception as ill became a republick that lies under so many obligations to us: In short, such a one, as those only deserve who are content to take." It happens here that the Conductor has blabbed out his resentments from the real sentiments of his heart; he seems to think we should demand satisfaction; which he backs in another part of his libel, where he says, "And we ourselves may be under a necessity of recovering towns out of the very hands of those for whom we are now ruining our country to take them." I think these two quotations, drawn into one entire paragraph, give a plain intimation of the Conductor's good-will to the Dutch, and how reasonable he and his friends, (for I must always conclude them) would at any time think another Dutch war. Their assisting us against King James, and being the original spring of the Revolution, will not be forgiven them by some people, in many ages to come. But to the matter. As to the reception of Sir James Wishart, he gives us no particulars how, or in what manner, this compliment is grounded, and therefore little is to be said to it at present: But I shall here observe, in justification of the States, that it is the first complaint of this nature that has happened in ten years; and besides, that the Dutch did not comply in the measures urged by Sir James; it was because they were neither able to do what was desired of them, nor did he come time enough to concert it; for the state of the war both by sea and land that year was fixed before his arrival, which rendered it impossible for him to succeed in the business he went about.

I shall not, I believe, need to repeat any instances, that the States have always behaved themselves with the utmost respect to her majesty, and the interest of her people; when, to shew the true regard they have to any proposition that shall come from

her Britannick majesty, after all this ill treatment they consented to a congress for peace, even against their own judgment, and that of their allies, as is set forth in their resolution upon that subject. And after all the clamour that is raised, they appear guilty of nothing but of a little prudent management, the better to be enabled to bear the grievous expences of so long a war; and not being able to answer all the parts of it, they let the deficiency fall on their fleet, where it would be least felt, and the service of the common cause least neglected. This is all the Conductor has to say against the Dutch, especially in relation to the sea; and it is plain, they maintain above 140,000 men by land, and the states of the war, for one year, comes to near four millions and a half.

Besides which, 'tis necessary to observe, That the revenue arising from the places the Dutch are possessed of in Brabant and Flanders, and of all the places in the generality, such as Breda, and others, that are not properly a part of the seven provinces: All this revenue is appropriated to the payment of charges not within this estimate. Each of the seven provinces apart is at the charge of its own civil government; nor is there one of the provinces that has not been obliged to borrow from time to time very great sums to furnish their contingent for the war; and consequently there is none of them that do not pay annually, a great deal for interest, none of which sums is reckoned in this estimate.

Now let the Conductor compare the revenue of the two nations with the annual expence of each, and then see upon whom the weight of the war lies heaviest; and I dare engage it will be found that the Dutch lie under much heavier pressures than ourselves, which is at once a full answer to all that has, or can be said against them. And if they were capable of being incensed to desert their allies, and go into the interest of France, after having had the greatest hand in our successes against them, he has furnished them with better arguments to justify their proceedings, than any he has brought against them. And therefore to fall foul of them at so base a rate, is an instance of the utmost ingratitude, when it rather ought to be the matter of surprise, to consider the wonderful efforts they have made, in which they have outdone even the expectations of the enemy; and, I dare say, the faction in England are the only people in Europe that think they have not done enough.

The Conductor having thus far attacked the Dutch, he next falls foul on the late and present emperor, whom 'tis necessary for his purpose to bring into the lists too; especially since he has remonstrated against a peace, which is sufficient alone to raise a charge heavy enough against him. Passing by some few points that seem very trivial, I shall begin with a particular complaint against the emperor, under the stile of the imperial court. "That instead of 90,000 men, which they ought to furnish, neither of the two last emperors ever had 20,000 on their own account, but once in Italy:" Which is a complaint just as true as where he says, "There has not for some years past been so many men under the Duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as the queen alone maintains for that service." If I do not repeat the words exactly, the reader may turn a little back to the quotation.

But to return: The emperor, we all know, did at the beginning of the war, certainly raise his full quota of troops; and I dare say, that the corps included in that number do still subsist, though the distant and hard services they have been employed in, and the low condition of the imperial finances are reduced to by continual wars, and the great degree to which the hereditary countries are exhausted of men, have made it impossible for the late emperors to recruit them well. Once, I think, the Conductor allows, that the imperial court did exert themselves. And I must likewise affirm, That if they had not done it; the liberty of Europe had been lost beyond a possibility of retrieving: This at least we owe to the imperial court, if we will but call to mind the prodigious expence that first campaign was to the emperor, and what a noble body of

troops were destroyed to make head, not only against the French, but the Duke of Savoy, and other princes of Italy that joined with the enemy, which he held out for six campaigns, and with that vigour and success, as does sufficiently justify the great zeal that was shewn to the common cause: And this, I think, the Conductor does not much deny, when he says, "That as soon as they had succeeded in their attempt on the side of Italy, they found out the most effectual method to excuse themselves." And indeed, confessing, that after the imperial court had sustained the burthen of the war in the most critical place for six years, it might with reason be allowed them to breathe a little: But then this was not till after the battle of Turin, at which time their affairs were in the most desperate condition. Neither after this prodigious success had set the empire a little to rights, can it be said, "That they had succeeded in their attempt on that side;" for as long as Naples remained in the enemy's hands, it was impossible they should be easy, and this made them exert themselves for one campaign more at least; so that here were eight campaigns before they had succeeded, and were at leisure to find out the expedient to excuse themselves: And for all the following campaigns, 'tis known they had a considerable number of troops in Flanders, which the necessity of affairs obliged them last year to draw away towards the Rhine. Besides which, 'tis known the emperor has for several years past sent more than his quota to the Rhine, as an example for other princes to do the like. Nor did I ever hear that the empire has been taxed with neglect in furnishing their due proportions to the Duke of Savoy; and if nothing has been done these four years past, it has not been for want of the emperor's troops to do their part, but from certain unlucky disputes between him and the Duke of Savoy, which how far either side ought to have acquiesced in is not my business to determine. Now, after having shewn all this, which is evident, even to the meanest understanding that has but read the gazettes, with what justice or regard to truth can it be affirmed, "That neither of the late emperors ever had 20,000 men on their account in the common cause?" Or wherein did they find an expedient, but their inability to do more? which cannot be better shewn, than by the great interest they pay here in England for money borrowed on the best funds they have: It is with the same justice that he says, (to cut with two edges, and wound the Duke of Marlborough at the same blow) "That they computed easily it would cost them less to make large presents to a single person, than to pay an army." What a ridiculous assertion is this! especially after I have shewn, that they were not deficient in their troops; and though I know the duke does not want the assistance of so mean a pen as mine to clear him from the imputation of so malicious a suggestion, for indeed it is no more, I believe I may affirm, there is not in his whole libel (which is a bold word) so notorious a falsehood. I do confess indeed, that the first emperor Leopold, in a just acknowledgement of his having preserved the empire, made him a prince thereof; an honour which he several times declined, but at length, by repeated intercessions, and with the approbation of her majesty, he did accept it. And I think I have heard besides of a few pictures given him, which, having been the Elector of Bavaria's, seemed a very natural and decent present for him who had freed the empire from so dangerous an enemy. More than these presents I never heard of any, and have just grounds to believe he never received so much as one; and what is more, I do really believe the Conductor is of the same opinion; which, if any thing can, adds to the villainy of so base an assertion.

Having thus, in general, complained of the two late emperors, for not furnishing their quotas, and leaving it to us to fight their battles, he comes next, particularly, to prove, how little they regarded their allies whenever they thought the empire itself was secure. Now I would fain know when that was that the empire was thought to be out of danger? When it is otherwise very plain, that, after all the late successes of the imperial court, it is not secure yet, but is even at this time threatened with a new in-

vasion, if not opposed with more vigour and unanimity than hitherto has been shewn among the princes of it; which easily shews us upon what mistaken grounds the Conductor judges of things. We may remember how the empire, as secure as it is said to be, (and was then, as far as any thing I can see, as secure as it is now) was ravaged in the year 1707, without almost any opposition; and nothing is more certain, than that it had been served so every year since, had not the Duke of Marlborough, by his admirable vigilance, drawn the enemy's attention another way, and obliged them to look to themselves, instead of invading others; so that they have often been compelled to harass their troops by swift and troublesome marches, to prevent some dreadful blow in Flanders. We may, besides, with very good reason, consider the danger from the war in Hungary, on one side, and of the just apprehensions of an insurrection in Bavaria on the other, where the least spark, if not timely extinguished, might have been very fatal to the empire, especially while the Hungarians were in arms. But we may easily see it is not the empire the Conductor quarrels with, who have been really in fault, but the emperor, who has given no occasion at all, unless that he insists on the restitution of Spain, which, as it is the foundation of obstructing the peace he writes for, is sufficient to raise against him the most partial censure.'

'Another complaint against him is, his not putting an end to the war in Hungary, "which (says he) he might have done several times, upon terms not at all unbefitting either his dignity or his interest." How far the court of Vienna were to blame in this, does not appear by any instance the Conductor produces; and the reasons there is to think, that if either of the two late emperors could have put an end to that dangerous war, on any terms consistent with their honour or interest, make me believe it would never have been omitted. Their affairs were in the utmost danger and confusion, both in Italy and the empire, especially in 1707, when, as I have said, the empire was invaded. The King of Sweden was with a victorious army on the frontiers, pressing into the hereditary dominions, and nobody knew what he designed, or what would content him: The affairs of King Charles were, at the same time, at a dangerous crisis; and if these necessities would not press them to put an end to such unhappy troubles, it may very reasonably be thought, as all governments are the best judges of their own affairs, that there was something which rendered it impossible to pacify them at that time; however, it can on no construction be thrown on the late ministry, that they tamely suffered the emperor to sacrifice the whole alliance to his private passion, when it is so well known, that the ministers of England and Holland laboured indefatigably to carry this point at Vienna; and what pains the Earl of Sunderland and Mr Stepney particularly took in it, the former going thither expressly for that very purpose. Nor did ever any men press a thing more forcibly than the late ministers did this accommodation. So that, though the court of Vienna had been remiss, I cannot see where the Conductor can find room to throw the blame on the late ministry.

The next complaint is the affair of Toulon; which he draws in to "shew the emperor's indifference or dislike of the common cause;" the miscarriage of which he throws wholly on the court of Vienna. But, first, as though he was infatuated to ruin the credit of all he says, he tells you the design was discovered here by the creature of a great man laying wagers about the taking of it. This is a very odd way of proving that Toulon was lost, or rather not gained, by the emperor's neglect to tell us first, that very probably it was not, for the design was discovered here. This creature of a certain great man happens to be known, I believe, to very few people in England; but most men can remember the clerk of another great man, [1] who was deservedly hanged for something like it. One would imagine by this, that his arguments against the emperor will be just as wise; one of which is, that he had no mind Toulon should be taken, be-

[1] William Gregg.

cause he dispatched 12,000 men to seize Naples, as the Conductor ingeniously expresses it. Now, that the emperor did, at that time, make an expedition to Naples, is true, but not because he had no mind Toulon should be taken; but in very deed, because those who would make a scandalous peace now, were attempting the same thing then; which made him something more careful than ordinary to secure the interest of is family in Italy, where he had had a hard struggle to recover it, and was then afraid it would have been sacrificed to other views. This is the true state of this matter, and not the emperor's design that the siege of Toulon should miscarry; nor did his imperial majesty, when he was pressed to put off this expedition to Naples want an answer: He told them, "that without these 12,000 men they had as many as had been required of him at first for the expedition, which were more than would be able to find subsistence, wherefore more would be but a burthen to them; and while they were employed in the reduction of Toulon, the other 12,000 men should, by great and speedy marches, hasten to Naples, and then return to join them for any farther service."

Another charge, equally as just as this, is, where he says, "That 'tis plain the emperor had no mind Toulon should be taken, because the attempt might have succeeded if Prince Eugene had not thought fit to oppose it." Now nothing is better known, than that the Duke of Savoy had the chief command in the expedition; the Conductor had better have told us, if he could, and very probable he did know, what was the reason they delayed their march so long; and after they had passed the Var, who it was that proposed the holding a council of war on board the fleet, to consider, whether to proceed directly to Toulon, or besiege Antibes? From which step, and the time that was lost before, it was no hard matter to judge what was like to become of the expedition. And again, let him resolve us, who governed the motions of the army till they came before the place? When the slowness of our motions gave the enemy an opportunity of possessing the high grounds before our arrival, which was the true reason of our miscarriage there, and not the fault of Prince Eugene, much less the emperor, from whom, 'tis more than probable, by the great distance he was at, he had not time to receive fresh instructions upon any sudden turn or prospect of affairs: And if the Duke of Savoy did not think fit to hazard a battle, it could be no great fault in Prince Eugene, that complied with him in drawing off the army; but had the expedition either been begun ten days sooner, or the march from the Var not so unaccountably delayed, there is no doubt but the design had succeeded without the troops dispatched to Naples, or running the risque of attacking the enemy in their strong camp.

I shall only add to this, that be the warlike enterprises adjusted as they will, it is in no ways chargeable on the late ministry, who formed the design with the greatest secrecy, and with the same privacy made the most early and effectual preparations for the execution of it; and as a farther, and more particular effect of their care and concern therein, laboured all they could to divert the design against Naples, and to remove any difficulty that might possibly be thought in the way, to retard or prevent the success of it.

Another complaint against the late emperor is indeed very extraordinary; "That he drained into his own coffers the wealth of countries conquered or recovered for him by the war, without increasing his troops." This is all over a very pleasant banter, which sure the Conductor was not so senseless to think could pass upon the world, who know how full the emperor's coffers are like to be after so long a war, that were exhausted and empty even before it began. No doubt but his successor, the present emperor, would be very glad to find the truth of this; but I am afraid he will only experience just the quite contrary.

But to see what this boasted wealth, arising from conquered countries, must come to, we are to consider the vast expence there must be in maintaining them after they are got. The best and most considerable persons generally remove themselves, and those that stay are to be gratified and kept in the interest of the conqueror, by such

favours as must diminish great part of the revenues: There is likewise many times a necessity of remitting some considerable duties, in regard of what the people have suffered by the war. This, with other incident charges of taking strong places, and maintaining them afterwards, may soon convince a man of any reason, how full the emperor's coffers are like to be, were we to forget the necessities the empire has been put to for money, and that even here we have a mortgage upon the best and most considerable fund they have.

The next part of the Conductor's charge against the allies, is levied at the princes of the empire, of whom the queen has hired troops; yet the Dutch are so perpetually in his way, and the design of lessening and defaming them being his chief aim, he lets fall some of his malice and virulence by the way: "In order to augment our forces," says he, "every year, in the same proportion as those for whom we fight diminish theirs, who have been obliged to hire from several princes of the empire." To shew the falsity of this, and how liable the Conductor is to prevaricate when his purpose is to be served by it, he is so far mistaken, as that we did not begin to hire, in order to augment our forces: Our first 50,000 men were for the most part composed of hired troops, to save English blood, and that there might lie the fewer on the nation to provide for at the end of the war. Now the forces we have not augmented every year; and whenever we did augment our troops in Flanders, the States, as I have already shewn, did equally augment theirs; so far were they from diminishing their troops from time to time; and much less could the proportion in which they diminished their troops, be the rules by which we increased ours, as the Conductor endeavours to shew; nor is it for them we fight, but for ourselves, the common concern and safety of us all. But he proceeds, and says, "The ministers of which princes have perpetually importuned the court with unreasonable demands, under which our late ministers were passive." Here he includes all the princes; but I must tell him that one of them at least has not been importunate with unreasonable demands, and that is the Elector of Hanover, to name no others; nor have the rest been perpetually so unreasonable as he makes, though it must be confessed they were always for making the best bargain they could; which, however, does not affect the late ministry, when it can be proved, that they have many times obliged them to desist from their pretensions; and many have been utterly refused. But what is worse——says he, "These demands were always backed with a threat to recall their troops; which was a thing not to be heard of, because it might disoblige the Dutch."

Were this true, (which, by the way, has been more since the admission of the new ministry than the beginning of the war besides) it has been chiefly under pretence, that they were obliged so to do, in respect to their own safety; unless the allies would concur with their remonstrances to secure the peace of the empire, and oblige the King of Sweden to a neutrality: Whatever was the particular occasion, the treaties for their troops are but for a year only, and when they are to be renewed, they are at liberty to insist on new articles; and if they grow upon us in their demands, 'tis because they are of great service to us, and that the war is more our concern than theirs. And if the recalling their troops is a thing not to be heard of, 'tis not because it might disoblige the Dutch, but because both we and the Dutch want them; and because the Dutch hire troops of the same princes as well as we, and are obliged many times to submit to the same unreasonable demands, the doing of which is of such consequence, that a stop must be put else to the progress of our arms, and the fruits of a promising campaign lost, by having a good body of troops recalled in the middle of it; which we had like to have experienced last year, had not the Duke of Marlborough found out an expedient to prevent it, without submitting to any unreasonable demand. But after these, and other frivolous accusations against these princes, I would come to the main point, and know, whether this is to be charged upon any of the principal allies, much less upon the late ministry? Is it not well known that the emperor himself cannot re-

dress this? And that the fault lies in the constitution of the empire, there not being any sufficient power vested in it to oblige these princes to contribute as they ought to the defence of it, the quotas they are assessed by the diet, though that diet be themselves, and the resolutions of it consequently their own acts.

The next complaint against these princes, carries with it so impudent a reflection, as, I am confident, is not to be precedented in any book ever printed, where the characters of princes in alliance with us are drawn in such odious and villainous colours, as nothing can excuse it; and the honour and justice of nations, especially our o are so infamously perverted, as must needs be shocking to all that have any sense of the dignity sacred to crowned heads. The charge against them being a general character of all the princes to whom we pay subsidies, in the terms following: "There is hardly (says he) a petty prince, to whom we pay subsidies and pensions, who is not ready to threaten us to recall their troops, (though they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in demand, however so unreasonable."

Is not this very pretty language to treat crowned heads with? and should not the Elector of Hanover have been excused at least? Is this villainous and infamous treatment fit for crowned heads, princes that are our friends, of the same interest, and of the same religion with us? For under this title, of "petty princes," are meant, and principally included, the Kings of Denmark, Prussia, and Poland. Notwithstanding any prevarication the Conductor since makes, the first ought to expect better treatment, both as a protestant and an old ally; if not out of a sense of his particular relation to her majesty. The second has been a very zealous and hearty promoter of the common cause, and of the protestant religion, his purse and his country have been always open to poor refugees, and nothing is omitted by him, which may possibly contribute to enlarge the reformed religion. And even the last, though it will always be a blemish to him, that he parted with his religion for the enjoyment of a crown, yet, amidst all his troubles, he has appeared with great firmness in the interest of the Grand Alliance; whilst his insulting and victorious enemy the King of Sweden, instead of assisting with the necessary quota, unnaturally forced the emperor by threats and a dishonourable treaty, to desist from all demands therein, past, present, and to come, till he had ended the war he was engaged in; and what more was feared from him, made this, as well as some other hard articles, be agreed to by the court of Vienna. These are some of the princes who are to rob or starve if it were not for our subsidies; which assertion is beyond all truth, honesty, or good manners.

But could this infamous charge against them be supposed to have any thing in it of truth, I would once more fain know of the Conductor how he proves his point, that our allies have broke every article of their treaty with us? Or whether the faults they are charged with come within the terms of established treaties, but are rather generally the effects of new engagements, and not proceeding from any disregard to the queen, or neglect of the common cause; but for the most part from their general weakness or an inability to do otherwise; or perhaps from the difficulty or necessity of their affairs at some particular junctures. And, in the second place, were these princes inexcusable in their conduct and behaviour, as to their parts in the war, is it an argument that the late ministry have suffered it, when it is so well known what methods they have taken to make them exert themselves in the most effectual manner, what remonstrances and expostulations they have used? which were sufficiently backed by the ministers of the States, who with the same force and vigour always pressed the service of the common cause, wherever they found any of the allies defective. But if, after all this assiduity, some faults have remained in any of our allies, and all parts have not done what by the tenour of their treaties they were obliged to, is thre any thing in it so very wonderful? Was there ever any alliance where it was otherwise? or is it possible to suppose there ever will? And is it not matter of wonder and reflection, that

a confederacy consisting of so many different forms of government, and no less different interests, should subsist so many years with that harmony it has done, and be rendered so successful against a very formidable enemy? Nor have their artifices in so long a war, (where doubtless no endeavours were omitted) been able to corrupt the least of them to any separate measures; which I believe is without example, and which we must never hope to see again, if the Conductor and his friends carry their point in view. And is it not easy to imagine the mighty advantage the French have in this particular, who are a single power, and have all orders within themselves; and may with a greater dispatch and secrecy bring all the parts of the war to bear, whilst in a confederacy, consisting of so many different and independent powers, it is impossible to act with that vigour and unanimity that is requisite? And if the alliance has succeeded under these, and many the like inconveniences, is there not the greater ground to take off all censure from the late ministry, and give them the undoubted praises due to their great abilities, prudence, and integrity? who, by the influence their dexterous councils have had in foreign courts, have chiefly contributed to keep so extensive an alliance in harmony and concert; by which alone, in all human possibility, they have been able to humble so formidable an enemy. And if no alliance must be made, or kept up, till such little inconveniences as these objected can be over-ruled, 'tis in vain ever to think of making any; but to give all up, and submit to the common enemy, which perhaps is the Conductor's sense of future benefits.

It will be needless to argue farther upon this point, since what was urged by the adversary has so little of moment in it; but more especially, because it does not come up to the propositions laid down, that either the allies have broke all their treaties; or, that if they had, it is chargeable on the late ministry, both which points were chiefly his view: But that no invective may be spared, where he can find an opportunity to bring it in, he now takes the new emperor to task, for it is something necessary to his purpose to render him too as odious as he can. "The whole army in Catalonia," says he, "which is, or ought to be, 50,000 men, exclusive of Portugal and Gibraltar, is paid by the queen, excepting only 7 battalions and 14 squadrons of Dutch and Palatines; and even 1500 of these in our pay; besides the subsidies to King Charles." But it is observable he does not in this number include the Spaniards, who have been constantly paid out of the subsidy, and never received a farthing out of any other money. He infers, that the queen paid about 43,000 men out of 50,000; which how true it is the reader may see by the exact abstract of all the forces that have been yearly paid by her majesty, or provided for by parliament, for the service of Catalonia, or to act on that side of Catalonia, or to act on that side since the war begun there, which was 1705, exclusive of Portugal, and besides the subsidies granted the King of Spain: For the year 1705, ending at Christmas, 4970 men. For the year 1706, 18,757 men; in which number is included 5330 men, which the parliament provided for, to serve in other parts, viz. one regiment in Portugal, four in Flanders, and a battalion of guards on the establishment of guards and garrisons. For the year 1707, the troops provided for to serve in Spain and Portugal were 29,395 men, of which the corps that served in Spain, exclusive of Gibraltar, if complete according to their establishment, would make 25,141 men; and adding the battalion of guards and marines, amount to 27,141. Of this number six regiments of foot were reduced, and the officers sent home to recruit in March, 170⅞. For the year 1708, of the troops provided to serve in Portugal, and other parts, there served in Catalonia 17,910 men. But the numbers voted for this year to serve in Spain, and other parts, were 30,530 men: Of which 12,620 served in Portugal, Gibraltar, Great Britain, and on the expedition under General Erle. For the year 1709, of the troops provided to serve in Spain, Portugal, and elsewhere, there served on the side of Catalonia, including 3800 Portugueze, to which number they were then reduced from 7000 men, 32,644; towards whose pay the queen gave 80,000l. For the year

1710, of the troops granted for Spain and elsewhere, there served on the side of Catalonia, including the garrisons of Port Mahone, and the 3800 Portugueze, 33,995. For the year 1711, 32,900 men. But several regiments taken at Brihuega, the latter end of the year 1710, continuing still prisoners, are not included here, although provided for to serve in Catalonia. Now the subsidies granted to the King of Spain were every year thus: For 1706, 103,000l. For 1707, 150,000. For 1708, 150,000. For 1709, 150,000, For 1710, 150,000. And for 1711, 150,000. Out of which was defrayed, besides paying the Spanish troops, the charge of fortifications, (omitting Port Mahone and Gibraltar) with the charge of subsisting great numbers of Spaniards at Lisbon, and elsewhere, as they deserted from the enemy, pursuant to the manifesto of the English general; and some other heads of expence; by which it may be imagined what great number of troops could be kept with the remainder.

Immediately after which the Conductor alledges, that we were at the whole charge of transporting all the troops from Italy, and paid levy-money for every individual man and horse; which may pass for another equivocation; for we never paid the transportation of one man or horse, except such as were actually in the queen's pay. As for the Dutch, they constantly paid the charge of transporting the troops in their own pay. And as to the levy-money, there never was one farthing paid for the horse. The allowance was 5l. for every effective man that should be actually embarked; and it was only for the imperial regiments, none at all being paid for the Italians, Neapolitans, or Grisons; and if we had paid for man and horse, as he infers, it would have come to 20l. at least.

A page or two farther he says, "That seven Portugueze regiments, after the battle of Almanza, went off with the rest of that broken army to Catalonia; the King of Portugal said he was not able to pay them while they were out of his country; the queen consented therefore to do it herself, provided that king would raise as many more to supply their room. This he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithstanding which, his subsidies were constantly paid him by my Lord Galway, for almost four years, without any deduction upon account of these seven regiments." Of all which there is not a syllable: Of these seven regiments he speaks of, five of them were horse, and the other two foot, which, when complete, amounted to 134,707l. 5s. 4½d. per annum. This was entirely borne by the King of Portugal to the 1st of December 1708. But having in the year 1709 raised a new army, and the expence of these seven regiments increasing greatly by the extraordinary charge of furnishing money, provisions, and other necessaries to them, in a country whereof Lisbon had but a slender credit, the queen, to ease the growing charge, consented to pay 80,000l. towards their pay for the year 1709. They were paid about the like sum for the year 1710, and 1711, and received subsistence for their effectives in like manner as the other troops. And from the other end of December 1708; to which time the queen did not expect one groat for the seven regiments beforementioned, to the end of August 1710, (which was the last month's subsidy the King of Portugal ever received in my Lord Treasurer's time) is twenty months, which the Conductor tells us with the assurance of four years. And notwithstanding what he says, "That the King of Portugal raised no forces in the room of the seven regiments," he knows that the Portugal minister, upon enquiry into this affair about a twelvemonth ago, gave the court entire satisfaction to the contrary. Nor is he ignorant, that in the year 1708, there was 25,000l. paid out of the treasury for part of the subsidy for buying horses here, to remount the King of Portugal's cavalry, which was expended accordingly; and the horses were transported at his own proper charge, and the money was deducted out of the subsidy due to him; which sum alone is almost sufficient to mount the four or five regiments of horse aforesaid.

Another objection he has in this point: He intimates, "That we have been put to double expence in maintaining our troops by the charge of forage;" which has much the same air of truth and ingenuity with what has gone before. The army in Portu-

gal's pay, as well those in the King of Portugal's pay, as those upon her majesty's establishment, are furnished by contracts made with English merchants and factors. The corn they use is for the most part of the product of Great Britain and Ireland; and the rates agreed upon by contract is regulated according to the price of corn in the markets of Lisbon; which of late years has been so high, that it was difficult many times to get the contracts compleated; insomuch, that for a year, beginning at Michaelmas 1710, there was such an advance in the price agreed upon, that the retation of bread, or forage, ran at a greater rate than the soldiers could allow for it out of their subsistence, and therefore the overplus became a charge to the government, and consequently occasioned an expence to the queen for that year of 5000l. The contract for the next year, 1711, extended to a higher price; so that the extraordinary charge to the queen would have amounted to 30,000l. provided the troops there had been complete, according to their establishments: But as there are many regiments already reduced, and others drawn off, this extraordinary charge will not amount to 10,000l., a sum very far short of double the charge of maintaining our troops, as this ingenious writer injuriously affirms. And to shew how little interest the King of Portugal has in this extraordinary expence by these contracts, wherein he bears much the greatest share in supplying his own troops, it is certainly known, that when the affair was taken notice of here, the Portugal envoy presented a memorial to her majesty, requiring, or rather proposing, that she would be pleased to give directions for furnishing her troops in Portugal with bread and forage by commissaries, or contractors, of her own appointment; in which case they might make the best terms they could for her majesty's advantage: And the chief reasons he gave were, that the court of Portugal found it very difficult to get persons to enter into such contracts, though at much higher rates than usual, and by which, instead of advantage, nothing but loss could accrue to his Portugueze majesty.

I have been led something out of the way by the author's very singular method of writing, who, as he is never weary of saying the same thing over and over, so his arguments are so scattered and interspersed throughout the whole libel, as make it impossible, if it were not unnecessary, to answer them in any regular manner. He cannot well forget his old friends the Dutch; and, that he may not leave any thing unsaid to brand them with as much infamy as possible, he now draws them into a confederacy with the Duke of Marlborough in fleecing and oppressing the people of the Netherlands. "The Hollanders," says he, "have made good use of their time, and, in conjunction with our general, the oppressions of Flanders are much greater than ever." Now, if there were one word of truth in this, I would forgive all he has said; I wonder we were not told the particulars of these oppressions, what they were, and in what manner they have been redressed by the new ministry. There is no dispute, had there been any thing of fact in it, that the Conductor could not, through the interest of his friends, have wanted due intelligence; and how much the proving of this assertion would have contributed to the serving of a purpose, is sufficient to convince me it did not want for industry to find it out. This is indeed the true reason why people are not told in what manner the Duke of Marlborough oppressed those provinces; and it is for the same reason that they did not impeach his favourite c——n, though they went as far in using him ill as they well could, and would not have bated so material an article as this, if it could have done him any harm, or themselves any good. But the truth is, it would not; the oppressions he speaks of were only necessary points of justice, and transacted conformable to the most solemn councils, and all the rules of war. And to shew that they were so, it is to be observed, that since the year 1708, when Prince Eugene joined my Lord M—— with a body of imperial troops, besides a few regiments raised and maintained by this country, they have found bread and forage for these troops. And to answer this charge, and other necessary expences of the war, the yearly revenue of these provinces not being sufficient, they borrowed money upon some branches

of it, to support the service; none of which were engaged for above ten years, and some not above four or five. This is the wonderful oppression these people have lain under; they have paid what was necessary for their own defence, and what could not, without the greatest injustice to other people, be dispensed with. I would ask the Conductor which way the war could have been carried on with the success it has been without these troops? Or if this, either through folly or obstinacy, could be objected to, which way they should otherwise have been maintained? Was it requisite that the emperor should have been at that expence, who declares, that though bread and forage are found for these troops of his, they are a greater charge to him than if they had served on the Rhine? Was it reasonable that the queen or the States should have paid this additional charge? Because in other places he says, "the burden of the war was too heavy for us before;" and if it was upon us, I can answer it was so upon the Dutch: There is therefore no place it could fall on so justly as these provinces: And is there any reason they should be exempted from the charge, or have their revenues kept clear, when those of most of the confederates are so much anticipated? Not only that they are the most easy in this point, but that they have also the least reason to complain of all people, in regard that by the assistance of these troops, the Duke of Marlborough has been chiefly enabled to carry the seat of the war out of their provinces, where they must have suffered more in one campaign by the ravages of two powerful armies, than all the other methods that have been used of subjugating them to pay a little money for their quiet, under the dreadful name of oppressions; forgetting otherwise the great advantages they enjoy by having great sums of money continually circulating through their principal towns, where they find the army a ready market for the produce of their country, and at least reap the benefit of paying their subsidies in the way of trade, and not in specie, which they have a treble return for. And is it not to the conduct and vigilance of the Duke of Marlborough that they owe these advantages, and of living free from the inconveniences and ravages of an army? Besides, is it not the troops of their natural and lawful prince they pay these subsidies of bread and forage to, whose interest, as well as their own preservation, is owing to the success of the war? And is not this more than a single reason why they should contribute their share to it? Nor were it any hard matter to shew, if I have not sufficiently done it already, that the Duke of Marlborough, instead of oppressing these provinces, has been their greatest benefactor? no one instance of oppression being of any of these provinces personally imputed to him. To prevaricate therefore, 'tis pretended that M—— C——n had done it under his protection, and for his interest. But, as I have observed before, if either of these could be proved, there is nothing more certain, than that it had not been omitted till now, but brought under the general cognizance of complaints; nothing of which has appeared more groundless than the clamours raised against the Duke of Marlborough on this occasion, or can we yet see the great sums of money they tell us have been misapplied, which have been so strongly buzzed into the heads of the people. But further yet, I will undertake to prove, that M—— C——n has not oppressed these provinces, nay that he could not do it; it being too well known, that neither he, nor the States' deputies, who are called a conference, ever touched a penny of the publick money. Their business was to represent to the council of state what sums the several branches of the service would require, and, by some reasonable method, oblige them to think of complying with the demands. But after this, they had no further hand in it, the money was levied and collected, and issued by their own particular orders, never once coming under the disposal of M—— C——n, or the States' deputies, so that it was impossible any fraud or oppression could be carried on by them. They after found it difficult to make a council of state do what was necessary for carrying on the service; which obliged the conference sometimes to be round with them, and to let them understand, that they had demanded nothing but what was absolutely requisite to be complied

with. They have sometimes likewise over-ruled the council of state, in the business of chusing their magistrates: And since the surprise of Ghent, which every body knows was the effect of treachery, they have found it necessary to intermeddle in an affair of that consequence, which discovered too plainly the disposition of those provinces to favour the French or Bavarian interest. If these were oppressions, these provinces have reason of complaint; and that they have suffered till the last year, which has given them all the relief they could expect or desire; for, instead of finding bread and forage for this body of imperial troops, the last campaign they refused to provide for one single regiment of hussars, which Prince Eugene was prevailed with to leave behind him; the service at that time being in great want of them. Nor was the least thing the Duke of Marlborough asked of them complied with but with the greatest difficulty imaginable. Their disaffection to the common cause was so apparent, that towards the end of the campaign, when the army found it difficult to subsist in the neighbourhood of Bouchain, they refused the Duke of Marlborough a supply of forage; notwithstanding it was represented to them in the most pressing manner, that such a refusal could only be attended with the return of the army, desiring to be excused, and delayed it so long, that our troops suffered greatly by their wilful neglect, though the duke found means to subsist them longer than could be expected. This is the happy change they have received in their affairs. They have likewise been relieved in the point of chusing their magistrates; and the good use they have made of this liberty is, that they put the very persons into the magistracy of Ghent, that are suspected of having before betrayed it to the French; nor would it be any surprise, if we should hear the same again. Their other towns are filled with persons of the same faction, and from whom, when opportunity serves, we may expect the same faithless dealings. This is the true state of the Duke of Marlborough's oppressing these provinces in conjunction with the Dutch, and of the benefits we are like to have by their relief.

Honour, I find, the Conductor has a very barbarous and contemptible notion of, and seems to think, at least, that in the beggarly condition he has represented his country, we have no occasion to stand much on that point. "It will, no doubt," says he, "be a mighty comfort to our grand-children, when they see a few rags hung up in Westminster-Hall, which cost a hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, and boasting, as beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great." There is something in these rags that the Conductor cannot endure to think of; every little motion the air gives them bespeaks the honour of that unequalled man who placed them there, and will do so to all posterity, as long as any signs of them shall remain: But rags they are, he says, and rags e'en let them be; they were thought of the more honour in the hands of those they were taken from, and will be so where they are, whilst there is history to relate the incredible successes of those days; that Britain triumphed over her enemies, in so many glorious emblems of her memorable and repeated conquests. And 'tis with a heavy heart I wish our grand-children have not rather cause by that time to mourn the real miseries which the tenets of this destructive book may bring on them, and reflect what a flourishing state their ancestors were in, when they were so completely blessed with liberty and conquest, which the antiquity of those rags, if they are still suffered to remain there, will give them a melancholy but true idea of.

Having thus sported with these rags, as he terms them, the use he makes of it is this, "That after all these miraculous doings, we are not yet in a condition to bring France to our terms, nor can tell when we shall." I wish the Conductor and his friends would be persuaded to put this upon the issue of a fair trial, and leave France to shift for herself, I should be far from making the least doubt of bringing them to our terms. But he writ before the allies had given in their demands to the offers of France, and therefore may be excused: And I will further affirm, that if we do not now bring

France to our terms, it must be owing to the conversation they have had with his book, which perhaps may have intoxicated them, and turned their heads; but if they remain in their senses, and find no encouragement elsewhere, 'tis easy to conclude we shall soon have a better peace than the Conductor writes for, and at once destroy another argument he makes use of, "That our victories only served to lead us on to farther visionary prospects, where romantic views were proposed, and the old reasonable sober design was forgot," by which he means the restitution of Spain and the Indies; nor know I of any further visionary prospects, or romantic views. The restitution of Spain and the Indies was always the point in view, and 'tis very strange, that any reasonable or sober man should say otherwise; to which end the Grand Alliance was expressly formed, in opposition to the Partition Treaty that the emperor so much disliked; and in all the overtures made by France, this was always made the first preliminary; constantly laid down by all the allies, and never disputed by the enemy: But, thinking to help the enemy out a little, he says, "That the face of affairs, since the emperor's death, has been very much changed." True, they have so, but not in his sense; they have changed much for the better on the confederates side, not on the side of France. The accession of King Charles to the imperial throne has put it in his own power to assert his right to the crown of Spain with more vigour than ever, and what he was fain to solicit, in vain sometimes, from a father or a brother, he may now command, and possibly with a double chearfulness, from his subjects. But such a union of the two crowns in the house of Austria is of late rendered in dreadful colours; it may indeed be so to France, but to nobody else, at least not to England, whose fleets the emperor will always have occasion for to render Spain and the Indies useful to him, which must needs be attended with some very great advantage on our side. But he tells us, "That the Dutch like this union as little as any body, whatever they may now pretend, and resolved those two powers should not be joined in the same person." The Conductor should have shewn us this resolution of the Dutch, if he would have us believe him. 'Tis possible that the sudden and unexpected death of the late emperor a little startled them; and, as things then stood, before they could well recollect themselves, they might be drawn in to listen to a kind of scheme in favour of the Duke of Savoy, which, as soon as they had well considered, they found that duke had no claim, by any pretence, to the Spanish dominions, till after the demise of King Charles, whose election to the imperial dignity could no way obstruct his right to Spain. But suppose it had been otherwise, would such a project, in favour of the Duke of Savoy, have mended the matter? Would France be more willing he should have the monarchy of Spain than the emperor? Or was he in a better condition to maintain his pretensions to it? Nay, suppose the allies had declared for him, could he have made any other use of it, but to have exchanged it with France for an equivalent in Italy, where nothing could have been given him but in prejudice of the emperor, who had redeemed what he had there by the sword, and at immense charge? How then would such a scheme have reduced the exorbitant power of France, or excluded them from the trade of the Indies, which is so strongly stipulated for by the Grand Alliance, and is, above all, most particularly the concern of Britain? These were some of the reasons that made the States utterly reject the project in favour of Savoy. And that is one reason, perhaps, we are so angry with them, and so fond of the Duke of Savoy, against whom we hear no complaints, though his conduct for these four campaigns past would otherwise have made some very shining paragraphs in this libel.

So much of the Conductor's malice is levied at the Dutch, that they are constantly brought in, let the scene lie where it will. "Thus they put the late king upon spending six millions a year to enlarge their frontiers; they got all the advantages of the Ryswick treaty, and have been insolent, unjust, and ungrateful in this: The Dutch might have defended themselves with the 10,000 men King William sent them, with-

out involving us in the rupture." And then ten thousand to one but we had been, by this time, in the condition the Conductor would have us. "The enlarging the Dutch frontiers is of no real solid advantage to us: And that 'tis an affront, and lessening to us, to couple us with them, and call us jointly, the maritime powers," contrary to what we have from that great and learned author Sir Walter Rawleigh; who says, "that he shall never think him a lover of his king and country, that should persuade his majesty from embracing the amity of the states of Holland; his majesty being no less safe by them than they invincible by him. The Dutch have broke their alliances; and the Dutch design to rob us of our manufactures, to increase their own trade and strength: The Dutch bubbled us with the guarantee of our succession." In answer to this heap of scandal, and many other as vile assertions as these, I think it proper to let the reader see, if he can find out any of the facts they are charged with, in the following letter; such as *treachery, insolence, injustice, ingratitude, baseness, theft,* &c. which, coming to my hands just as this sheet was in the press, has furnished me with an opportunity of stopping the Conductor's mouth, from the undeniable instances of honour and respect that the States have always paid to her majesty, and is a full answer to all that has been objected against them; and, indeed, to any other unjust complaint that the French faction can raise against them.

The Representation of the States General to the Court of Great Britain, by a Letter dated Feb. 19, 1712. *N. S.*

"That during the whole course of her majesty's glorious reign, they have had nothing more at heart, than to cultivate and maintain with her a good friendship, perfect confidence and union, and to corroborate them the most they possibly could, having always judged them absolutely necessary, and especially in the present conjuncture. That they likewise judged they could not give a better proof of this their disposition and persuasion, than that which they lately gave, in agreeing to the proposition which her majesty had caused to be made to them, to begin the negociation of a general peace with the enemy, and in concurring with her majesty to facilitate the bringing together of the ministers of all the high allies to the congress at Utrecht. That they are persuaded nothing can more contribute to the dispatch and success of that negociation, than a strict union and entire harmony between her majesty and their state. That as they had the honour to conclude with her majesty, the 29th of October, 1709, the treaty of mutual guaranty, commonly called the Barrier Treaty, ratified on both sides in the most authentic form, they looked upon it not only as a foundation of their own safety, for securing which they entered into the present war, and have carried it on so many years, but likewise as a firm support of that good understanding and union between her majesty and their state, which they so earnestly and sincerely desire to see continued; so that they could never doubt, in any manner, that they should not, at all times, enjoy the effect of the said treaty. That, however, having, not long since, been informed, that in England some were of opinion, that the said treaty, in some articles, might be prejudicial to her majesty's subjects, they commissioned M. Buys, their envoy extraordinary, then going to England, to enquire what those points were that might be thought grievances, and authorised him to treat about them with her majesty's ministers, and to remove, if possible, the difficulties, by all the explanations that should appear necessary; which they were put in hopes woud not be very hard to do, when once they should have consented to concur with her majesty, as they did, to procure a congress for the negociation of a general peace. But the misfortune was, that the said M. Buys, during his residence in England, was not able to finish that affair to reciprocal satisfaction; and that it having been remitte d to the Hague, no way has hitherto been found to terminate it there neither, though their High Mightinesses

think they have shewn all the readiness to comply with any just expedient, that could reasonably be expected from them; for, having learnt that the principal exceptions taken to the said treaty were, that it might prove prejudicial to the commerce of her majesty's subjects in the Spanish Netherlands, and that some had entertained an ill-grounded and erroneous opinion, that the States might design to take advantage by it, to make themselves masters of the said Spanish Netherlands, their High Mightinesses did declare positively, and by this letter do voluntarily repeat it, that it never was their intention, nor ever will be, to make use of the said treaty, or of their garrisons in the fortified places of the country, to prejudice, in any manner, the commerce of her majesty's subjects; but that their opinion is, that whatever relates to navigation and commerce there, ought to be settled on an entire equality, that so her majesty's subjects may not be charged with higher duties of importation or exportation than theirs, to the end commerce may be carried on there by both nations on the same foot. That their High Mightinesses did declare, and do declare again, by this letter, that they never had a thought, nor have now, of making themselves masters of the Spanish Netherlands, in whole or in part; contenting themselves to have garrisons in the places mentioned in the 6th article, with the revenues specified in the 11th article, and what is stipulated by the others, separate from the said treaty. That, besides, they have not the least thought of making use of the privilege stipulated in the 7th article, to put troops into other places, but only in case of the last and most apparent necessity. That they hope, by this positive declaration, to have the happiness to remove all those suspicions which may wrongfully have been conceived against them; and that they have firm confidence in her majesty's so renowned equity, that she will not do any thing in prejudice of the said treaty, nor permit any to be done to it; but rather that she will be pleased to see that they may have the entire effect of it, and take off all the uneasiness they may be in about it; which they most earnestly desire of her majesty. Adding, that if there be any articles of the said treaty, which without affecting the essentials of it may be thought to want an explanation, her majesty shall find them ready and willing to treat thereupon, and with all the facility and condescension that can reasonably be expected from them, without doing prejudice to the rights they have acquired, not only by the said treaty, but by other preceding ones; and in whatever shall not be of the last importance for the security and preservation of their state. They conclude, with entreating her majesty to continue towards them that very precious friendship and good-will, with which she has hitherto honoured them; and with beseeching God to shower on her the choicest blessings," &c.

This is the Insolence, the Treachery, the Injustice, &c. the States have been guilty of.

After having thus injuriously misrepresented the conduct of the allies, and the late ministry, he comes now to lay open the real causes of our present misery. "All this," says he, "we were forced to submit to, because the general was made easy; because the monied men at home were fond of the war; because the whigs were not firmly settled; and because that exorbitant degree of power, which was built upon a supposed necessity of employing particular persons, would go off in a peace." After so full an answer has been made, a very few words will serve to confute all these calumnies. And, first, the general was made easy by the Dutch, as he seems to intimate; he never had any present from them, nor any annual pay; no part in the contributions; nor any profits shared betwixt him and the States; no presents from any of our allies for this five or six campaigns; no perquisites but what have been allowed to other generals; nor any stoppages from subsidies but what have been applied to the service. He has in none of these respects been made easy; but has rather been under great uneasiness

often times to bring all the parts of so great a confederacy into right and vigorous measures. The monied men had no reason to be fond of the war: If the interest of money had been as great under the late administration as it was before, or has been since, there would have been some reason in what he says. They had but five per cent. for their money almost all the whole time, which would have turned to a much better account, had it been employed in trade, which the opportunities of a good peace would have afforded: This is so evident, that the rest he has to say on this head is n t worth answering.

"Next," says he, "the whigs were not firmly settled." But how is this proved? Because the parliament in December 1707, humbly offered it to her majesty, as their unanimous opinion, "That no peace could be safe or honourable, if Spain or the West-Indies, or any part of the Spanish monarchy, were suffered to remain in the house of Bourbon." And what was the occasion of this vote, but because the ministry and the general "having refused to accept very advantageous offers of peace after the battle of Ramillies, were forced to take in a set of men with a previous bargain, to screen them from the consequences of that miscarriage?" By this account the whigs were not taken in till the end of the year 1707, and this vote was to screen the ministry, for refusing the terms of peace offered after the battle of Ramillies. Now if they were not taken in till then, the rejecting those offers does not lie at their door; nor the alliances with Portugal and Savoy the effect of whig councils; by which treaties the restitution of the Spanish monarchy in the house of Austria is as strongly insisted on, as it could be by the vote of 1707. But the account the Conductor gives of this vote, is utterly false; for it was not to screen the ministry, or so much as oblige them by it; but, on the contrary, it was to prevent what there was at that time no reason to fear, the clapping up an insecure peace, contrary to all our alliances, and to what had been always the sense of the nation.

Nor did the ministry want to be screened on that occasion, since what was offered was only the Partition-Treaty, which if they had accepted, they would have deserved an impeachment as well as their predecessors; and though it were never so false a step to reject these offers, it had been much more to the author's purpose to have dropped it, unless he could have proved that the then secretary had disapproved it; which he was so far from doing, that there was not any one step taken in that affair, which he was not acquainted with; nor any answer made to the offers of France which were not consulted with him, and entirely approved by him. In short, both he and the late treasurer rejected those offers with the indignity they deserved from every true Englishman and good servant to the queen. And if the whigs were for continuing the war, it is plain it was not from any selfish views, but merely for the good of their country, and because France was not reduced to those terms which the future safety of Europe required.

But, in the last place, as to the late ministry, if they were so very blameable in their conduct, let us see what the present ministry have done to remedy the abuses of their predecessors? Have they reduced the interest of money? Or found out easier methods of pursuing the war? Has the South-Sea paid the publick debts? Had not the creditors rather have their interest paid them without trade? And are any considerable funds provided for that interest? Are not the ways and means for carrying on the war the same as before? Have they carried the stress of the war into any more proper place? Has the war in Spain been pushed with any more vigour? Or rather has not less been done there this year than ever? Has any thing been done in Savoy? Have we been able to act any where on the offensive but in Flanders? To which we owe most of our successes, and from whence in the end we must expect a good and lasting peace. In fine, have the new ministry done any thing that has given more life to the war, or toward redressing the general complaint at home? They have indeed made an expedition to the West Indies, which the late ministry never attempted; but to

what account has it served? Only to convince us, that all such schemes are visionary prospects and romantick views, where a bare miscarriage is not the worst of it: 'Tis not only so much money lost, but a weakening of ourselves in other parts, a melancholy instance of which I have shewn already we have sufficiently felt, and should not add any thing to what I have said, but as one is provoked to it by the Conductor's incessant and endless abuses of the late ministry; we find here 7 or 8 transports lost with 26 companies of foot, and hardly a man saved; and the whole fleet preserved only by a miracle: And the remains of these troops, which might have been employed to the greatest advantage elsewhere, brought home again in a very miserable condition; and to complete this great misfortune, the admiral's ship blew up at Spithead, and in her, 'tis to be feared, a great part of the stores, that can't be otherwise accounted for. Now all the use I desire to make of this is, only in vindication of the late ministry, who seem to be so highly blamed by the Conductor, for not carrying on a naval war, and attempting something against the enemy in the West Indies, which by the experience of this expedition, (though I grant it to be well concerted) plainly appears, that such schemes are chimerical in themselves, and have only specious outsides to delude unthinking people, who look no further than the bare view of things as they find them represented; and that 'tis in effect proving the conduct of the late ministry is not to be excelled by all the endeavours that the ablest and wisest men can use.

Of the five reasons that the Conductor lays down for a hasty peace, I have mentioned two of them, and now return to the third; which is, "That our present condition makes it impossible for us to carry on the war." It would however have been as great an argument of the Conductor's zeal and honour for his country, as it is of his abilities, had this point been concealed; for what can be of more fatal consequence in any government, than to dispirit and weaken the hearts of the people and the advantages and encouragements we give the enemy, even while a peace is transacting, and the terms of it like to be proportioned according to the condition the enemy think us in? Such a betraying of their country would be suffered in no nation under heaven but our own; nor here neither, if it were not to serve a very wretched purpose. Nothing of this is to be found in France, and if it might be suffered there with impunity, it would be hard to find a Frenchman so abandoned to all shame and dishonour, as to be guilty of so foul a villainy, a villainy that robs the crown of its greatest support, the spirit and vigour of the people uniting chearfully in its defence; and at the same time equally encouraging the enemy to start new difficulties, and to refuse such terms, as before they would have submitted to in the humblest and most thankful manner; while their disgraces and misfortunes were much fewer than they are now, unless I may bring in some late instances of providence, by which heaven seems to have taken the work into its hands, and to leave mankind no more to do, no not even the Conductor himself, or the ablest and most exalted of his friends. Our allies by it are recovering their surprises, and taking heart, as fast as the friends of France are losing ground; and it seems impossible they should prevail against us whilst we are under so blessed a protection.

"But perhaps," says he, "our allies will make up the deficiency on our side, by greater efforts of their own. Quite the contrary; both the emperor and Holland failed last year in several articles; and signified to us some time ago, that they could not keep to the same proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing now to ask or desire. The emperor, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with Naples, Sicily, Milan, and his other acquisitions, rather than engage in a long, hopeless war for the recovery of Spain, to which his allies the Dutch will neither give their assistance nor consent. So that since we have done their business; since they have no service for our arms, and we have no more money to give them; and, lastly, since we desire no recompence, nor

expect any thanks, we ought in pity to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves."

'Tis pity but the Conductor had been made secretary to the embassy; he had certainly saved the congress an infinite deal of labour. There had been no occasion to require a number of preliminaries; he has given them an unanswerable scheme of peace in fewer minutes, and couched in hardly so many lines, as those in a formal and lingering way of a treaty, are contained in sheets of paper: I wish I could not affirm that there are more notorious falsities than either. "The Dutch and the emperor let us know that they could not keep up their proportions." And this we must believe, though it is so profuse a lie, that both the emperor and the States teazed us with incessant applications to be heard; and when they were heard, gave the fullest assurances of doing all that we could possibly require. And what is yet more, (contrary to the Conductor's desire, I believe, that it should be so) we begin to be pretty sensible that they are in earnest too: But when I say this, 'tis in hopes he has no new difficulties to start in behalf of his friends in France. "We have conquered a noble barrier for the Dutch, and they have no more to ask or desire." False again as it happens: For we are convinced, and so may the Conductor too if he pleases to peruse their demands, that they ask something more, and will go near to stand to it too, unless providence favours his cause more than it seems to have done of late. "The emperor will accept of Naples, Sicily, Milan, and his other acquisitions," &c. What an unlucky thing it is now, that nothing but the whole Spanish monarchy will please him. "To which his allies the Dutch will neither give their assistance nor consent." 'Twas certainly a very unhappy time when he was thus wasting his judgment in politicks that he so little understood, and arrogating to himself the opinion of knowing more of the Dutch than they know of themselves. And as to us, "we desire no recompence, nor expect no thanks, and therefore ought in pity to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves." There's an end of the war at once; and plainly represents to us the vanity of sending plenipotentiaries to end this by a tedious and chargeable treaty.

"But if we do not hearken to peace, others certainly will." Were this to be proved now, it would be something: But while it is only spoken upon bare supposition, and by one who would count it the happiest event of his life to be believed, I cannot see that anymore heed ought to be given to it, than to the vilest and most groundless assertion in his book. This is what we have so often had in our mouths during the war, and been so cautious of on all occasions, that France would seek to divide the allies. When these jealousies are infused, and come to make an impression once, 'tis dividing us with a witness. And though France was never able to effect that great work, we have a set of people now that are doing it for her. What could be said with a greater air of malice? That the farther it is from fact, the more villainous the design appears; which is in effect incensing us to break faith with our allies, by affirming, that if we don't they will break faith with us. I must confess, it is probable enough they might have done so, had they foreseen what has since happened; could they have perceived how the 8th article of the Grand Alliance would be observed, or how short-lived another treaty would be that as much concerns them.

After having exposed our weakness, and laid us fairly open to the enemy, he comes to these words, "That if the war lasts another campaign, it will be impossible to find funds for supplying it, without mortgaging the malt-tax, or some method equally desperate." This in reality were a sufficient reason to induce us to think of peace, if it were laid down only upon open and apparent views, and not made a necessity to humour, or protect, a party, whose grandeur and continuance seems to be raised and fixed on this foundation. 'Tis certain a campaign there must be, and the necessary supplies are, the greatest part of them, voted already; nor could it ever be thought, that a treaty could be fixed time enough to prevent it: If so, why all this haste for peace?

The extraordinary expences of a campaign, part of which must, of consequence, be spent during the treaty, and the remainder could not have cost us much: Or were the friends of France afraid, consonant to our former successes, that we should have struck some blow that might possibly have animated our allies above the contemptible schemes we have seen erected, and convince our friends at home, that we were not under those terrible disadvantages of making an ill peace, as the Conductor and his party thought necessary, for their purpose, to make them believe. At least, methinks it might make them some amends, to have experienced this under a general of our own when they might have crowed on their own dunghill, and picked up incidents enough to have justified a change in their opinions afterwards. But Providence, in this point, has pretty well furnished them already, and the least we can look for now is, that they will make as good a peace as they can, and not furnish the enemy with arguments to beat down the market, or encourage them, upon any account, to trifle with our allies: Since this is only required of them, and this alone is sufficient to do our business, 'tis rather to be hoped, that they will drop the Conductor so far as to throw in more vigorous arguments, for a good and lasting peace, than he has made use of.

But again, in the next paragraph, he tells us, "That if peace be made this winter, we are to consider what circumstances we shall be in towards paying a debt of fifty millions; which is a third part of the purchase of the whole island, were it to be sold." To this I shall only add one short remark, and leave the rest to the Conductor's own meaning: There is a consideration, which to me gradually falls in between these two points. To reflect well, if this be our case, what we shall do with another war, which a hasty peace may subjugate us to in a few years: People are now *in*, and though they struggle with some hardships, are in hopes that 'tis near an end, and that a lasting peace will make them some amends. But should another war break out in any little time, they would be heartless, thunder-struck, and sink under the melancholy apprehensions of being undone; no care, no consolation would recover them: Our traders would seek shelter in foreign climates, and our young men hide themselves in holes and desarts to avoid the wars, of which they had heard such dreadful tales; and of whose events no man could form any judgment, without the utmost reflection of despair and ruin. Therefore, I say, if our debts are so hard to pay, and we shall labour under so many difficulties, even in peace, what care, what more than ordinary caution, ought it to infuse into us, that the same be safe, lasting, and honourable? Nay, that it ought to be put out of the hazard of every thing, but the unforeseen events of future providence, since I must and will affirm it is within the scope of probability, if not a certainty, to bring it to pass.

"But," says the Conductor, "to think that Britain must be ruined without the restitution of Spain, is a strong delusion; as if princes and great men could find no way of settling the publick tranquillity without changing the possessions of kingdoms."

Whether it may be said, that England is ruined without the restitution of Spain, I will not take upon me to say; it may be not: But I must venture to alledge, that it lays us under a very hazardous probability of it, which we ought to provide against; and farther, which we may as well provide against as not, by opposing the most violent and unjust usurpation. And since they do not pretend to deny the undoubted right of the house of Austria, will it not be a surer as well as a juster way of settling the publick tranquillity, much rather than ruining a great and ancient monarchy, by parcelling it out to so many as is intended by this new scheme, which Europe cannot possibly be long easy in? That the recovery of Spain is not impracticable, or at least was not thought so eighteen months ago, let the enemy's own offers be witness, when in the most solemn manner they consented to give it up entire; and will do so now, if their unreasonable applications are rejected with that scorn and indignity which in justice and honesty they heartily deserve. "But if the new schemes," says he, "are

probable, 'tis enough; probabilities are cheaper by six millions a year." But, as I have hinted before, we had better be at the expence of twice six millions for a certainty, than run the hazard of paying so dear for a probability; where, if we happen to be mistaken, which is not improbable, the liberty both of us and our allies will be forfeited to the long dreaded scheme of universal monarchy.

I come now to his fourth reason for peace: Which is, "That the condition of France is not so low, nor the consequences of our successes so great, as is commonly imagined." They were of consequence enough to humble a very haughty enemy some years ago, and if many repeated successes since have rendered his condition better, he is the more beholden to his friends. From hence it is, perhaps, that the Conductor affirms, "We might have had a better peace two years ago than we can now, and that, by a parity of reason, we must expect one much worse two years hence." Indeed, if we have no more success in our undertakings than we have had since the old ministry went off, 'tis very probable that by chance he has spoke truth; which must be followed by another necessary consequence by his argument, that the longer the new continue, the worse condition our affairs will be in. I presume he would have baited the compliment to his friends out of the antithesis of this worthy proposition.

'Have the towns France has lost in this time made her stronger? or has the continuance of the war made her richer? or are we to suppose the nearer the dangers approach to them, the more averse they are to peace? So near, that one defeat, nay one siege, would lay their whole kingdom open, even to their capital. "But every town we take," he says, "costs us fifty times more than 'tis worth." If this be true, it ought to be remembered, that 'tis the Dutch pay for it, and not England. This too the Conductor might have left out; and, I suppose, would too, did not his zeal sometimes, in the cause he serves, make him run into oversights. It is much with the same caution that he intimates it to the advantage of the French king: "That his money is spent in his own country," which must needs be a mighty consolation to him, where, besides the loss of the revenue of many great towns and provinces taken from him, he is forced to suffer his country to be ravaged by his own troops, as well as those of the allies. His subjects must needs be in a better condition to pay their taxes, and support the war, by paying large contributions on the one side, and finding forage and subsistence on the other, for two or three hundred thousand men, all the winter.

I am at length arrived to his last reason for an inconsiderable and hasty peace; which he gives us in the following words: "Lastly, those who are so violent against any peace without Spain being restored to the house of Austria, have not, I believe, cast their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a storm upon our heads." What he means by our helping to raise it, I don't understand: Instead of raising that cloud, it is apparently known both the queen and the States have been ever most solicitous to prevent its gathering. But what he has said on this head, if there be any meaning in it, he has himself answered by telling us "that the success of the war is various;" and so long as it is so, I see no great injury in it to the confederate cause. "How if it should break in any storm upon our heads," is not easily to be understood; I hope we shall have no reason to fear alliances with infidels. There is occasion, I confess, to suspect the will of a certain prince, if his abilities at this time were answerable to his good intentions. The confederate cause is indebted to him some considerable obligations, the emperor in particular; and notwithstanding the repeated tergiversation we have been complimented with from that quarter, I dare be positive, that when the matter shall be impartially enquired into, it will appear that we have done no more than the most disinterested people in the world could do. That both the Dutch and we have laboured with all the good offices in our powers to keep the balance even, and to have rendered the projected neutrality of as much benefit to Sweden, as to any of the confederated powers at war with

him. However, as to the danger threatened to the common cause, from the war on that side, since the Conductor has mentioned it, I must say, I think we are not in any great hazard of being hurt by it; and before that time comes, it is very probable we may be at leisure to retaliate favours, by mediating terms of peace between those powers, instead of receiving terms from them.

And here I leave the Conductor, having run through his libel with all the care and circumspection I could well promise myself. And as I have had the advantage of reading others, who have wrote excellently, though not fully, on this subject before me, whose arguments perhaps for the greater efficacy I have sometimes followed, so I think I have left little more to be said to him: The reflection of his own folly, baseness, and malice, can only correct him farther.

General Maxims in Trade, particularly applied to the Commerce between Great Britain and France. By Sir Theodore Janson, Bart. Printed in the Year 1713.

THERE are general maxims in trade which are assented to by every body.

That a trade may be of benefit to the merchant and injurious to the body of the nation, is one of these maxims.

I shall confine myself to speak of trade only as it is nationally good or bad.

I. That trade which exports manufactures made of the sole product or growth of the country, is undoubtedly good; such is the sending abroad our Yorkshire cloth, Colchester bays, Exeter serges, Norwich stuffs, &c. which being made purely of British wool, as much as those exports amount to, so much is the clear gain of the nation.

II. That trade which helps off the consumption of our superfluities, is also visibly advantageous; as the exporting of alum, copperas, leather, tin, lead, coals, &c. So much as the exported superfluities amount unto, so much also is the clear national profit.

III. The importing of foreign materials to be manufactured at home, especially when the goods, after they are manufactured, are mostly sent abroad, is also without dispute, very beneficial; as for instance Spanish wool, which for that reason is exempted from paying any duties.

IV. The importation of foreign materials to be manufactured here, although the manufactured goods are chiefly consumed by us, may also be beneficial; especially when the said materials are procured in exchange for our commodities; as raw-silk, grogram-yarn, and other goods brought from Turkey.

V. Foreign materials, wrought up here into such goods as would otherwise be imported ready manufactured, is a means of saving money to the nation; and if saving is getting, that trade which procures such materials ought to be looked upon as profitable: Such is the importation of hemp, flax, and raw-silk; 'tis therefore to be wondered at, that these commodities are not exempt from all duties, as well as Spanish wool.

VI. A trade may be called good which exchanges manufactures for manufactures, and commodities for commodities. Germany takes as much in value of our woollen and other goods, as we do of their linen: By this means numbers of people are employed on both sides, to their mutual advantage.

VII. An importation of commodities, bought partly for money and partly for goods,

may be of national advantage; if the greatest part of the commodities thus imported are again exported, as in case of East-India goods: And generally all imports of goods which are re-exported are beneficial to a nation.

VIII. The carrying of goods from one foreign country to another is a profitable article in trade: Our ships are often thus employed between Portugal, Italy, and the Levant, and sometimes in the East-Indies.

IX. When there is a necessity to import goods which a nation cannot be without; also such goods are chiefly purchased with money, it cannot be accounted a bad trade; as our trade to Norway and other parts, from whence are imported naval stores and materials for building.

But a trade is disadvantageous to a nation,

1. Which brings in things of mere luxury and pleasure, which are entirely, or for the most part, consumed among us; and such I reckon the wine trade to be, especially when the wine is purchased with money and not in exchange for our commodities.

2. Much worse is that trade which brings in a commodity that is not only consumed amongst us, but hinders the consumption of the like quantity of ours: As is the importation of brandy, which hinders the spending of our extracts of malt and molasses; therefore very prudently charged with excessive duties.

3. That trade is immediately bad, which supplies the same goods as we manufacture ourselves, especially if we can make enough for our consumption: And I take this to be the case of the silk manufacture; which, with great labour and industry, is brought to perfection in London, Canterbury, and other places.

4. The importation upon easy terms of such manufactures as are already introduced in a country, must be of bad consequence, and check their progress; as it would undoubtedly be the case of the linen and paper manufactures in Great Britain, (which are of late very much improved) if those commodities were suffered to be brought in without paying very high duties.

Wise nations are so fond of encouraging manufactures in their infancy, that they not only burthen foreign manufactures of the like kind with high impositions, but often totally condemn and prohibit the consumption of them.

To bring what hath been already said into a narrower compass, it may be reduced to this, viz.

That the exportation of manufactures is in the highest degree beneficial to a nation.

That the exportation of superfluities is so much clear gain.

That the importation of foreign materials to be manufactured by us, instead of importing manufactured goods, is the saving a great deal of money.

That the exchanging commodities for commodities is generally an advantage.

That all imports of goods which are re-exported leave a real benefit.

That the letting ships to freight to other nations is profitable.

That the imports of things of absolute necessity cannot be esteemed bad.

That the importing commodities of mere luxury is so much real loss as they amount to.

That the importation of such goods as hinder the consumption of our own, or check the progress of any of our manufactures, is a visible disadvantage, and necessarily tends to the ruin of multitudes of people.

Having premised thus far in relation to trade in general, and made it evident that there are several ways of trading advantageous to a nation, and others which are not so, I shall now examine which of these beneficial or hurtful ways to us the French trade doth answer, and then draw the balance at the foot of the account.

I. The exportation of our woollen goods to France is so well barred against, that there is not the least hope of reaping any benefit by this article.

The French did always outdo us in price of labour: Their common people live upon roots, cabbage, and other herbage; four of their large provinces subsist entirely upon chesnuts; and the best of them eat bread made of barley, millet, Turkey and black corn; so that their wages used to be small in comparison with ours.

But of late years their crown-pieces being made of the same value as ours, and raised from sixty to one hundred sols, and the manufacturers, servants, soldiers, day-labourers, and other working-people, earning no more sols or pence by the day than they did formerly, the price of labour is thereby so much lessened, that one may affirm for truth, they have generally their work done for half the price we pay for ours. For although provisions be as dear at Paris as they are at London, 'tis certain that in most of their provinces they are very cheap; and that they buy beef and mutton for half the price we pay for it here.

But the price of meat and wheat doth little concern the poor manufacturers; as they generally drink nothing but water, and at best a sort of liquor they call *beuverage* (which is water passed through the husks of grapes after the wine is drawn off) they save a great deal upon that account: For 'tis well known that our people spend half of their money in drink.

The army is a notorious instance how cheap the French can live: It enables their king to maintain 500,000 men with the same money we maintain 112,500. Their pay being five sols a day (which is exactly three-pence English) and our soldiers pay is eight-pence.

However, they subsist upon that small allowance; and if there be the same disproportion between our manufacturers and theirs, as there is betwixt our soldiers and their soldiers as to pay, 'tis plain that the work in France is done for little more than a third part of what it is done for in England: And I am confident 'tis so in most parts of their manufactures, of which I could give many instances if it were needful; but let these two following at present suffice:

At Lyons, which next to Paris is the best city in France, they pay nine sols an ell for making of lustrings, which is little more than five-pence English money; and the price paid here for making lustrings is twelve-pence per ell.

In the paper manufacture abundance of people are employed for sorting rags in the mills, who earn in France but two sols a day, which is less than five farthings of our money; and the price paid here for such work is four-pence a day.

The French working thus cheap, 'tis no wonder if they afford their manufactures at lower rates than their neighbours.

But to leave no room for doubt in a matter of so great importance, several merchants have brought over from France patterns of their woollen goods, with the prices they are sold at; and it appears that in general they are, goodness for goodness, cheaper than ours: Their cloth made of Spanish wool, which is brought to great perfection, is sold in the shops for sixteen or seventeen livres the ell, (which is a yard a quarter and an inch) and as a French livre is exactly worth one of our shillings, they sell the ell there as cheap as we sell here the yard, which is twenty-five per cent. difference.

And if what is owned on all hands be true, that the French do send great quantities of woollen goods to Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, the Rhine, and other places, although they pay a duty upon exportation, 'tis a demonstration that they have more than is sufficient for their own wear, and consequently no great occasion for any of ours.

Objection—What need the French limit the importation of our cloth, &c. to three

places, subject it to strict visitations, and insist to continue a high duty upon it, if they have enough of their own, and can afford it cheaper than we?

Answer—By the long interruption of commerce and correspondence between the two nations, the French knew as little the price of theirs; and being extremely jealous of their manufactures, they would not give way to any the least thing that could prejudice them: In short, they had a mind to be secured against all events.

Have not we done the like in the self-same case? We outdo, in our own thoughts, all the world in the woollen-manufactures; but, not depending upon this single advantage of working better than others, we have laid very high duties upon all foreign woollen goods, and even prohibited them. And 'tis well we do so; for else the French would have made our hearts ache since the peace, by their great importation of woollen goods upon us.

But they are so well apprised of the matter now, and know the advantage they have over us in point of cheapness, that I don't doubt they will give us leave to import into France not only woollen goods, but all other commodities whatsoever, upon very easy duties, provided we permit them to import into Great-Britain wines, brandies, silks, linen, and paper, upon paying the same duties as others do. And when that's done, you'll send little more to France than now you do, and they'll import into Great-Britain ten times more than now they can.

II. As to the other products of our land, I mean our superfluities, it must be owned the French have occasion for some of them, as lead, tin, leather, copperas, coals, alum, and several other things of small value, as also some few of our plantations commodities: But these goods they will have whether we take any of theirs or no, because they want them; as they were supplied with them during the war by way of Italy and Flanders, and paid us a little more money for them than now they do, when they can have them at the first hand in England. All these commodities together that the French want from us may amount to about 200,000l. yearly.

III. As to materials, I don't know of any one sort useful to us that ever was imported from France into England. They have indeed hemp, flax, and wool, in abundance, and some raw-silk; but they are too wise to let us have any, especially as long as they entertain any hopes we shall be so self-denying as to take those materials from them after they are manufactured.

IV. Exchanging commodities for commodities (if for the like value on both sides) might be beneficial; but 'tis far from being the case between us and France: Our ships went constantly in ballast (except now and then some lead) to St Malo, Morlaix, Nantes, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, &c. and ever came back full of linen, wines, brandy, and paper: And if it was so before the Revolution, when one of our pounds sterling cost the French but thirteen livres, what are they like to take from us (except what they of necessity want) now that for each pound sterling they must pay us twenty livres, which inhances the price of all British commodities to the French about fifty per cent.?

V. Goods imported to be re-exported, is certainly a national advantage; but few or no French goods are ever exported from Great-Britain, except to our plantations; but are all consumed at home; therefore no benefit can be reaped this way by the French trade.

VI. Letting ships to freight cannot be but of some profit to a nation; but 'tis very rare if the French ever make use of any other ships than their own: They victual and man cheaper than we, therefore nothing is to be got from them by this article.

VII. Things that are of absolute necessity cannot be reckoned prejudicial to a nation; but France produces nothing that is necessary, or even convenient, or but which we had better be without, except claret.

VIII. If the importation of commodities of mere luxury, to be consumed amongst

us be a sensible disadvantage, the French trade, in this particular, might be highly pernicious to this nation: For if the duties on French wines be lowered to a considerable degree, the least we can suppose would be imported into England and Scotland is 18,000 tons a year, which, being most clarets, at a moderate computation, would cost in France 450,000l.

IX. As to brandy; since we have laid high duties upon it, the distilling of spirits from malt and molasses is much improved and increased, by means of which a good sum of money is yearly saved to the nation; for very little brandy hath been imported either from Italy, Portugal, or Spain, by reason that our English spirits are near as good as those countries' brandies; But as French brandy is esteemed, and is indeed very good, if the extraordinary duty on that liquor be taken off, there's no doubt but great quantities will be imported. We'll suppose only 3000 tons a year, which will cost Great Britain about 70,000l. a year yearly, and prejudice besides the extracts of our own malt spirits.

X. Linen is an article of more consequence than many people are aware of: Ireland, Scotland, and several counties in England, have made large steps towards the improvement of that useful manufacture, both in quantity and quality; and with good encouragement would doubtless, in a few years, bring it to perfection, and perhaps make sufficient for our own consumption; which, besides employing great numbers of people, and improving many acres of land, would save us a good sum of money, which is yearly laid out abroad in that commodity. As the case stands at present it improves daily; but if the duties on French linen be reduced, 'tis to be feared it will come over so cheap, that our looms must be laid aside, and 6 or 700,000l. a year be sent over to France for that commodity.

XI. The manufacture of paper is very near akin to that of linen. Since the high duties laid on foreign paper, and that none hath been imported from France, where 'tis cheapest, the making of it is increased to such a degree in England, that we import none of the lower sorts from abroad, and make them all ourselves: But if the French duties be taken off, undoubtedly most of the mills which are employed in the making of white paper, must leave off their work, and 30 to 40,000l. a year be remitted over to France for that commodity.

XII. The last article concerns the silk manufacture. Since the late French wars 'tis increased to a mighty degree; Spittlefields alone manufactures to the value of two millions a year, and were daily improving, till the late fears about lowering the French duties. What pity that so noble a manufacture, so extensive, and so beneficial to an infinite number of people, should run the hazard of being ruined! 'Tis however to be feared, that if the French can import their wrought silks upon easy terms, they outdo us so much in cheapness of labour, as hath been already shewed, and they have Italian and Levant raw-silks upon so much easier terms than we, besides great quantities of their own in Provence, Languedoc, and other provinces, that in all probability half the looms in Spittlefields would be laid down, and our ladies be again clothed in French silks; the loss that would accrue to the nation by so great a mischief cannot be valued at less than 500,000l. a year.

To sum up all; if we pay to France yearly,

	£
For their wines	450,000
For their brandies	70,000
For their linen	600,000
For their paper	30,000
For their silks	500,000
	1,650,000

And they take from us in lead, tin, leather, alum, copperas, coals, horn plates, &c. and plantation-goods, to the value of - - - -	200,000
Great Britain loses by the balance of that treaty yearly - - -	1,450,000

Which seems unavoidable, if we were so good-natured as to take off the high duties; the only fence we have left against an inundation of French commodities upon us.

If any body thinks fit to object against these papers, that there are many commodities that used to be sent to France, of which there's no notice taken here, I desire them to give a list of those commodities not only by name, but to put the quantities which they judge are like to be exported, and their valuation: And I promise them in return another list of many commodities I have omitted, which would certainly be imported from France upon lowering the duties, with the probable quantities of each sort, and their cost on board there; and I dare answer, I shall be even with them upon that score; having here, for brevity's sake, mentioned only such commodities as are most considerable. Thus perhaps, by making accurate estimates and calculations of all commodities that can be exported to France, or brought over from thence, shall we come to a right understanding of the matter, and what the trade between Great Britain and France is like to be in case the duties be taken off.

All the nations of Europe seem to strive who shall outwit one another in point of trade, and they concur in this maxim, That the less they consume of foreign commodities the better it is for them.

The Dutch, to obviate too great a consumption of foreign goods amongst them, make use of excises, and they have for that reason laid a very high excise upon French wines.

The French study to prevent it, by duties of importations, duties of consumptions, toll from one province into another, by strict visitations, restraints, and prohibitions, and by the example of the court in wearing their own manufactures.

We have of late years saved a great deal of money, by laying high duties upon foreign commodities, which hath not only hindered their too great comsumption among us, but hath had this good effect besides, that it hath given encouragement to the settling, improving, and perfectionating many useful manufactures in Great-Britain. So that we must be out of our senses if we permit the French to import their manufactures to the prejudice and destruction of our own.

We are now, God be praised, in peace and friendship with the French; we have a free correspondence and commerce with them: They do and will take from us what they want, and 'tis all we can expect or desire of them.

We may freely import their good claret, and have it upon reasonable terms, if we do not buy it in too great quantities: And as for their manufactures, 'tis undeniable, we had better be without them, since they must be purchased with our ready money; for their cloth and other woollen goods being cheaper than ours, they cannot take any from us if they would, in compensation for their silks, paper, and linen; and as they take nothing but what they want, they ought not in reason to expect we should take from them what we have no manner of occasion for.

As it is very requisite that those who are to deal with another nation should have a perfect knowledge of their weights, measures, customs, and monies, and there having been a remarkable alteration in the French coins since we had any dealings with them, which is the thing of the utmost moment in commerce, I shall beg leave to subjoin here an account of their coin as it stands at present, and in all probability is like to stand, that we may know what we are to pay for their goods, and what they are to pay for ours.

The French crown-piece is exactly now of the same goodness and intrinsick value as the English crown-piece. It goes in France for five livres, and each livre for two sols, so that each crown-piece goes there for one hundred sols or pence.

Our crown-piece goes for five shillings, each shilling for twelve-pence, so that our crown-piece goes here for sixty pence.

As there is five livres in their crown, and five shillings in our crown, and that they are both of equal weight and value, a shilling is exactly worth a livre, and a livre a shilling. I beg pardon for being thus exact to a nicety in this particular, but I think the fate of Great-Britain, in point of trade, doth in a great measure depend upon it.

Before the war, if I bought any commodity in France which cost me a livre, I paid eighteen-pence English for it, as is well known to every body that had dealings there; if I buy now the same thing in France for a livre, I pay but one shilling for it, by which means all their manufactures are rendered so very cheap to us, that if there was but moderate duties upon their importation, we should immediately be overwhelmed with French commodities. For as their workmen receive no more sols or pence for their day's-work or wages than they did formerly, they sell their cloth, paper, and linen for no more sols than they used to do: Therefore, if I bought heretofore an ell of linen for a livre, it cost me then eighteen-pence, and now buying an ell of the same linen for a livre still, it costs me but one shilling.

On the contrary, when the French bought any thing of us before the war, if it cost them one pound sterling, they paid but thirteen livres for it; and if they buy now the same thing for one pound sterling, they pay twenty livres; which renders every commodity we have so very dear to them, that 'tis hardly possible they should take any thing from us, but what they have an absolute necessity for.

For if they bought formerly a yard of cloth here for fifteen shillings, they paid but nine livres three quarters for it; and if they buy now here a yard of the same cloth for fifteen shillings, they must pay fifteen livres: Which, as I said before, renders our manufactures excessive dear to them, and their manufactures exceeding cheap to us.

In short, all kinds of French manufactures that were heretofore purchased in France, either by natives or strangers, for one ounce and a half of silver, the same quantity and goodness, is there purchased now by natives and by strangers for one ounce of silver. And whatever the French used to purchase in foreign parts with three livres, they must now give four livres and an half for it.

I have purposely neglected to take notice of what prejudice the French trade may be to us in relation to our exports to Portugal, Italy, Turkey, and Hamburgh; for that will afford ample matter to be the subject of another discourse.

The Trade with France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, considered: With some Observations on the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and France.

THAT the nation that favours us most ought to be most favoured by us, is a maxim in politicks not to be denied.

Which of the nations above-mentioned favours us most, is now to be considered.

I. The Spanish trade furnishes us,

First, With wool to employ our industrious poor.

Secondly, With oil to work up that wool.

Thirdly, It takes from us great quantities of woollen manufactures.

Fourthly, It consumes great quantities of pilchards, herrings, and salmon, from Great-Britain and Ireland.

Fifthly, It vends abundance of beef, butter, tallow, hides, &c. from Ireland.

Sixthly, But, above all, it takes off great quantities of our fish from Newfoundland, which may be esteemed our mines of gold and silver, that trade being of so much more advantage to us, as the hands that are employed therein, are not only useful to us, as they get that wealth out of the sea by their labour, but as they are thereby rendered capable of serving on board the navy royal, which is both our glory and our safety.

II. The Portugal, and,
III. The Italian trade,

Take off our herrings, pilchards, salmon, woollen manufactures, leather, and all the products of Ireland, in great abundance, and have all other advantages in common with the Spanish (the furnishing us with wool only excepted.)

The Portugal trade furnishes us with some dying commodities: And the Italian trade with raw silk, to employ our poor industrious weavers of London, Norwich, Canterbury, &c.

All these trades have as constantly increased every year, as we have increased the demand for their wines; by which means the navigation and seamen of this kingdom have been greatly encouraged, especially to the Mediterranean; where, by act of parliament, such ships as carry out our manufactures are to have 16 guns and 32 men, of which there is now a much greater number than there were sixteen or twenty years ago. But small ships, with an easy charge of men, can fetch wines from France, which will discourage the bringing in other wines; and have this further bad effect, that the greatest part of those ships must lie and rot, or come home dead freighted; the charge whereof will fall on those British commodities they carry out, which, rendering them dear, will lessen their exportation: As will also the incapacity the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians will be in to pay for them. For no nation, (no not the Spanish itself, with all their mines) can take off the commodities of another nation, unless they likewise take the greatest part of theirs.

From every one of these nations, to whom we constantly export more than we import from them, we bring the balance in money.

IV. The French trade,

First, Instead of furnishing us with wool, deprives us of a great deal from Kent, Sussex, and Ireland.

Secondly, It supplies us with no commodities for the improvement of our woollen, silken, or other manufactures, as those other nations do.

Thirdly, On the contrary it takes from us whatever dying commodities we are so unwise as to furnish them with, which they are willing to receive from us, the better to carry on their own woollen manufacture, in order to beat us out of the Turkey trade from Marseilles; as they will also out of the Spanish trade, by their much nearer ports.

Fourthly, We cannot send any of our barrel fish, if we must pay duties, 17l. 10s. Tourns, or 3l. 11s. 3d. sterling, per last of twelve barrels, and then we shall want markets for our herrings, pilchards, cod, and salmon; for, as was said before, the Spaniards, Portugueze, and Italians, cannot pay for them, unless we take their wines.

Fifthly, They will take off none of our refined sugars, unless we pay them 22l. 10s. Tourns, or 33s. 9d. sterling, per 100lb., wherein the great care the French take of their manufactures and plantations may be seen.

Sixthly, The trade of tobacco is farmed in France, by which means there being but one buyer, if they should be induced to take off any of that commodity (which being

so bulky, is of the utmost consequence to the shipping and navigation of this kingdom) it will be at such low prices, as will extremely depress the colonies of Virginia and Maryland; which will force those colonies to make among themselves the necessaries they used to be furnished with from hence, and very much lessen the customs.

Seventhly, The French will take no Newfoundland fish, nor will they have any need of it, for if they transplant the inhabitants of that part of Newfoundland which they are to yield up to us, to the island of Cape-Breton, they had as good have kept where they were before; especially if they are to have the liberty of setting up stages to cure and dry their fish on the main island of Newfoundland; nay, we shall be extreme losers by what they yield us, if the charge of garrisons is to be laid on the fish, for that charge will inevitably ruin the trade.

And if the French have Cape-Breton, and also the liberty of drying their fish on our island of Newfoundland, where they lived before, they will,

1st, Furnish their own country with fish, which we used to do, before our former princes suffered them to have the liberty of curing and drying their fish in Newfoundland.

2dly, They will by their situation have their fish ready much sooner than ours, and thereby be able not only to supply themselves, but will also, in time of peace, forestall the very markets of Portugal, Spain, and Italy, where ours used to be vended.

3dly, They will hereby keep up and increase their nursery of seamen; for 'tis chiefly, if not wholly, to this trade that the greatness of France by sea is owing; their maritime power having begun to be considerable from their first trading at Newfoundland, and has kept pace with their increase of trade ever since, as appears by the insignificant figure they made at sea in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and even so lately as the siege of Rochel, compared with the mighty fleets they have since put to sea, and with which they have thrice fought the united fleets of Great Britain and Holland; where though they were twice beaten, yet once they got the better, and had we been either time alone, they must in all probability have destroyed us, so much stronger are they by sea than either we or the Dutch alone.

Eighthly, They will furnish us with abundance of linen and paper, to the great detriment of those manufactures in Great-Britain and Ireland.

Ninthly, They will also supply us with brandies, to the great detriment of those countries that abound in barley, who have borne so much of the burthen of the war by the duty on malt; the duties on which spirits bring in to the revenue prodigious sums, in comparison to what the commodity is worth when in barley. Their brandy will also have an influence on our West-India trade, by hindering the making brandy of molasses, which are drawn from our coarse sugars.

Tenthly, But to overbalance all these inconveniences, they think it is enough that they furnish us with those delicious wines, which our nation is famous for being so unmeasurably fond of, and which we must pay them for in money; for if they take no woollen goods, no fish, no refined sugars, nor tobacco, we shall have nothing but money to exchange for their wines and brandies (of which, in a free trade, we shall take several thousand tons per annum) because our dying commodities, our lead, tin, and other goods, from Great-Britain, and our provisions from Ireland, will never be able to answer for their linens, silks, paper, and other goods; the very article of black silks only amounting to a prodigious sum; for allowing, out of the seven millions of people, which Sir William Petty computes by the duty on hearth-money, to be in England, that three millions of them are women, and that one in six of them spends 20s. yearly in hoods and scarfs (which surely is a very modest computation both for number and expence) that alone will amount to 500,000l. without mentioning what is spent of that sort in Ireland, and all our plantations, which must amount to a great deal; and this without including coloured wrought silks, or those brocaded with gold, silver,

and silk; the value whereof must be an immense sum of money, considering the fondness our people have for any thing that is French.

This is but a short view of the advantages arising by our trade to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and of the disadvantages of our trade with France, if it shall appear that they have refused to admit four of our chiefest commodities, and that we have not the equivalent of refusing four of theirs, which might, in some measure, have helped to mitigate our loss by the French trade, viz.

Their wines,	For our fish,
Their brandies,	For our refined sugars,
Their silks,	For our tobacco,
Their linen of all sorts,	For our woollen manufactures of all sorts.

But the disadvantage will yet be infinitely greater, if the wines and other French commodities are to pay no more duties than what are payable upon the like commodities from other nations.

For the wines and useful commodities which we receive from other nations, come to us in exchange for our own manufactures and products; but it cannot be so from France, when they will not receive them; and therefore their wines and other goods ought to pay more duties than others.

The linens we receive from Holland, Germany, and Flanders, are in exchange for our plantation goods, sugars, tobacco, &c. and also for vast quantities of the woollen manufacture from all the parts of this kingdom, especially from the west and the north.

'Tis a great mistake to say (as 'tis reported it is said) that the same commodities pay, or ought to pay, equally the same duties from all countries, and that therefore the French insist upon its being so now. They that say so, must say it out of ignorance, or some other reasons.

1st, They ought not to pay alike, because in reason, prudence, and justice, the product of that nation that takes off most of our commodities, ought to pay less than that of others; which makes it just that all French goods should pay more than the like sorts from other places.

2dly, It has generally been otherwise in fact, for which we appeal to almost every page in the book of rates; Portugal wines, and Spanish wines, have time out of mind paid different duties, as well as French wines. And the linens and silks from several countries have also paid different duties, according as they are in goodness; and as those countries from whence they come have deserved better or worse of us in point of trade. 'Tis supposed France will have the modesty not to pretend that they deserve any favour of us in point of trade; or else must acknowledge (which they will hardly do) that their wines and manufactures are not better than others, or not more esteemed by us, and that therefore they cannot bear more duties.

However, there are some reasons given why French wines ought to pay less duties than they do.

1st, The first is, that people may drink it so much cheaper; but sure this reason can never weigh with any thing that has the name of a gentleman, and far less with a patriot, when he sees 'tis against the true interest of his country.

2dly, The second is from the incapacity that the gentry in England will shortly be in, of purchasing it at high prices. This indeed may have some weight with it, if it shall happen that the silk weavers, and those multitude of hands that are usefully employed on the woollen manufactures, shall find no work by the importation of French silks, and by the prohibition of our woollen manufactures in Portugal (which will infallibly ensue, and which they are waiting to do on the equalizing their duties on French and Portugal wines) as also by the setting up the manufacture of cloth by Count Bergeick in Spain, as our gazette (an authority not to be questioned) gave us

an account he was doing, in the gazette of the 9th instant; and when those hands that might expect to find employment in the fishery granted to the South-Sea company, and other fisheries of this kingdom and of Newfoundland, shall find themselves disappointed of work (for of what use will it be to catch fish, if there be no vent for it?) When all these woollen and silk manufactures, and the seamen and fishermen, shall find little or no work, they must inevitably starve, or be a burden upon the landed interest; and then the poor's rates that are already in many places 2s. 6d., 3s., 3s. 6d., and in some others 4s. and more in the pound, will advance to 8s. or 10s. in the pound; and then the remainder will never afford to buy dear French wines.

3dly, The third reason that is given is, that by the present treaty of commerce with France, this matter is agreed to by her majesty; to which we humbly presume to offer the following answer:

1st, That the treaty with Portugal, which is universally allowed advantageous to us, pleads the same authority from her majesty's ratification, that this with France does, and, if we are not misinformed, more; because this treaty with France is not to have effect till some acts of parliament now in force are altered.

2dly, That there's all the reason in the world to hope, that her majesty out of her princely tenderness for her people, if it shall appear to be prejudicial to the trade of her kingdoms, will be graciously pleased not to think herself obliged to make good to the French king any such agreement; which we are the rather induced to hope, from the instance her majesty has given of the same care of her people in the alterations that have been made in the first Barrier-Treaty with the States-General upon the humble representation of the House of Commons, that it was prejudicial to the trade of this kingdom.

3dly, This is the only time to regulate our commerce with France, and what is now settled, we can never hope to be relieved from hereafter. Therefore 'tis of the last consequence not to let pass any thing that may have the forementioned fatal effects upon both our home and foreign trade.

4thly, That although the duties now in question, when they were laid on, were not intended to continue exactly as they stand, yet were designed to give time and opportunity to the parliament to consider maturely what was proper to be done in a treaty of commerce with France.

N. B. When Mr Methuen, by her majesty's order, was concerting this treaty with Portugal, the French were at that moment tempting them to break it; and in order to it, offered them to take off their Brazil sugars and tobacco; yet they preferred us, because we took off their wines. But if they are disappointed in that too, they will doubtless accept the treaty which the French are ready to enter into with them now. And here we cannot but take notice, that the Portuguese sugars are almost all of them fine sugars, which the French were willing to take of them, that they might break our trade, though they refuse to take from us any clayed or refined sugars: So heartily do the French favour our trade.

There is no notice taken here of the benefit we receive by the great quantities of corn lately sent to France, because that is but an accidental advantage arising from the dearth last year; for in common years they abound in corn enough to serve themselves, and for exportation too: So that this is not to be mentioned as an advantage in a regular course of trade.

One thing further must not be omitted, which is, that during the very great struggle that has been made for several years past, to keep the high duties upon French wines, it has been frequently necessary, both by speaking and writing, to disclose very openly the nature of our trade with Portugal, Spain, and Italy; and to press, that all the favours that was possible might be continued to those nations from whence so great a balance was yearly paid us in money. This has already awakened the Por-

tuguese, the consequences of which may be very fatal to our trade, and by that to the landed interest, which are inseparable. But it must be remembered, that all those ill consequences are justly chargeable on those that occasioned that discovery, The unthinking immoderate lovers of French wine, to whom it is wholly owing.

Some Observations on the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and France.

Since the above-written, the treaty is published by authority.

The 8th article is against the Portugal treaty, by proposing an equality.

By the 9th, 'tis provided, that the tariff of 1664, shall not take place till two months after a law shall pass here, to reduce the duties on all commodities to an equality with what is paid for goods of the like nature imported from any other country in Europe. Notwithstanding which, in case such an act shall pass, 'tis hoped the French king may be obliged by an edict to suspend the payment of the high duties now payable on our goods in France for those two months, or the act not to take place till such time as the treaty shall take place in France.

The 10th article says, the duties of tobacco shall be reduced hereafter; but does not say when that hereafter shall begin. 'Tis further said, in the same article, that the subjects on both sides, that is, we suppose, the French as well as English, shall pay the same duties, and that there shall be an equal liberty of selling; and the British subjects shall have the same laws (relating thereunto) as the merchants of France themselves. That may be; and yet the form, notwithstanding what is mentioned in the third matter referred to the commissioners, page 50, may still subsist, because 'tis only left to commissioners, which if they do not agree, as 'tis very probable they may not, then by virtue of the 9th article it remains as it was, that is a farm still, and then neither the subjects of France nor England will have any liberty of selling but to the farmers only, at what price they please, which amounts to a prohibition.

The same may be said of the inspection of all our manufactures in France, which is the first matter referred to the commissioners, page 49, that if it is not agreed, the French will, 'tis probable, find pretences to suffer none to be imported.

The 11th article says, the 50 sols French money, paid per ton on the British ships, shall cease, and that no such duty shall be laid hereafter; but that will not prevent their exacting a further duty that has already been laid for some years, of 20 sols more than the abovesaid 50 sols: For we have been forced to pay 70 sols per ton on all ships that have carried any of our manufactures or growths (except corn) evesince the tariff of 1710, which, being made in time of peace, and not mentioned now, 'twill not be strange if it be insisted on.

In the 29th article, the bail to be given in England for ships taking letters of mart, is to be 1500l. sterl. and 3000l. sterl. according to their bigness; that to be entered into by the French is to be but 16,500l. tournois, and 33,000l. tournois; which, reckoning the exchange at 4s. 6d. per French crown, which is the highest that it can be reckoned at, makes this difference, that in the 1500l. we must give more security by 262l. 10s. and in the 3000l. we must be bound in 525l. more than the French.

Since by this treaty four British commodities, excepted out of the tariff of 1664, must pay the high duties imposed in France, in 1669, sure 'tis highly reasonable that four of the commodities of France should pay the duties imposed in England in the 7th and 8th of William III. And the better to see how high those duties are, the following is a comparison between the tariff of 1664 and that of 1699.

	1664. *French Money.* l. s. d.	1669. *French Money.* l. s. d	*Sterl. Money, at 4s. 6d. per French Crown.* l. s. d.
Whalebone cut and prepared, the C.	2 10 0	9 0 0	0 13 6
Whale fins, 300 lb.	3 0 0	20 0 0	1 10 0
Train oil, 520 lb.	3 0 0	7 10 0	0 11 3
Cloth, 25 ells, pay as clothes	40 0 0	55 10 0	4 2 6
Ratines, 25 ells			
Serges, 13 to 15 ells	10 0 0	11 0 0	0 16 6
Fish salted, 12 barrels per last	7 10 0	47 10 0	3 11 3
Sugar refined in loaf or otherwise, and sugar-candy white or brown, per 100 lb.	15 0 0	22 10 0	1 13 9

Note,—The above proportion, such as it is, for our fish, excludes the Newfoundland fish, conger, ling, and all fish not in barrels.

By the 9th article, and by the explanation in page 54 of the treaty, 'tis absolutely agreed, that the above-mentioned duties shall be paid for these commodities; which how unreasonable it is for the French to demand at the time they insist to have the duties taken off here, the following observations will shew:

A cloth of 50 yards, coarse or fine, must pay for every 25 yards 55 livres tours, that is in sterling money at 4s. 6d. per French crown, 8l. 5s. sterling.

A ratine the same.

Serges proportionable.

Barrels of herrings, which one year with another cost put aboard 16s. a barrel, must pay in France above 5s. 11d. per barrel.

Refined sugar 33s. 9d. per 100 lb. suttle, which is above 60l. per cent. of the value here one sort with another.

Can any man suppose these duties don't amount to a prohibition?

Besides, the manner of expression in the second article, p. 84, is to be taken notice of. 'Tis there said, that to facilitate the trade of cloths, ratines, and serges, (*pour en faciliter le commerce*) it shall be allowed to import them. Where? not in all or any port of France, but only in three places, St Vallery, Rouen, and Bourdeaux. The intention of France in which restriction, is with design, that being afterwards transported by land, or if by sea in his own ships, the carriage should render them dearer. And by the 9th article 'tis agreed, that if the commissioners on both sides shall not adjust the matter of these excepted commodities, then they shall stand as before, that is, they may be visited and inspected. The 9th article also seems to want an explanation, as to what provinces are mentioned in the tariff of 1664, and of what provinces are excepted by the words, "otherwise than according to the rule at that time prescribed."

The French are so kind, in order (no doubt) to facilitate our commerce, to permit our salted barrel fish, upon paying those high duties, to be admitted to an entry in five places, viz. the three abovementioned, and Nants and Libourne; the last is a place of no trade, but served only to make up the number of places, and is about twelve leagues from Bourdeaux, in the river Dordone, but in all other parts of France to remain prohibited. And shall our trade be thus incumbered, and theirs free?

Better no Trade than a destructive one.

The Speech of his Excellency the Duke d'Amount, Ambassador Extraordinary from his Most Christian Majesty, to her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, on the 4th of July, 1713, when he had his public Audience at St James's Palace.

Anno 1713.

Of the arrival of the Duke d'Amount and his character, Tindal gives the following account:—"The same yacht which carried him (the Duke of Shrewsbury) to Calais, brought over the Duke d'Amount, the French ambassador, who was a good-natured and generous man, of profuse expence, throwing handfuls of money out of his coach, as he went about the streets. He was not thought a man of business, and seemed to employ himself chiefly in maintaining the dignity of his character, and making himself acceptable to the nation."—RAPIN's *History of England, fol. vol. iv. p.* 300.

The State of Europe for the month of July, 1713, gives the following full account of his reception:—

"On the 1st instant, the Duke d'Amount, ambassador extraordinary from the most Christian king, made his publick entry. He was received at Greenwich by the Earl of Scarsdale, and Sir Clement Cotterell, master of the ceremonies, accompanied by six gentlemen of the privy-chamber. From thence he was brought by water, together with all his train, in her majesty's barges to the Tower. At his landing he was met and complimented by the Earl of Northampton, constable of the Tower, and the guard being drawn out upon the wharf, saluted his excellency as he passed by. The royal standard was displayed upon this occasion, and the guns were fired as he went away. From thence he proceeded to Somerset-house, in the following manner. The Earl of Scarsdale's coach, thirty of the ambassador's footmen walking two by two; four Swisses, twelve pages, two gentlemen of the horse, two governors of the pages, all mounted on horseback. Then came the queen's coach of state, in which were the ambassador, the Earl of Scarsdale, the master of the ceremonies, and the secretary of the embassy. This was followed by another of the queen's coaches, in which were the six gentlemen of the privy-chamber. Afterwards came five of his excellency's coaches, drawn by eight horses each, with four others drawn by six, which were followed by a numerous train of coaches of the nobility and gentry, with six horses each. When they arrived at Somerset-house, which was the place appointed by her majesty for his entertainment, the Earl of Scarsdale put him into possession of the house, and took his leave; after which, the Lord Windsor came and made him a compliment in her majesty's name.

"The 4th being the day appointed by her majesty, for the public audience of the Duke d'Amount, ambassador extraordinary from the most Christian king, the Earl of Salisbury, and Sir Clement Cotterel, master of the ceremonies, with six gentlemen of the privy-chamber, brought him from Somerset-house to St James's in her majesty's coach, followed by the ambassador's coaches in the same order as was observed at his entry. His excellency was received at the palace-gate by Sir Philip Meadows, knight-marshal. Her majesty's foot guards were drawn up in the court, and the officers saluted his excellency with pike and colours, and afterwards with their hats as he passed by, the drums beating a call. He was received at the door of the guard-chamber by the Lord Paget, captain of the yeomen of the guard, and conducted by him to the end of his command: After which he was received by the Duke of Beaufort, captain of the band of gentlemen-pensioners, who were ranged on each side of the room, and conducted by him in the same manner to the door of the room of audience, where he was met by Mr Vice Chamberlain, in the absence of the Lord Chamberlain of her majesty's household; where he had his

audience with the usual ceremonies, and made the following speech to her majesty; after which he was re-conducted to Somerset-house, by the Earl of Salisbury and the master of the ceremonies."

MADAM,

THIS moment is very glorious for me, since in the happiest and brightest conjuncture I have the honour to give your majesty, on the part of the king my master, publick assurances of all the sentiments that tie him to your sacred person.

The events of a long and dreadful war have not in the least lessened the amity which the ties of blood instilled in him, nor that high consideration which is due to your personal qualities, still more respectable than the majesty of titles, and all the power of a throne.

These sentiments, madam, have been reciprocal; and the good correspondence they have formed between the two crowns has baffled the projects of parties, disarmed the nations of the earth, given new kings to Europe, and secured, if I dare say it, even your majesty's glory.

By conditions, of which you have yourself been the arbiter, your majesty procures the happiness of your subjects, the advantage of your allies, and at the same time, crowns the great and memorable events of your reign, that are not to be paralleled in history, and are even new in the throne on which Queen Elizabeth sat.

France, though used to find glory and resources in her misfortunes, will nevertheless bless your majesty's counsels: She has received with lively acclamations the tidings of a peace whose moderation and good-faith, practised with emulation on both sides, have cut off all difficulties and removed all obstacles. These virtues, so very rare, and so foreign to treaties, have been reciprocal in the course of the late negociation, and are become the earnest and foundation of a firm and lasting union, which deposites in your majesty's hands, and those of the king my master, the balance of all the powers of Europe.

A short State of the War and the Peace.

A Tract in favour of the peace of Utrecht. The various points which it embraces have already been mentioned in the introduction to former Tracts.

THE Grand Alliance was concluded on the first of September, 1710, and the main design of it appears from the words of the second article, viz.

"His sacred imperial majesty, his sacred royal majesty of Great-Britain, and the States-General, desiring nothing more earnestly than the peace and general quiet of all Europe, have judged, that nothing can be more effectual for the establishment thereof, than the procuring an equitable and reasonable satisfaction to his imperial majesty for his pretension to the Spanish succession; and, that the King of Great-Britain and the States-General may obtain a particular and sufficient security for their

kingdoms, provinces, and dominions, and for the navigation and commerce of their subjects."

In pursuance of this agreement the war was proclaimed, and with these views was carried on to the year 1706. The annual charge of this nation, and the progress of the increase of that charge, may be seen in the following account.

The expence of the war come to in the year,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1702——	3,706,494	2	10½
1703——	3,898,066	13	10¾
1704——	4,444,947	4	1½
1705——	5,087,783	7	1
1706——	5,693,529	8	10¼

It pleased God to bless the arms of her late majesty, and of her allies, with so many signal victories, during these five years, especially in the last of them, viz. 1706, that the great end of undertaking this war, so clearly expressed in the above-mentioned article, seemed to have been fully answered, and the power of the enemy reduced to a just balance.

On the 21st of October, 1706, the Elector of Bavaria, in the name of the French king, proposed to open a treaty of peace, but this offer was rejected.

The estimate of the war amounted to, in the year,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1707——	6,180,413	18	2½
1708——	6,381,926	6	1½
1709——	6,713,645	5	4¾
1710——	6,734,043	9	11
1711——	6,851,468	16	7¾

The reader will observe, that the charge of the year 1702, was a great deal short of four millions, and that in the year 1711 it amounted to near double that sum; and there was likewise a debt incurred of near eight millions; yet the revenues of England were under such anticipations, that she was not able to raise, within the compass of one year, above 2,500,000*l.* over and above such funds as were given for paying interest.

The proportion of forces to be furnished by England and Holland for the war of Flanders, was thus adjusted, viz. England to furnish two parts of five by land, and Holland the other three; by sea England was to furnish five parts of eight, and Holland the other three. The quotas were thus settled by the late King William, as Mr Secretary Vernon acquainted the House of Commons by his order.

From the year 1702 to 1711,[1] both inclusive, such were the deficiencies of the allies, that England was obliged to furnish above this quota, the sum of twenty millions.

The princes of the empire being required to pay their quota, according to the constitution of the empire, they alledged their inability, by pleading, that their men were already engaged in the service of England; so that all this while we actually paid those men, who were otherwise, by previous contract, obliged to serve in the common cause: On the other side, the Dutch alledged, that they were under no other obligation than to exert their strength *totis viribus*, and by consequence, that they alone were the judges how far it was proper or convenient for them to exert that strength.

It is to be observed, that Great Britain thus exceeded her proportion, though she

[1] Vide Representation of the House of Commons, 1712.

neither did, nor was it possible for her to gain any thing by a land-war: At the same time the house of Austria, which had made such a prodigious acquisition as that of the electorates of Bavaria and Cologn, and several other territories in the empire, of the kingdom of Naples, the Duchies of Milan, Mirandola, &c. in Italy; which countries were thought sufficiently able to maintain 90,000 men; and the Dutch, who had possessed themselves of Flanders, and received all contributions to their own use, were still defective.

Great-Britain then being burthened above her natural strength, and having two hundred forty-four thousand and twenty men in pay, was fallen under an immense debt, the annual interest whereof amounted to three millions, for payment of which interest the nation laboured under a general excise, excepting bread and flesh; the duties applied in former times to the support of the government, and many more since laid, in the course of two long wars, were alienated for the payment of the abovesaid interest; so that the taxes on land and malt, which every body understood to be for extraordinary uses only, were now to be applied to the maintenance of such ships and guards as should be necessary, even in time of peace, and are therefore, in effect, perpetual: (What would be our resource in case of new wars, is dreadful to imagine;) whereas, if peace had been made in 1706, at which time the end proposed by the declaration of war was fully answered, and good conditions offered, the nation would have saved above thirty-two millions.

Between the years 1706 and 1712, we made some conquests in Flanders and Italy: On the other hand we lost two great battles in Spain, the last of which was decisive; for by the taking of our troops at Brihuega, which caused the rout of Villa Viciosa, the war was in a manner extinguished on that side, so that the affairs of the confederacy in general were in a worse situation in 1712 than they were in 1706.

Monsieur Mesnager was in Holland most part of the years 1707 and 1708, and conversed with several of the Dutch ministers, upon the proposals he brought with him from France, by the connivance and with the privity of the States-General; as Monsieur Callieres had formerly done in the years 1695 and 1696. It is likewise notorious to the world, that when articles of peace were concerted at Gertruydenberg, those conferences were held by the French and Dutch, without the intervention of the rest of the allies: For when the imperial plenipotentiary insisted, that he had a right to be present, the Dutch refused to admit him; and when he complained to Prince Eugene of this treatment, he received an order from his highness to follow the example of the British minister, whose mistress, he said, though she contributed more to the war than any of the allies, did, however, resign herself so entirely to the wisdom of the States-General, that she trusted them alone with that preliminary negociation.

At this time the French laboured under great difficulties, by reason of the famine in their country, and the disorder of their finances, and therefore made considerable offers; among others, to give up the monarchy of Spain and the Indies, as may be seen by the printed accounts of the proceedings there. It is further to be observed, that whilst this treaty was on foot, all action in Flanders was suspended.

In 1711, the French were recovered from the effects of the famine; and the extraordinary demand made by the allies, that the French king should himself make war upon his grandson, raised such a spirit of resentment and indignation in his people, that they chearfully submitted to the *dixme royal*, which alone could retrieve the ill condition of his finances; and which the French court, until that time, did not think safe to impose on them; a general belief did then prevail in the French nation, that the allies had no other view in insisting that the king should act so unnatural a part, but in order to break off the treaty, and perpetuate the war.

The breaking off this treaty was indeed fatal, for it was soon followed by the misfortunes in Spain, which left King Philip entirely master of that monarchy.

In the same year, viz. 1711, the Emperor Joseph died, the hereditary countries devolved on King Charles, the only surviving prince of the male line of Austria, who was likewise chosen emperor; upon which the King of Prussia, and other princes of the empire, the King of Portugal, and the Duke of Savoy, declared they would never consent that the same person should be Emperor and King of Spain; the Dutch were likewise of this sentiment, for when an article was proposed by England to be inserted in the Barrier-Treaty, that no peace should be made till the whole Spanish monarchy was reduced to the obedience of the Austrian family, the States-General struck it out of the counter project, though agreed to by the queen in council, and strongly recommended to my Lord Townsend by Mr Secretary Boyle: And that they have proceeded always upon this maxim, appears from the following clause of the second Partition Treaty, entered into by King William and the States, on the third of March, 1700, viz. "That the kingdom of Spain and the Indies shall never be united, nor belong to the person of him who shall be Emperor or King of the Romans."

In conformity to the sense of this article, and to the universal consent of the allies, who would not, nor ever have yielded, that a King of Spain should be Emperor of Germany, her late majesty wrote to the several electors in favour of King Charles, in so strong terms, that he has since owned her goodness in his behalf, as what was most essential towards raising him to the imperial dignity.

The campaign of 1711 passed without any considerable action, and the Dutch refused to contribute towards the expence of barracks and forage; by which the projects for quartering the whole confederate horse under the cannon of the frontier towns, and making incursions from thence, into the heart of France, during the winter, as well as opening the campaign early in 1712, were entirely frustrated.

Things being in this situation, that is to say, all treaties for peace being broke off, and the measures that would most probably have reduced the enemy meeting with opposition from our allies, her majesty thought it proper not to refuse a passport, which the French king desired for a person whom he intended to send with proposals of peace. The passport was accordingly dispatched, and Monsieur Mesnager came hither invested with the character of plenipotentiary, and with a letter from the French king, acknowledging her late majesty Queen of Great Britain; having, at the same time, acquainted the States-General, that he did intend to address himself to the queen on that subject. Her majesty received that person favourably, and ordered her ministers to hear his proposals. In obedience to her orders, they conferred with him, and in some time, general articles were agreed to, by which the French king was obliged to give satisfaction to all the allies; the points relating to England were likewise adjusted, and were to take effect in case that satisfaction was given, and a general peace concluded, not otherwise; for the late queen was free from any obligation whatsoever to the French king.

Pursuant to these articles, which had been communicated to the confederates, conformable to the Grand Alliance, a treaty was opened at Utrecht, by their unanimous consent and approbation, in January, 1712: And notwithstanding the great obstructions given to it, was happily concluded March 31, 1713; all care having been taken to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain, that the nature of the case would admit of, since there was but one prince of the male-line of the house of Austria now alive; and that the powers above-mentioned had determined, that the Spanish crown should never be united to the imperial; speedy measures were therefore taken for passing the acts of renunciation, which would not have so easily been obtained, if King Philip had been in actual possession of the dignity of Dauphin of France; and the great mortality among the princes of that house gave just reason to apprehend that such a thing might happen.

Whilst this treaty was depending, a cessation of arms was proclaimed for two months,

as had been usually practised in the like cases, lest any event of war might interrupt the course of the negotiation; but that even those two months might not be fruitless, the queen insisted, and it was granted, that Dunkirk should be immediately delivered into her hands, the demolition whereof being of great importance to England. She had formerly proposed it might be made an article of the Barrier Treaty, but the Dutch rejected it. Her majesty had all the reason in the world to secure this point of Dunkirk, by a treaty, since it was not to be obtained by action; for in the compass of fifteen campaigns in the two last wars, the States could never be prevailed with to assist in any way towards the siege of that town, alledging it would be the work of two years.

The peace of Utrecht may be said to have been as general as any that was ever made, for all the parties in the war signed their peace with France on the same day, excepting the emperor and the empire.

Here it is to be observed, that the Emperors of Germany have not made peace at Ryswick, Nimeguen, or any other congress, at the same time with the rest of their allies, lest the princes and states of the empire, who, as sovereigns, have a right to assist at such conferences, should by that means have an opportunity to justify their particular claims: It has therefore been an established maxim of the imperial family, to put off the signing of their treaties of peace for some time, that the members of the empire may be under the necessity of submitting their pretensions to the imperial diet, where the emperor has more immediate influence and authority.

That this peace was beneficial to Great-Britain, will appear from the following considerations:

First, That several advantages were obtained for this nation above what had been ever asked before in our behalf, either at the Hague, or at Gertruydenburg, viz.[1] Hudson's Bay, part of the island of St Christophers, all Nova Scotia, or Arcadia, with the city of Port-Royal, now called Annapolis-Royal, the island of Minorca, the town and castle of Gibraltar, and the Assiento trade. Add to this, that more ample provision hath been made for the freedom, rights, and immunities of the British subjects, than will be found in any former treaty whatsoever.

Secondly, From the increase of our shipping, and the improvements of our trade, which will appear from the following abstract, faithfully collected out of the publick registers.

Ships outward-bound, and cleared from the several Ports of England.

For the Years.	1710.	1711.	1712.	1713.	1714.
Increase of Shipping.	N°. 3550	N°. 3759	N°. 4267	N°. 5807	N°. 6614
Increase of Shipping a Lond.	806	907	1055	1446	1550

[1] Note—Treaty of Breda, 1667, Art. 10., Lord Hollis and Mr Coventry, yielded up Nova Scotia to France. Treaty between England and France, for settling peace in America, 1686, signed by the Lords Sunderland and Godolphin, yielded up Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Art. 4th and 5th.

Exportation of Woollen Manufactures.

Species of Goods.	Flannels, perpets, serges, and stuffs exported from Christmas 1708, to Christmas 1709.	Flannels, perpets, serges, and stuffs exported from Christmas 1713, to Christmas 1714.	Increase of the year 1714 more than the year 1709.
Total of flannels,	668,726 yds.	993,166 yds.	324,559½ yds.
perpets and serges,	492,295	1,531,272	1,038,977
stuffs.	795,199	2,076,779	1,281,580

Lead exported.

From Christmas 1709, to Christmas 1710.		From Christmas 1713, to Christmas 1714.	
Exported in English.	Foreign.	Exported in English.	Foreign.
Tun. C. qrs. l.	Tun. C. qrs.	Tun. C. qrs. l.	Tun. C. qrs. l.
10,633: 9: 2: 25	2290: 11: 30.	15,525: 11: 0: 18	2088: 7: 3: 14

Fish.

	The amount of the exportation of fish for the years 1709, 1710, and 1711.	For the years 1712, 1713, and 1714.	The increase of the years 1712, 1713, and 1714, more than the years 1709, 1710, and 1711.
Total	149,514 barrels.	319,296 barrels.	169,782 barrels.

Memorandum, To this may be added, the great importation of bullion into these kingdoms, as well as the rise of exchange in our favour, since the last peace.

By what has been already said, it is believed the reader is convinced it was absolutely necessary for the British nation to have peace, and that the terms of the peace she had were advantageous to herself and her allies; who are so far convinced that the ends of the Grand Alliance are answered, and the power of their former enemy brought within due bounds, that they have no farther apprehensions from him, but think themselves at liberty to contest with each other for dominion.

The satisfaction her late majesty had in this negociation, has been signified in speeches from the throne to two parliaments successively; that those two parliaments approved all the steps taken in it will be seen by their votes, and that the opinion of their representatives was confirmed and approved by the whole nation, is evident from their several addresses.

Here it is not improper to take notice, that the parliament declined entering into any disquisition of the treaties of Ryswick and Limerick, though Hudson's Bay was given up by the former; the popish religion re-established, with all its privileges and immunities, and the French armies supplied with their best troops by the latter.

By the laws of this kingdom, the power of making peace and war is vested in the sovereign; if then the command of the sovereign, after mature deliberation in council, and I may add, by the previous consent of her allies, followed by the approbation of two parliaments, be not sufficient justification to ministers employed in a treaty, acting against no known law, nor charged with any corruption, whose life, whose property is safe in Great Britain? And where are the liberties of those people, who, upon any change of administration, may be made a sacrifice to private resentments?

The queen, attended by both houses of parliament, by all her great officers, by the city, and attended by the universal acclamations of her subjects, made a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God, in the name of herself and her people, for the blessing of a peace happy and beneficial to them and to her allies.

The Debts of the Nation stated and considered in Four Papers, viz. I. A Letter to a Friend concerning the Publick Debts, particularly that of the Navy. II. A State of the Five and Thirty Millions mentioned in a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons. III. An Estimate of the Debt of her Majesty's Navy, on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it stood on the 30th of September last, with what thereof has and will be satisfied by the South-Sea Stock, pursuant to the late Act of Parliament in that Behalf, and what remains of the said Debt on the said 30th of September to be discharged: With Observations thereupon. IV. A brief Account of the Debts provided for by the South Sea Act, and the Times when they were incurred: With some short Observations. 1712.

A Letter to a Friend, concerning the Publick Debts, particularly that of the Navy.

The Representation of the House of Commons, printed at an earlier period of this reign, embraced and dilated upon the expences of the war, and the want of œconomy with which the public resources had been administered. It is ascribed to Sir Robert Walpole, but Mr Coxe thinks that statesman only wrote the two first letters of the series.

THE reports of mismanagement, misapplication, and embezzlement of the publick money, have so generally prevailed in the nation, that I do not wonder you should desire to be informed of the several facts from which these charges are drawn against the late ministers. Nor was I more surprised to find that the debts of the kingdom, with the causes and methods of contracting them, were made the chief subject of complaint and censure, since no greater crime can be imputed to any ministry than a corrupt management, or profusion of the publick treasure. In order therefore to answer your enquiry, and to set this matter in a true light, I will examine the several articles that make up this great debt; setting forth, at the same time, the extraordinary expences which have been made, and the particular services which have been performed. By this view of the whole, you will be able to judge how far those expences and services were occasioned by absolute necessity, and the good of the publick; or required by the authority of parliament; and, consequently, how far the late administration can be justified.

You know, sir, the debt of the nation consists of several parts: But because that of the navy amounts to the greatest sum, and is supposed to have chiefly affected the credit, I will first present you with a state of that article, and submit it to your impartial consideration. And I promise you that nothing shall be mentioned in this plain account that is not grounded upon matters of fact, or upon authentick certificates, called for by the House of Commons for their information, and laid before them by the proper officers.

But before I enter upon the particular examination of this debt, as it now stands, I beg leave to offer some general considerations for the better explaining this affair:

And these shall relate chiefly to the manner in which the parliament grants money for that service, and to the several heads of expence that have occasioned the increase of this debt.

First, It is very well known that, in the committee of supply, the method of giving money for the use of the navy is different from the manner of providing for the land-service. In the latter case exact estimates of the whole expence are given in to the parliament; according to those estimates the respective sums are granted, and pursuant to them establishments are made, regulating the whole expence of the army, and subject to no alteration or enlargement. But the annual provision of the navy is made by granting a general sum, not adjusted or limited by any particular estimate, but by computation. For instance, it is supposed that four pounds a month for every man will answer all the expences upon the several heads, except what is called the ordinary of the navy: And the money given is more properly to be understood in the nature of a sum granted upon account, than as a sum fixed and limited, which is not in any instance to be exceeded. For though what is annually given should be the rule and measure of that year's expence, as far as it can possibly be complied with, yet it will appear, upon consideration, utterly impracticable to make the expence exactly answer to the provision made by parliament.

The sums granted for the navy during this war have not been every year the same, though the difference has not been great: But in order to state the method of computing the annual charge, it will be necessary to fix upon one certain sum: And what has most frequently been granted, is, two millions two hundred thousand pounds, for maintaining forty thousand men employed in the sea service, including eight thousand marines. This provision is made at the rate of four pounds a month for every man: And the proportions supposed to be allotted to each particular head of expence, are by computation these:

l.	*s.*	*d.*			*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
1	7	0	a man per mensem	For wear and tear,	702,000	0	0
1	10	0		For wages,	780,000	0	0
0	19	0		For victuals,	494,000	0	0
0	4	0		For ordnance,	104,000	0	0
				And for the ordinary,	120,000	0	0
					2,200,000	0	0

By the nature of these services it appears impossible, at first sight, to fix and ascertain the exact expence upon any head except that of wages: For how can it be foreseen, that the loss or damage of ships by storms, or by the enemy, shall be just so much in one year, and no more, and that to rebuild or repair them shall not exceed the sum given? This last article of expence can never be fixed, unless it were in the power of the parliament to set the price upon all naval stores, and even to lower it as the demand should be greater. And the same thing is to be observed upon all kinds of victualling, and necessaries for the ordnance. For this reason the provision is made in parliament by computation, and not by estimate; because the charge and expence is supposed to be uncertain: But it is still to be regulated by a good and frugal management, and to be kept within bounds as much as is possible; and therefore it must be agreed on all hands, that if no more than forty thousand men had been employed on board the fleet during the whole course of this war, and if no extraordinary services had been performed, which were not included in the estimates of the navy, and for which no other provisions were made, the persons who have the care of the navy had

been guilty of great mismanagement, in suffering the debt to run to so great a height, and they had justly deserved the severest censure.

And this brings me to consider, in the second place, the several heads of expence that have occasioned the increase of this debt.

First, It must be confessed that more than forty thousand men have been annually employed on board the fleet for nine years last past. The persons most conversant in these affairs are of opinion, that we have maintained in that service near three thousand men a year above the forty thousand, computing at a medium of all the years: And the charge of those three thousand men extraordinary must needs have amounted in nine years to a very great sum.

Secondly, We ought to consider the nature and extensiveness of this war: The great fleets that have been sent into the Mediterranean, and kept abroad the whole year; the wear and tear that a winter campaign must occasion, beyond what is suffered in the summer season only; the expence of all naval stores for refitting and victualling our ships in the foreign ports of Portugal, Spain, and Italy. These and many more reasons might be given, to shew that the computation of four pounds a month for every man, which was taken and settled from the practice and experience of former wars, is by no means a full and adequate provision for the services performed in this; especially if we reflect that it was impossible to prosecute the war in Spain with so much vigour as the nation and the parliament required, without keeping a constant superiority in the Mediterranean.

These general observations being made, I will now proceed to lay the facts before you.

The debt of the navy now to be accounted for is the debt as it stood at Michaelmas seventeen hundred and ten: Which, by the committee of the House of Commons, appointed to state and examine the publick debts, was reported to be five millions one hundred and thirty thousand five hundred thirty-nine pounds five shillings and five-pence, exclusive of the Register-Office. But since your enquiry has respect only to the late ministers, and you desire chiefly to be informed how far they are answerable or blameable for this debt, it will be reasonable to deduct from this great sum what was due and incurred before their administration. It is well known that the debt of the navy is made up and stated but once in every year, which is always done at Michaelmas; and that the greatest part of the money, granted for the service of each year, is generally issued and expended about the middle of it. For this reason, since the late lord treasurer, who is blamed for this great debt, entered upon his office, about the middle of the year seventeen hundred and two, by which time most of the money given for that year's service had been issued, we must, in justice to his lordship, begin this account from Michaelmas seventeen hundred and two, which was the first time that the debt was stated after he had the care and management of the revenue.

The debt then of the navy at Michaelmas seventeen hundred and two, as it was given in to the House of Commons by the commissioners of the navy, was one million eight hundred forty-nine thousand four hundred and six pounds five shillings and eight-pence: But then we should deduct the debt of the Register-Office as it then stood, which was one-hundred twenty-six thousand seven hundred twenty-seven pounds; and that brings the former sum to one million seven hundred twenty-two thousand six hundred seventy-nine pounds five shillings and eight-pence; which being incurred before he was employed, ought justly to be deducted from the gross debt.

In the next place we should consider, how much has been issued short to the navy of the two millions two hundred thousand pounds, which, I have said, was near the sum annually voted for that service; And we should also examine how such deficiencies did arise, and how far it was necessary or prudent to let them fall upon the navy.

First, It must be observed, that whatever is voted more in the committee of supply, than it afterwards raised in the committee of ways and means, or whatever is received

less in the exchequer than the sum at which the grants are estimated in parliament, proves a deficiency, that must fall upon some part of the publick services intended thereby to be provided for. And I must inform you, that an authentick account of the sums that have been voted, addressed for, or enacted, since her majesty's reign, with the grants for answering the same, and the deficiencies thereupon, has been delivered in to the House of Commons: By which account it appears, that after the deductions of such sums, as were made good by subsequent parliaments, the real deficiency of the funds in nine years did amount to one million eight hundred and sixty-nine thousand one hundred eighty-one pounds: And that one million four hundred and eleven thousand and one pounds nine shillings and nine-pence halfpenny did fall upon the navy. And it must be allowed by all persons that this sum is to be deducted out of the debt of the navy, because, if it had been duly supplied, the debt would have been really so much less.

Secondly, It must be considered how far it was prudent or necessary to let so great a proportion of the whole deficiencies to be placed upon a single head of the navy. And here I cannot but enter so far into the justification of the late ministry, to confess to you freely, that, in my humble opinion, those deficiencies could have fallen no where else so well. You need not be told, that far the greatest part of the other publick services admit of no credit at all; nor could any other credit of any kind have been had at so easy terms as in the navy, or have so little affected the publick. It is needless to say, that the army can give no credit; and after the happy effects we have seen of an army duly paid, every body must approve that part of the management, who does not repine at the constant successes, which we must all allow were obtained under the late ministry. The seamen, who have victuals and all things necessary supplied for them on board, can bear to wait some time for their wages, but the soldiers can never want their subsistence. The pay also of the foreign troops in her majesty's service must be punctually answered, and the subsidies to confederate princes must be duly remitted, or the whole alliance had been dissolved. Bills of exchange must be exactly complied with, or there would have been an end of foreign credit. And even at home the guards and garrisons must have their pay, or the country would soon have felt the effects of free quarter. It was therefore impossible that these necessary, immediate, and unavoidable services could bear any part of the deficiencies: And if deficient talleys had been struck and issued for them, the discount upon those talleys, and consequently the loss to the publick, would have been much greater than was known in the first nine years of this war. At the same time it must be admitted further, in justification of the late ministers, that the placing these deficiencies chiefly upon the navy, affected very little the credit for many years: Large sums were constantly advanced, and almost forced upon the government at five or six per cent. at the highest: The navy-bills carried but six per cent. interest; and as long as the course of the navy was held to be sacred, and no new distinctions were started between national and parliamentary credit, the discount upon those bills was only in proportion to the remoteness and distance of their course of payment. And I must here observe one thing more, in justice to the late ministry, That if any man will take the pains to trace the discount upon navy-bills from the beginning of this war to November one thousand seven hundred and nine, the time when that infamous sermon was preached in St Paul's, he will find that the discount upon navy-bills was never till then so high by ten per cent. as it is now, when we are told that the credit is restored, and that effectual provision is made for paying the debts of the nation.

I must needs therefore own to you my opinion upon this head, that since there was a real deficiency in the parliamentary grants, which must fall somewhere, the late ministers shewed good management in placing it upon the navy, where it least affected the publick credit, as I have already proved. This makes the deduction above-men-

tioned, of one million four hundred and eleven thousand and one pounds nineteen shillings and nine-pence halfpenny to be just and reasonable.

This, with the sum before deducted, reduces the debt to one million nine hundred ninety-six thousand eight hundred fifty-seven pounds nineteen shillings and eleven-pence halfpenny.

The sum last mentioned is properly the debt that was incurred by the late ministry: And I will now go on to shew you how much of that debt was occasioned by extraordinary expences, or services for which no provision was made, but which were understood by every House of Commons to be absolutely necessary, and most of them were directed by some address or act of parliament.

The first instance that I shall give you of a certain and known expence for which no provision was granted, is the interest that has been paid upon navy-bills. And though this was very low for some time, as I observed before, yet it has in nine years amounted to the sum of two hundred and forty-two thousand six hundred and sixty-five pounds and twelve shillings: The like interest has been paid upon victualling bills for the same time, amounting in the whole to the sum of two hundred and nine thousand two hundred and thirty-nine pounds twelve shillings and sixpence. These interests have been constantly paid together with the bills, and were known all the while to be paid out of the money granted annually for the current service of the navy: But no provision was ever made to answer this additional and growing charge.

Some expences have been made by the authority of acts of parliament, though no particular provision was given for them: And of these we must dispute the necessity, though they happen to be the exceedings of parliamentary grants. Of this kind are, first, the rewards and premiums mentioned in an act, 3 and 4 Annæ, for encouraging the importation of naval stores from America, and directed to be paid by the commissioners of the navy in particular bills made out, and to be paid in course. This has cost the publick eighteen thousand pounds sixteen shillings and sixpence.

Secondly, A bounty to the officers and seamen of the fleet, of five pounds a head for all French prisoners, given by an act, 6 Annæ.

This was likewise charged on the course of the navy, and has amounted to the sum of thirty-four thousand one hundred fifty-five pounds.

Thirdly, An encouragement for raising seamen for the year one thousand seven hundred and six, granted by an act, 4 and 5 Annæ.

Pursuant to which there has been expended the sum of four thousand seven hundred twenty-nine pounds ten shillings and five-pence.

Other expences have been occasioned by addresses of the House of Commons; and it must also be allowed that these were necessary and unavoidable.

On the first of December, one thousand seven hundred and three, the House of Commons addressed her majesty, that she would please to give orders for recruiting the ships lost in the great storm: And on the third of November following, an account of the extraordinary expence upon that head was presented to the House, amounting to the sum of one hundred thirty-four thousand two hundred thirty-two pounds.

On the same day another address was made, that her majesty would be graciously pleased to bestow some charity upon the widows and relations of the officers and seamen who perished in the storm: Which was accordingly directed, and amounted to the sum of fifteen thousand one hundred fifty-eight pounds and eleven-pence.

On the second of November, one thousand seven hundred and four, an address was made to the queen, that she would be pleased to give some particular bounty and rewards to the officers and seamen of the fleet under the command of Sir George Rooke, for their good services against the French in the Mediterranean: And that bounty cost the nation the sum of thirty thousand seven hundred seventy-seven pounds thirteen shillings and five-pence. Though these expences were made in pursuance of the addresses of parliament, yet no provision was ever granted for them.

There were some other expences, for which no money was given by parliament: And yet they must be confessed to be necessary consequences of the other parts of the service.

The one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, granted annually for the ordinary of the navy, has never answered the standing charge upon this head, which has exceeded that sum by at least twenty, and sometimes thirty thousand pounds a year; as appears by accounts that have been every year laid before the parliament. And here it is observable, that though this be the only estimate that is given in of any part of the navy expence, yet the parliament never made a full provision for it; which is a new instance that the navy-money is to be understood, as I said before, only in the nature of a sum given upon account. And this is still evident, when we consider that in the year one thousand seven hundred and four, no sum at all was given for the ordinary of the navy: Yet it could not be supposed that nothing was to be expended upon that head, unless the admiralty and navy-offices, with every branch of them, were to stand still for one year, or the officers were all to serve without salaries. Upon this head therefore, it must be confessed most reasonable to make the usual allowance of one year, which is one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. And though the other exceedings have been annually so high as I just now mentioned, yet, because I will in every article keep within due compass, I will compute them but at the rate of fourteen thousand pounds per annum, which in nine years amounts to the sum of one hundred and twenty-six thousand pounds.

In the years one thousand seven hundred and two, one thousand seven hundred and three, and one thousand seven hundred and four, no provision was made for the transport service; but when such large sums had been granted for the forces serving abroad, it was doubtless a necessary consequence that the men, arms, and horses, should be transported, though the parliament had given no money to that use. For this service therefore, in those three years, there was issued out of the navy-money, eighty-four thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds twelve shillings and eight-pence.

The extraordinary charge of the marine regiments serving on board the fleet is likewise an expence of the same nature. Every body knows, that those eight thousand men are included in the forty thousand for which the annual provision is made in parliament; and consequently their pay is supposed but equal to the wages of so many ordinary seamen. But it is as well known, that the marines are officered and formed into companies, and upon the same foot of expence, as all other regiments. And there has been issued out of the navy-money, since this reign, the sum of nine hundred and twelve thousand two hundred and eight pounds fourteen shillings and eleven-pence, for the paying these regiments. But their wages as ordinary seamen, supposing they had been eight thousand men complete, for eight years past, which is about the time they were first raised, would have amounted to but seven hundred and ninety-two thousand five hundred thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence. So that the extraordinary expence in this particular has been, one hundred and nineteen thousand six hundred seventy-five pounds eight shillings and three-pence. This is another proof of what I have so often mentioned, that parliamentary provision is by no means supposed to be equal to the expence upon each head.

The charge of the office of sick and wounded seamen, and for maintaining prisoners of war, may be also reckoned very justly a necessary expence of the same kind. This charge has been all along borne by the navy, three-fifths out of wages, and two-fifths out of victualling money. But when it is considered that more than forty thousand men have been employed in this service, and that all the species of victualling have been at high rates, with an interest and discount upon the bills, I must leave you to judge, whether these heads could possibly bear this extraordinary expence, for which no other provision was made. And there has been issued for this service the sum of

one hundred thousand two hundred twenty-eight pounds fourteen shillings and six-pence.

There has been another extraordinary charge upon the victualling, of absolute necessity, and peculiar to this war, which is, the hire of merchant ships to carry out victuals and all other necessaries for the supply of men of war in the Mediterranean, in Portugal, and in the West Indies. It was impossible for many of the ships to receive or stow provisions sufficient for the time that they have been kept abroad: Nor could several species of the victualling be preserved so long good and wholesome. This article of freights and demurrages to merchant-ships, has amounted in this war to the sum of one hundred and forty-five thousand five hundred and ninety-eight pounds seventeen shillings and three-pence farthing.

I will trouble you but with one article more, I mean that of furnishing provisions for land-forces sent to Spain and Portugal, and for the garrison of Gibraltar. And since so much stress has been laid upon it, I beg leave to give it a particular consideration.

Every body allows, that all victuals necessary for land-forces sent abroad, must be furnished at the expence of the government; and that no money is granted by parliament for this use. But then it is objected, that no part of this charge has been re-assigned to the victualling, nor any deductions made from the pay of those forces, to reimburse the publick. Now I confess, sir, it does not appear to me out of what money those re-assignments should have been made, when none was granted for that use, without a greater misapplication than that which is complained of. It remains therefore only to be considered, how far it was advisable to have made those deductions from the soldiers; and how far all the money that could have been deducted from them would have made good the expence of the publick.

For the first, I have been frequently informed, that it was a matter duly weighed by the proper officers; and that they always thought it expedient to continue to the men their pay, which became due whilst they were on board. And to deal plainly with you, sir, I cannot help being of the same opinion myself. For, it had been too great a discouragement to those regiments, whose hard fate had allotted to them the service of Spain and Portugal, if, upon their embarkation, a stoppage had been put to their pay, which was their only comfort and relief under the apprehension of a severe and hazardous expedition. The great and endless desertions which have still been the consequence of all orders of embarkation for those countries, were sufficient warnings to the government not to add any new hardships to that service. For the men, especially those who were new raised, were in such fear of the long and dangerous voyage, of the unavoidable sickness occasioned by close stowage on board, of the lamentable mortality which they had reason to dread upon their first landing in a new climate, and being exposed to the sharpest colds of a camp, from the intolerable heats of crowded transports, that I have often heard it was difficult for the officers, with their utmost care, to get on board two-thirds of a regiment. What then must have been the consequence, if they had known at the same time, that they were to receive no pay all the while they underwent these hardships and dangers at sea? Especially considering that the marines on board the same fleets, and ordered for the same service, had not only the same allowance of victuals, whilst the land-forces were kept at short allowance, which is six men to four men's meat, but were entitled likewise to receive their full pay and subsistence. Such different usage in the same body of men would have created so much disorder, mutiny, and desertion, that it would have been impossible to carry on the war in Spain. So that, upon the whole matter, I should rather have thought it reasonable, to have given some further encouragement to these poor men, than to have made those deductions from them; which arising to a small sum, whilst they were on board, gave them new life and spirit upon their landing, and enabled them to buy fresh provisions, and other necessary supports.

In the next place, it must be owned, that these deductions would have availed very little towards making good the expence of the publick. The usual stoppages were first to be made; tents, kettles, and all the field and camp equipage were to be provided; and these the men were now obliged to buy for themselves out of their sea-pay: Whereas, in the practice of the army, a fund is raised for answering these expences, by what is usually called the winter-stoppages; that is, by stopping so much out of every man's pay, whilst the regiments are in winter-quarters, or in garrison, as is sufficient for this purpose. And whenever it has happened, that any regiment ordered to Flanders has been obliged to take the field, without going into garrison, the charge of the camp necessaries has been always borne by the publick, and made good to the regiment by contingent warrants. But this has been constantly saved to the publick in the regiments sent to Spain: And if an exact account could be had of the whole charge upon this head there, where no winter-stoppage could be made, it would be found that all the deductions that could have been taken from the men during their passage, would have exceeded very little the charge of buying their field equipages.

But if, notwithstanding what has been said, it be admitted, that deductions should have been made, let us then consider, what would have been the amount of the whole, and how much would have been saved to the publick. The sum of six hundred and six thousand eight hundred and six pounds seven shillings and seven-pence, which is the whole of this extraordinary charge, is not an account of the certain expence that has been made, but a computation of the charge, as the commissioners of the victualling have stated it; reckoning at the rate of ten-pence or twelve-pence a day for every man; and taking in the whole loss by discount of the bills, the high price of all provisions, the freight for carrying them out, and all other incident charges. Let us now see how much the soldiers could have paid towards this ten-pence or twelve-pence a day. The subsistence of a private man is but five-pence a day, after the deduction of off-reckonings, and the weekly stoppage for small accoutrements, authorized by act of parliament: So that if the whole had been stopped, it had not answered half the expence. But it is very well known, that the land-forces were always kept at short allowance whilst they were on board; and, by the same rule, that the seamen, when at short allowance, receive what is called short-allowance money, instead of the whole victualling, the land-forces always received, whilst they were on board, two-pence a day for every man out of their subsistence, to buy brandy and tobacco, and such other refreshments as were necessary to support them at short allowance. This reduces the subsistence of a man to three-pence a day; which, computing the charge at a medium, between ten-pence and twelve-pence a day, would have answered little more than a fourth, not near a third, of the expence. And therefore, if all had been done that is pretended to have been necessary, near four hundred and fifty thousand pounds had remained as a part of the debt unavoidably incurred, and for which there had been no reason to blame the late administration. And when the other part is thoroughly weighed, I believe you will think, as I do, that it would have been extreme hard to pinch so many brave men, who every day ventured their lives for their country, to save only twenty or thirty thousand pounds a year.

The same reasoning will in a great measure hold, for the provisions furnished to the garrison of Gibraltar, where the men are likewise kept at short allowance. Nothing can there be got for money from the country; and all such provisions and refreshments as are brought into the town by small boats, are twice as dear as in other places. The price also of shoes, stockings, and all small accoutrements, is so very high, that twelve-pence a week there will not go so far as the usual stoppage of six-pence a week does here. And as this particular has almost every year been enquired into, it has still been found expedient and necessary to continue to the men their pay. And a distinct account has been kept of what has been furnished by the Dutch; which is a just demand

upon them, and must certainly be allowed among other accounts, that are depending between the two nations.

I have now gone through the several particulars, which I will conclude with an abstract of the whole account, and some few observations upon it.

An Abstract of the foregoing Account.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The debt of the navy, exclusive of the Register-office, as stated by the committee of the House of Commons, was at Michaelmas, 1710,	5,130,539	5	8
But deducting the debt of the navy, as it stood at Michaelmas, 1702, exclusive also of the Register-office,	1,722,679	5	8
And deducting what has been received short by the navy in this war,	1,411,001	19	9½
Which together make the sum of	3,133,681	5	5½
There remains net debt incurred during the late administration, to be accounted for by extra services,	1,996,857	19	11½

Extra Services.

Interest paid and due on navy-bills	242,265	12	0
Interest paid and due on victualling-bills	209,939	12	6
Paid for naval stores imported from America, by an act of the 3d and 4th of the queen	18,000	16	6
Paid the bounty-money of 5l. per head, for French prisoners, by an act 6° Annæ	34,155	0	0
For raising men, by an act 4° and 5° Annæ	4,729	10	5
Rebuilding ships lost in the great storm	134,232	0	0
Bounty to widows and relations of officers and seamen lost in the great storm	15,158	0	11
Bounty to officers serving under Sir George Rook in the Mediterranean	30,777	13	5
To the ordinary of the navy for the year 1704,	120,000	0	0
And upon the account of the extraordinary expence, at 14,000l. per ann. for nine years,	126,000	0	0
Issued to the commissioners of transports in the years 1702, 1703, 1704,	84,515	12	8
The extra expence upon account of marines	119,675	8	3
Issued to the office of the sick and wounded	100,228	14	6
The hire of ships to carry out victuals and provisions to the men of war	145,598	17	3½
The victualling land-forces sent to Spain and Portugal	606,806	7	7
Total of extra-services	1,991,383	6	0½
Balance	5,474	13	11½

The balance of five thousand four hundred seventy-four pounds thirteen shillings and eleven-pence farthing, that appears at the foot of this account, is so very inconsiderable, that I am persuaded you will be much surprised to see the extraordinary services and expences come so near to the debt that has been incurred: Especially, if you consider, that in this account no allowance is craved for the high rates upon all

kinds of naval stores and victuals, which have been occasioned by the discount upon the bills, nor for the number of men that have exceeded forty thousand; because I was resolved not to insert any thing that depended so entirely upon calculation, as to admit any doubt or uncertainty. If, by a moderate computation, there had been an allowance made upon those heads, the extraordinary expences would have exceeded the debt to be accounted for. But then it must have been remembered, that at the beginning of the war the fleet was in a much better condition than it can possibly be in at this time: And the magazines were full of all manner of stores, which are now exhausted. And how much it will cost to put the fleet into the same condition again, and to replenish the magazines, cannot be computed till the war is ended, and their condition can be known: But it must be admitted, that this has been an ease to the service, and has prevented the further increase of the debt.

I must likewise observe, that there have been no appropriations in this war of any particular sums to any particular services; but one general clause only, appropriating the sums granted each year to the service of that year; in which a latitude was always given of applying the money granted for the navy, as well to services already performed, as to be performed; which is a sufficient authority for the methods practised there. And though a great deal of industry has been used to persuade the world, that an undue preference and partiality has been shewn to the service in Flanders, and that all other services were postponed, cramped, and starved, in order to supply that army, you cannot but observe, that there is not any one article in which the navy-money was applied to that use. Nor have the enemies of the late ministers pretended to give an instance where that service ever received out of the publick money, more than its due proportion, granted by parliament.

I must make one observation more to you, that as the debt of the navy has annually increased, an annual account of it has been laid before the House of Commons, who were constantly informed how far the provision made for the preceding year had fallen short of answering the expence. But being sensible that the more pressing supplies were as much as could well be raised within the year, they still thought it more advisable to leave the extraordinary charges as a growing debt, than to increase the present burden upon the people, by enlarging the usual provision for the navy. And in the parliament before the last, a particular state and account of the navy debt being called for, the late ministers were so far from being blamed upon this subject, that, after a full consideration and long debate about the causes and methods of contracting that debt, the House came to a resolution in their favour, and went as far in approving their conduct and management as any subsequent parliament has gone in censuring of them. And when the justice of two differing parliaments comes to be the question, I will not take upon me to determine between them; but will only make this short remark, that from such time, at least, as the sense of the House was known upon this occasion, the late ministry cannot be thought blameable for proceeding in their usual method, when they were supported by the authority and approbation of parliament.

Upon the whole matter, I have now shewn you so many instances of extraordinary services performed, that were either of absolute necessity for the good of the public, or were directed or approved by parliament, that I cannot but think you will agree with me in acquitting the late ministry from all imputation of mismanagement, misapplication, or embezzlement of the navy-money. And I must do them the justice to say one thing more in their behalf, that I have not found, upon the strictest enquiry, that they were guilty of neglect or remissness in their duty; or that they wanted ability or zeal to carry on the service of the nation. And therefore I am afraid the great noise and clamours that have been raised against them, proceeded rather from interest, private ends, and party strife, than from any true care or concern for the public. But the present turn is now served: And when the people shall come to reflect calmly upon

the late administration, which they have heard so industriously blackened and vilified, I believe they will find the services of that ministry not inferior to those of any that went before it; and an example to be imitated, rather than to have been so hardly censured, by that which has lately succeeded it.

But I have troubled you enough, sir, for one time: Some account of other parts of the debt, you may expect hereafter. I am, &c.

Postscript.

'Tis now almost a twelvemonth since the foregoing account was published, which has stood hitherto unimpeached, and the publick has not seen any answer or the least objection made to any part of it; but the author, upon further perusal of it, has observed, that in the deduction of what has been received short by the navy in this war, there is included what was received short by the navy in the year 1702; but the whole debt of the navy at Michaelmas, 1702, having been before deducted, what was received short by the navy before Michaelmas, 1702, ought not to have been included in the general deduction; as this was no wilful mistake, the first opportunity is taken to rectify it, and for the further satisfaction of such as shall have the curiosity to examine in this particular, I desire they will observe, that the whole year's deficiency of the year 1702, is not at all concerned in this question, but what was issued short to the navy only in that year; and to balance this, a very moderate allowance for the extraordinary rates that have been paid for all kinds of naval stores and victuals, and for the number of men exceeding the forty thousand, will sufficiently recompence what is gained in the account by this mistake.

A State of the Five and Thirty Millions mentioned in the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons.

I was long since informed, that in many parts of the country, our people were taught to think they had been plundered of thirty-five millions. I believed, for some time, it was needless to disprove this report, which I thought was unlikely to last; but being still assured that the same rumour continues, I have at length resolved to enquire into the grounds and reasons of it. Yet before I enter upon this examination, I cannot help declaring how much I am surprised, that such wild reports should find credit in the kingdom. I am sensible, the printing the votes has been now so long in use, that the people do not only claim as their right and privilege to have a daily account of the proceedings of the House of Commons, but they think they are competent judges of whatever is transacted by their representatives. And they conceive themselves sufficiently entitled to debate and reason, to censure or approve all things and persons that at any time come before the parliament. I am also sensible, that he who has but read the votes, takes upon him to determine as peremptorily as if he were fully informed not only of the facts, but of all the reasons and motives that induced the House to come to such resolutions. Nor am I ignorant what strange conclusions are often drawn from hence, and what gross mistakes pass upon the world. This must needs be evident to every man that hears the common notions and opinions which we

find are generally received; and which would appear to us most unaccountable, if we were not determined wilfully or ignorantly to espouse and maintain whatever is thought necessary for the support of a party.

But so notorious an instance of this I never met with, as in the present case; since I am told, that in every coffee-house and ale-house, in some countries, I may hear it with confidence asserted, and find it too generally believed, that thirty-five millions were lost to the publick during the late administration. And if I should argue the matter with these people, and endeavour to shew the falsehood or absurdity of such an opinion, their refuge would be to a vote of the House of Commons. That at best, there are thirty-five millions not accounted for: And for this they would be very positive they have the authority of parliament.

This being the fact, as it is represented, I can no longer forbear to explain the whole matter with the utmost care and impartiality. For to wrest the meaning of a vote beyond what the words do naturally import, or to put constructions upon them which it is impossible to suppose the House of Commons could intend, seems to me to be the highest presumption. And therefore, in justice to the present parliament, as well as to those concerned in this resolution, I will endeavour to set it in a true light, and to clear it from the mistakes and misrepresentations which have been made concerning it, through the ignorance of some, and, I wish I could not add, through the malice and industry of others.

In order to this, it will be necessary to state and explain the vote upon which these suggestions are grounded, and the report from the committee to whom it was referred to enquire, how far the several imprest accountants had passed their accounts; and afterwards I will give an abstract of the several particulars, with some observations upon the whole.

The vote of the House of Commons was, "That it appears to this House, that of the monies granted by parliament, and issued for the publick service to Christmas 1710, there are thirty-five millions three hundred and two thousand one hundred and seven pounds eighteen shillings and nine-pence, for a great part whereof no accounts have been laid before the auditors, and the rest not prosecuted by the accountants and finished."

First then, it is observable, that a time is expressed when the accounts in question did determine, which was at Christmas 1710. And though no accountant is obliged by the course of the exchequer to render his account under fifteen months, nor some under eighteen, yet this vote takes in all accounts to the first meeting of the committee. But there is no mention made from what period of time they did commence; which the House of Commons would not have omitted, if they could have supposed that so unreasonable a construction would have been made of their vote, as to charge the whole upon the late ministry. To have been particular in every respect, was too much for the compass of a vote: We must therefore, upon this occasion, have recourse to the report abovementioned; and there we shall find, that Lord Falkland's account begins in December 1682, and ends in March 1688-9. Lord Ranelagh, 'tis very well known, was pay-master of the forces during the whole late reign, Sir Thomas Littleton treasurer of the navy for about three years before the queen's accession to the crown; and the accounts of Captain Aitkinson, and others, commissioners of transportation, during the late war only, amount to near a million of money; so that here are accounts from King Charles's, King James's, and King William's reign in the principal branches of expence in all the revenue, brought in to make up and swell this general account: And this, I am told, is by many thousands of people without doors imputed to the late ministry, though the House of Commons was so just and careful to print the report, that all men, if they pleased, might be clearly and fully informed of the true state of this question.

In the next place, 'tis to be observed, that the vote asserts no more, than that for great part of thirty-five millions three hundred and two thousand one hundred and seven pounds eighteen shillings and nine-pence, no accounts have been laid before the auditors, without distinguishing what that great part was; which makes it necessary to enquire how much that great part amounts to.

But I must first take notice of a material distinction, which it will be necessary to carry along with me through this whole enquiry, between rendering and passing accounts. An accountant should be always ready to render an account of all publick money by him received, and to shew to what uses it has been expended, that those who have the care and inspection of such matters, may be satisfied that the money has been duly applied to the proper services. And it is in the power of every accountant so far to render an account of what money has been issued to him as to prepare and lay his account before the auditors in a reasonable time, though, from the nature of some services, 'tis utterly impossible to do it within the time limited and required by the course of the exchequer. And when accounts are thus rendered, and vouchers for every particular sum delivered to the auditor, without which accounts cannot properly be said to be laid before him, the publick is in a great measure secured, by seeing and knowing the distribution and expence of every particular sum, though the accounts are not actually passed: Which then seems chiefly necessary for the interest and security of the accountant. But though he be sensible of this, and desirous to pass his accounts, yet it is not always in his power to get over the difficulties and delays which he meets with for want of form only, the common course and practice of payments in several offices being inconsistent with the rules and methods established in the exchequer for passing accounts. Several instances of this I shall give you before I conclude, but what I have said, is at present sufficient to make good the distinction between passing and rendering accounts. And this distinction the House of Commons had very clearly in their view, when they said, "For a great part whereof no accounts had been laid before the auditors:" By which they manifestly fix the blame upon accounts not being rendered, or, which is the same thing, not laid before the auditors.

I come therefore now to consider how much of the thirty-five millions has not, in this sense, been accounted for. And though 'tis said in the country, that the whole is unaccounted for, 'tis almost ridiculous to endeavour to disprove that, unless one could suppose that a great part can be by any body understood to mean the whole. But how much this great part, for which no account has been rendered, amounts to, may easily be found by any person that will give himself the trouble to look into the report, where he will see, that the committee, from certificates of the auditors of the imprests, have stated the accounts of the several accountants therein mentioned, under the heads of *charge*, *discharge*, and *remains to be accounted for*. The charge contains the whole charge of all monies received by the accountants out of the exchequer, or otherwise: The discharge, as well accounts that lay before the auditors as accounts actually passed; and a balance is then stated at the foot of each account; which balances being added altogether, amount to but seven millions five hundred fifty-seven thousand five hundred and thirteen pounds two shillings and eight-pence.

What then can be more unaccountable, than the common error which people have entertained of this matter? The House of Commons has been careful to set it in a true light, by publishing the particular state of the whole, and setting down in express words, how much under each head remains to be accounted for; which wanted no skill but common addition for any man to be informed of. And yet the country is amused and imposed upon by a groundless noise of thirty-five millions not accounted for, in direct contradiction to a report published by order and authority of the House of Commons.

By what I have now shewn, it appears, that of the thirty-five millions, &c. there

ought no less to be struck off, than twenty-seven millions seven hundred forty-four thousand five hundred ninety-four pounds sixteen shillings and a penny; which already reduces that immense sum to seven millions and a half, &c. as is beforementioned. This last sum is all that remains to be accounted for, I mean, all for which no account had been rendered at Christmas 1710. But then it must be admitted, that all the accounts are not actually passed for the other part, though they have been duly rendered. It will therefore now be necessary to enquire into the reasons and allegations that have hindered or delayed the passing several of them, and how far those reasons can be justified.

I will not take upon me to affirm, that all the accountants have been as expeditious as they possibly might have been in passing their accounts: And it may well be thought strange, that twenty years, or indeed half that time, has not been found sufficient to finish divers of them. But, as the chief end and view of those who have been most industrious to insinuate this wrong construction through the kingdom, has been to blacken and load the late ministry, it does not seem necessary to my present purpose, to enquire how far the officers employed in former reigns have discharged their duties. If any irregularities in payments, or improper distributions of the publick money, have prevented or delayed the passing those accounts, there can be no reason that this should be charged upon the late administration. The accounts of former reigns are no farther to be considered, than as a burden transmitted down to succeeding ministers, who are obliged from time to time, to give such orders towards the passing of them as become necessary: And they are no farther blameable, than as those orders shall upon examination be found to be ill grounded or unwarrantable.

Many instances might be given, in which the passing of accounts is only obstructed by some irregularities or unnecessary delays: And that the House of Commons was sensible of this, appears from the order of reference, when a committee was first appointed to enquire, how far the several imprest accountants had passed their respective accounts; wherein it was directed, that the committee should not only consider of methods for the more effectual and speedy compelling accountants to pass their accounts, but likewise to obviate all irregularities and unnecessary delays in the same. The House of Commons therefore was convinced, that several difficulties and obstructions, which attend the passing of accounts, are not in the power of the accountants to remove, but want to be corrected and obviated by the authority of parliament. And this is sufficient to prove in general, that it is not always in the power of an accountant to pass his accounts within the time required; therefore the not finishing, or not actually passing accounts, is not to be imputed as a crime, when they only are delayed by the forms and niceties of offices; or for necessary reasons arising from the nature and remoteness of the service; or from an impossibility of complying with the regular course of the Exchequer.

This being premised, I will now consider the reasons and allegations of the several accountants, and how far they may be justified. The report indeed sets forth, that though the principal accountants, and all that were summoned by the committee, did offer reasons in their own vindication, the committee did not think fit to examine them; for that they were not empowered by the House so to do; the reasons therefore having never been before the House, they could not enter into them, nor could do more than barely state the facts. But yet, whoever will look into the said report, will find, that the chief delays have arisen either from the want of privy-seals, or from the nature of the services performed, or from the remoteness of the places where the payments were made, or from the method and practice of paying and accounting, which is peculiar to the navy-office.

The passing accounts by privy-seals has formerly made a great noise in parliament; and had once a censure in such strong and general terms, that I believe it has very

much obstructed the obtaining privy-seals; and has occasioned such a nicety in granting them, as, if always insisted on, will make the passing several accounts utterly impracticable, and furnish the accountants with an excuse, that may cover any wilful delay or neglect. It is as needless as it is difficult to mention all the instances where privy-seals are not warrantable, and ought not to be granted: But it is certain that in some cases they are not only requisite, but that they ought not in justice to be refused. Several disallowances may be made to an account in the exchequer, for want of regular vouchers, when it is evident, by receipts and such other proofs as the service was capable of supplying, that the money was expended to the proper uses for which it was granted. And nothing but a privy-seal can supply this defect, which indeed is only a defect in form.

The rules of the exchequer are very antient, and were certainly in their original well contrived for the service and security of the publick; but it is not to be supposed that rules and orders of so long a date, when the receipts and issues were very much less, and the money generally expended within the kindom, can be strictly adapted to the services and occasions of the present times. The annual grants and expences do so far exceed any thing known in those days, and are of such infinite variety, that cases must every day arise which were unforeseen, and consequently could not be provided for. And this makes it necessary either to alter or new-model the course of the exchequer, that it may suit better with the incidents of the present times; or, if the antient course is to be preserved sacred and inviolable, to have a discretionary power lodged somewhere, that it may dispense with the strict rules for the accommodation of the publick service. This power is now in the privy-seal, and ought in justice to be exercised; but with that care, and under such checks and limitations, as may best secure the revenue, and prevent any fraud or loss to the publick. A few instances that concern the present question will, I think, fully clear this matter.

The payments to foreign princes for subsidies, and to their troops in her majesty's service for their pay and extraordinaries, are always made pursuant to treaties and establishments. Those being the conditions upon which the foreign forces are stipulated for, and taken into the service, the payments can be made upon no other: And this is likewise agreeable to the grants of parliament, which are always founded upon the treaties. But the course of the exchequer requires likewise muster-rolls, and signs manual, for all payments made by the pay-master of the forces, which in this case cannot be had: And therefore the accounts for such payments always have passed, and must always pass by privy-seals. And this happens even in the service of Flanders, where, it is very well known, the payments have been made with all possible strictness and regularity.

But he that expects the same method and exactness in Spain or Portugal, must be very little acquainted with the nature of that service: For there a moiety almost of the money granted annually has been expended for the pay of foreign troops, and their embarkations from Italy; for the pay of the King of Spain's own troops; for the support of his household and civil-list, which every body knows cannot be regularly allowed in an army-account; for regiments of Spaniards, that have been formed, reduced, and perhaps raised again in the compass of a year, as the face of affairs has altered; and for infinite contingencies and extraordinaries of the war, for which no provision could be made but upon account. And whoever considers the nature of these services, the long marches backwards and forwards of those armies, the alternate good and bad success of that war, and the remoteness and distance of that country, which made it impossible to send orders from hence upon any emergency, or every new occasion, will, I believe, not much wonder that accounts of that war are not easily passed. For how is it possible, that the payments made in such remote parts under the care and direction of different persons, and liable to so many accidents and disorders, should be adjusted with so much regularity and dispatch, as affairs of the like nature here at home? Or how can it be supposed, that a great many of those payments, which could not be allowed without the authority of a privy-seal, should ever be passed without one?

Yet an account of the receipts and payments for that service may be so made up, as may plainly shew, that the money was applied to the proper uses, though the vouchers may not be so regular and perfect, to enable the auditor to pass the account.

Another great instance of the necessity of privy-seals is, the method of passing the accounts of the treasurer of the navy; upon which the committee observes, "That though this is an account of the greatest sums of money, and of the greatest consequence to the kingdom, yet it passed in a method quite different from any other account, the same being brought to the auditor in volumes, signed by three commissioners of the navy, without any vouchers, which the auditor is empowered thus to pass by the authority of a privy-seal."

By this time I question not but both the justice and necessity of privy-seals appear evident in some cases; and I shall only add, That I would not be thought to contend here for privy-seals, to supply the want of vouchers or receipts for money, but only to make good any defect in form or regularity, occasioned by the necessity of the service, and which by the strict course of the exchequer could not be allowed.

But farther, to demonstrate the security of the publick, I must observe, that privy-seals are never granted till the account, and all the vouchers produced to support it, have undergone the strictest examination, and the privy-seals themselves have been referred to the auditors; whereby the same persons, in whom, by the law and rules of the exchequer, the power of examining and judging of all vouchers is lodged, have the re-examination of all such vouchers as appear irregular and deficient, and if they shall be found reasonable to be allowed upon the report and opinion of the auditors, the warrant goes for directing the privy-seal to pass the account.

And this furnishes me with another argument to shew, That the rendering or laying an account before the auditors, is, in a great measure, the chief satisfaction that is given to the publick: Or at least, that when the account with all the vouchers is laid before the auditors, the accountant has done all that for some time is in his power to perform. The first examination of the account, the re-considering it upon the disallowances, and all the forms and steps through the several offices that are necessary to perfect accounts of such large sums, as are now chiefly under consideration, are works of time; and most certainly make an accountant very excusable, that has rendered his account, and delivered in his proper receipts and vouchers, although his account be not actually passed.

To bring then this matter to a conclusion, it is plain, that as accounts have been rendered for all the thirty-five millions, &c. except for seven, &c. so we find by the report, that the principal accountants alledge and chiefly insist on the want of privy-seals for their justification, which became necessary by the nature of the services, and which only could enable them to comply with the pressing occasions of the war.

It is not my business to consider the particular defences of each accountant, any farther than is necessary to my present purpose; but some few observations may not improperly be made upon them.

In the Earl of Ranelagh's account, as stated by the committee, we find, that all his accounts, even to his final account, lay before the auditors, with a balance only to be accounted for, of one thousand seven hundred seventy-one pounds eight shillings and sixpence: But that upwards of six millions was depending for want of a privy seal, which is reckoned into the thirty-five millions; that of the disallowances which had been made to his account for want of regular vouchers, a privy-seal, after a strict examination, had been directed to discharge him of near four millions; and that he was applying to be discharged of the remainder in the same manner; and that his final account was delayed only for want of these privy-seals. Upon which I shall only observe, that till it is once positively determined for what disallowances it is reasonable to grant him privy-seals, and for what not, and till such as are found reasonable are dispatched, it will be impossible to know what balance is really due, and ought justly to be charged upon him at the foot of his account. And as long as the privy-seals are stopped for such allowances as have been judged reasonable, as well as for those which

have not yet passed examination, it furnishes him with a very plausible excuse for not passing his final account, which must wait the fate and issue of the preceding.

In Mr Brydges's account, as stated by the committee, we find, that his accounts were so far delivered in, as to leave at the time of the first meeting of the committee, a balance to be accounted for of above six millions, but that above eight millions were reckoned into the thirty-five; for which the accounts were either then fully adjusted, or lay before the auditors: And that his accounts delivered in at that time contained his whole account for the service of Flanders to December 1709, and for the service in Spain and Portugal to December 1707. But I am very credibly informed, That when the report came from the committee, and this matter was debated in the House, Mr Brydges informed them, and very much to their satisfaction, that he had farther delivered in his accounts to the auditors, for the service in Spain and Portugal, for the years 1708 and 1709. By which he has rendered an account of three millions two hundred and twenty-seven thousand three hundred seventy-eight pounds two shillings and sixpence; which being deducted from the former sum of six millions three hundred and twenty thousand and seven pounds six shillings and eleven-pence, reduces the sum to be accounted for to three millions ninety-two thousand six hundred twenty-nine pounds four shillings and five-pence; which is no more than one year's account only. And if it is enquired how it comes to pass, that in six years that gentleman has actually passed but one account, it will be found by the report, that the privy-seal, which, after due examination, was directed by her majesty's warrant for his account, ending at Christmas 1706, was kept back; and that put a full stop, not only to that, but to his subsequent accounts; part of which have been some time adjusted and ready for declaration, and the rest delivered in to the auditors; but none of them can be declared before the preceding accounts are passed. And that privy-seals are just and necessary for moneys issued to the services of Flanders, Spain, and Portugal, I think is already proved. Or, if a precedent were wanting for it, we find in the report, that Mr Fox his predecessor did pass his accounts by the help of such privy-seals. But if it be objected, that Mr Brydges's delivering in his account since the meeting of the committee, may reasonably be supposed to be occasioned by this very enquiry, I beg any man to consider how it was possible for him to prepare accounts of that nature for above three millions; or even to transcribe them, if they had not before been in the greatest forwardness imaginable.

It would be too tedious to enter into all the particulars, and would swell this paper beyond my present design; I will therefore mention no more but Sir Thomas Littleton's account, as it was stated by the committee, where we shall find, that (including what was paid over to his successor) above ten millions and a half are reckoned into the thirty-five; for which his accounts either lie before the auditors, or are under the examination of the navy board. But the method of accounting by the treasurer of the navy, is known to be so very voluminous and tedious, and at the same time his whole account is under such checks and regulations, that, as it is impossible for him to do more than render his accounts within the time limited, and the publick in the meanwhile is effectually secured, so it would be very unjust to blame him for unavoidable delays. But I think it needless to say any more upon this head, and shall only insert a paragraph out of the observations of the commissioners of the navy, which I find in the report, very full to my present purpose, in these words: "And sure no man can think it reasonable that any treasurer of the navy should have any trouble given him for not passing his accounts, whilst they are kept open only for the accommodation of the service; or can there (in our humble opinion) be any colour for it whilst such exact accounts are kept in this office, as that at any time it may be known to a penny what moneys remain in his hands, which is never considerable, the necessities of the service, and the care of this office, drawing it away as fast as he receives it, excepting remote tallies sometimes lodged in his hands by orders from the treasury, until they can be made useful for one head or other, of which the like account is kept, and can at any time be given."

These instances in the great and principal branches of the publick revenue, I hope are sufficient to give any man so clear a view into the nature of publick accounts, that I need not descend to any more particulars.

But I must add one thing more in justice to the late ministry, that they took care, through the whole course of this war, not only to issue the money for the proper services, but likewise to see that it was duly applied to them. This appears by the certificates, which were constantly required, and every week, or fortnight, delivered by the chief paymasters, of their respective remainders in their hands: So that by this means, the lord treasurer was always informed what money had been actually expended, and what still was left to be applied to such uses, as the occasions of the government required. And if it is not to be doubted, but those that had the care of the revenue were fully informed of the nature and necessity of all these services, and had so far seen and known the distribution of the money, as to be satisfied in general of the due application of it, I would be glad to know with what reason or justice they could permit the rigour of the law to be executed against accountants, who, they had reason to believe, had not defrauded the publick, but had done all they could to pass their accounts. Besides, I must further observe, that the treasury is not concerned in the process of the exchequer, more than to grant warrants for stopping such process, when, upon application of the accountant, they shall be found just and reasonable. It is the proper business and duty of the exchequer to compel accountants to pass their accounts, and there that sole power by law is lodged; and it is so effectually provided for, that the auditors are obliged every half-year to return certificates to the remembrancer of all accountants that are in arrear, and process is issued in course against them. And if any accountant, by memorial or petition to the treasury, sets forth his reasons why his accounts are not passed, and humbly prays a warrant to stop the process, this memorial is always referred to the auditors, and a warrant is never granted but upon their report and opinion of the case; nor is the process usually stopped but till the next term only, and then it issues again in course, without further order. But I know not any method of making this matter so plain, as by inserting here a copy of a treasury-warrant for stopping process; by which not only the form, but the purport and effect of all such warrants may very easily be conceived; I will instance in a warrant granted to stop process against the Earl of Ranelagh.

"After, &c. Whereas my very good Lord Richard Earl of Ranelagh hath, by his memorial, set forth, that his accounts, as late paymaster of the forces to Christmas 1701, are passed, and that his final account to Christmas 1702 will be ready for declaration, as soon as the auditors of the imprests have made their report, as to several sums craved by his lordship to be allowed in the said account, and hath therefore prayed that process against him may be stayed. And whereas the said auditors have certified me, that his lordship and his agents have promised to answer diverse queries made by them, relating to his final account, by the beginning of next Michaelmas term, and to prosecute the same till it be passed with all possible diligence. These are to authorize and require you to forbear issuing forth any process against the said Earl of Ranelagh, for his said account, until the first day of Michaelmas term. And if any process be already issued, you are forthwith to supersede the same: But in case his lordship's accounts are not passed by that time, you are then to issue process without further order, for which this shall be your warrant. Windsor-Castle, the second of August, 1708.

To the Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer, or his Deputy. GODOLPHIN."

By this one example every man may judge of the nature and substance of all these warrants, which vary only as the particular cases, circumstances, and allegations of the several accountants may differ, but are all grounded upon the same foundations, and pass the same steps and forms before they are obtained.

And now let any man, who will give himself the trouble to reflect upon what has been said, tell me in which of the cases abovementioned it had been just or reasonable to have refused the stopping process. Was an extent to go against the paymaster of the army, because his deputies in Spain or Portugal had not returned him all their vouchers from those distant countries strictly within the time limited by the course of the exchequer for payments made at home? Or was he to suffer for paying the subsidies, and other extraordinaries to foreign princes, pursuant to the treaties, and out of money granted by parliament for that very purpose, because he wanted muster-rolls and signs manual, and could not obtain a privy-seal to supply that unavoidable defect? Should the process of the exchequer have gone out against the treasurer of the navy, when it was impossible for him, within the time limited, to adjust his accounts? When every page of his ledger must be examined by the navy-board, and signed by three of the commissioners? When the tediousness of this examination, and of making up the ship books, with the multiplicity of other business, must needs hinder that board from dispatching the treasurer's accounts, and he is therefore sure to be every half year certified by the auditors to be in arrear? Should his estate then have been extended for not having done what he never was able to perform? Every body knows what vast sums of money are paid by treasurers of the navy upon interest bills, and yet he cannot be discharged of that money till perfect bills are made out, though the money has been actually paid according to the direction of the treasury, and by order of the commissioners, and though he has all the receipts and vouchers for payment of it. These instances surely are sufficient to shew of what use and necessity warrants are for stopping of process, and with how great justice they may be sometimes granted; which is a matter so very evident, that I may venture to affirm, that the House of Commons did not make the stopping of process any part of their charge or imputation.

This, I think, may very reasonably be concluded, if we consider that the House of Commons, on Wednesday the 26th of April, did order that the proper officers should lay before the House an account of all warrants that had been granted for stopping process, and the reasons for them; and that no return was made to this order till Tuesday the 1st of May. But the House did resume the adjourned consideration of the report on Saturday the 28th of April, and came then to their final resolutions, without waiting for the return of the warrants for stopping process, or having any papers or accounts relating to that matter before them. How then can we suppose the House of Commons, that was so just to call for these accounts, in order to be fully informed, not only of all the facts, but of the reasons and grounds that occasioned or justified these proceedings, would come to a determination, and judge or censure any persons, when such evidences were not before them, as they knew to be necessary for their fully understanding the question? And this sufficiently clears the House of Commons from all such insinuations, as suppose that they censured or condemned the granting of warrants to stop process, since it is apparent they had no such warrants before them when they came to their resolutions, and consequently it cannot be imagined that they gave any opinion concerning them.

But as the nature of the services, and the remoteness of the places where the payments were made, have chiefly occasioned the delays in some accounts, and the applications for a stop of process, so it is very observable, that where the accounts have not been subject to such difficulties, there is no complaint at all. An instance of this we see in those of the paymaster of the guards and garrisons, whose accounts have all along been passed and prosecuted with all possible dispatch; which it is just to observe for his credit, so it shews that due care has been taken for passing accounts, when the nature of the service did not make it necessary to dispense with the common rules and forms.

I will trouble the reader with nothing more, but an abstract of the accounts of several accountants, as stated in the report, and of Mr Brydges's accounts delivered since, with a few remarks upon the whole.

The Earl of Ranelagh's charge is	*l.* 21,015,618	*s.* 19	*d.* 4½
Discharge. By accounts actually passed	*l.* 14,593,665	*s.* 4	*d.* 2⅛
By accounts rendered, or lying before the auditors	6,420,182,	6	8⅜
	21,013,847	10	10½
Remains to be accounted for	1771	8	6
The Honourable James Brydges, Esq.; his charge is	*l.* 15,374,289	*s.* 2	*d.* 2
Discharge. By accounts actually passed	*l.* 956,789	*s.* 6	*d.* 5¼
By accounts rendered, or lying before the auditors	8,097,492	8	7½
	9,054,281	15	0¼
By accounts delivered since Christmas 1710,	3,227,778	2	6
Remains to be accounted for	3,092,629	4	5
Lord Viscount Falkland's charge is	*l.* 3,094,723	*s.* 7	*d.* 11½
Discharge. By accounts actually passed	*l.* 1,122,133	*s.* 5	*d.* 11
By accounts lying before the auditors	1,465,368	5	9¾
	2,587,501	11	8¾
Remains to be accounted for	507,221	16	2¾
Sir Thomas Littleton's charge is	*l.* 18,382,750	*s.* 1	*d.* 5¼
Discharge. By accounts actually passed, or ready for declaration	*l.* 7,559,382	*s.* 5	*d.* 3¼
By accounts lying before the auditors, under the examination of the navy-board, and by money paid over to R. Walpole, Esq.	10,770,179	19	0¾
	18,329,562	4	4
Remains to be accounted for	53,187	17	1¾
Captain Atkinson, and others, commissioners for transportation, their charge during the late war	*l.* 938,646	*s.* 19	*d.* 9
Their discharge by accounts lying before the auditors	935,807	8	4
Remains to be accounted for	2839	11	5
Captain Atkinson and others, their charge for this war	*l.* 120,108	*s.* 16	*d.* 3½
Their discharge by accounts rendered or lying before the auditors	60,546	13	11½
Remains to be accounted for	59,562	2	4
Mr Nutting's charge is	*l.* 108,118	*s.* 16	*d.* 10½
Remains to be accounted for	108,118	16	10½
Mr Mason's charge is	*l.* 262,813	*s.* 19	*d.* 7
Remains to be accounted for	262,813	19	7
Mr Povey's charge is	*l.* 136,160	*s.* 0	*d.* 0¼
His discharge by accounts lying before the auditors	135,476	7	0
Remains to be accounted for	683	13	0¼
Mr Miclethwait's charge is	*l.* 480,209	*s.* 0	*d.* 11¼
His discharge by accounts lying before the auditors	376,442	10	9¼
Remains to be accounted for	103,766	10	2

		l.	s.	d.
Mr Savery's charge is		276,078	8	8½
Discharge. By accounts actually passed		63,810	7	2½
By accounts before the auditors		74,728	1	0¼
		138,538	8	2¼
Remains to be accounted for		137,540	0	6¼
Total to be accounted for		4,380,135	0	2

Thus we see the thirty-five millions and upwards reduced to less than four and a half, which is much short of one year's supply; not to mention other accounts that have been brought in since the report, particularly three of the present paymaster for the sick and wounded. And now, if I may be allowed to suppose, what I think I have fully proved, that many irregularities and unavoidable delays attend the passing of some accounts, which no care or industry can prevent; if it appears that the nature of the services, and the method of payment in some offices being inconsistent with the course of the exchequer, require privy-seals, and are the work of longer time than is limited for passing accounts; if it appears that those irregularities which are incident to accounts, are yet necessary for the accommodation of the service, and not to be avoided without infinite prejudice to the management; and if it appears that the security of the publick does not entirely depend upon the actual passing of accounts, provided they have been duly tendered; I hope people will begin to be satisfied, that the nation has not been cheated of thirty-five millions, and will not persist to reflect so much upon the House of Commons, as to suppose they could discover such a loss of the publick money, and not find out the persons that had wickedly embezzled it. For I am obliged to think, that the justice of this House of Commons is equal to their mercy, and that they would have named, and effectually have punished, any of the late ministers whom they had known to be the authors of such unpardonable mischief to the publick. But I have still a greater authority to persuade me, that nobody was guilty of these high offences, because among the many removes that have been lately made, I hear of no man turned out for ill executing his office, nor of any accountant removed for neglecting his duty in passing his accounts; which surely must convince the world, that her majesty and her present ministers, who have power and opportunities to inspect narrowly, and to be fully informed of the conduct and behaviour of every man in his employment, are satisfied that the delays, which have happened in passing the several accounts, have not proceeded from any neglect in the officers. And what then was to be done by the late ministers, who were equally satisfied that none entrusted with the receipt of publick money during their administration, had wilfully delayed the passing their accounts?

To conclude therefore, I hope I have made it appear, as plainly to others as it does to me, that of the thirty-five millions, &c. accounts have been duly rendered for all but four, &c. That the delays which have happened in passing most of the accounts have arisen only from necessity, and the nature of the services: That the common course and method of business make it impracticable for the several accountants to comply with the rules of the exchequer: That if in some few instances all possible care and dispatch have not been used to prosecute and finish the accounts, the blame is by no means to be laid where the general clamour has fixed it: That of all the money granted for the service of this war, and issued during the late administration, it does not appear there has been the least loss and embezzlement: That there is no ground to suspect, that by not compelling the accountants to pass their accounts, any frauds and misapplications have been screened or concealed; and that, upon the whole matter, there never was a greater calumny raised upon less grounds, than that which I have now disproved.

Navy Office, 19th December, 1711.

An Estimate of the Debt of her Majesty's Navy on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it stood on the 30th of September last, with what thereof has and will be satisfied by the South Sea Stock, pursuant to the late Act of Parliament on that Behalf, and what remains of the said Debt on the said 30th of September to be discharged. With Observations thereupon.

Heads of the Naval Estimates.	Debts as they stood on September 30, 1711. Particulars. Before this Reign.	Since this Reign.	Total.	What of the said Debt has been discharged by the South Sea Stock.	What of the said Debt remains to be discharged.
Due on bills in the second register book, as, namely, for pursers balance-bills, and for extra necessary money, pensions, half-pays, surgeons, free gifts, &c. incurred before this reign, as by an account thereof sent to the right honourable the lord high treasurer, on the 10th of December, 1711, in order to be taken into the South-Sea stock,	16,409 16 0				
For interest allowed by the abovesaid act for the aforesaid debt, from the 25th of March, 1711, to the 25th of December, 1711,		737 1 9	17,146 17 9	17,146 17 9	
Wear and Tear, ordinary and extraordinary Repairs. Due to pay off all the bills entered in course on the ordinary and extraordinary of her majesty's navy to Lady-day, 1711, as by an account thereof sent to the right honourable the lord high treasurer on the 16th of October past, in order to be taken into the South-Sea stock,		1,677,064 7 3			
Interest accruing thereon to the said 25th of March, 1711,		97,208 5 1	1,854,096 11 2	1,854,096 11 2	
Interest allowed by the said act for the aforesaid debt from the 25th of March, 1711, to the 25th of December, 1711,		79,823 18 10			
On the said book of course from the 25th of March, 1711, to the 30th of September, 1711,		234,008 19 11			
Interest accruing thereon,		1005 9 10	235,014 9 9	235,014 9 9	
To her majesty's yards and rope-yards, for the ordinary and extraordinary thereof,		350,489 0 0	350,489 0 0		350,489 0 0
For the freight of hospital ships and tenders, as also for stores delivered into her majesty's several yards, for which no bills were made out on the aforesaid 30th of September last,		41,987 14 1	41,987 14 1		41,987 1 1

Heads of the Naval Estimates.	Debts as they stood on September 30, 1711: Particulars. Before this Reign.	Since this Reign.	Total.	What of the said Debt has been discharged by the S. Sea Stock.	What of the said Debt remains to be discharged.
Seamen's Wages.					
Due to men remaining unpaid upon the books of ships paid off since the 13th of February, 1688,	57,824 13 5	212,517 2 7	270,341 16 0		
To ships in sea pay,		1,829,724 0 0	1,129,721 0 0		2,126,978 19 4
To pay off and discharge all bills entered in course for surgeons necessaries, bounties to widows and orphans, pilotage, &c. on the heads of seamen's wages,		26,913 3 4	26,913 3 4		
Victualling Debt as per an Estimate received from those Commissioners.					
Due to pay off all the bills entered in course to the 25th of March, 1711, as by an account thereof sent to the right honourable the lord high treasurer, the 14th of September, 1711, by those commissioners, in order to be taken into the South-Sea stock,		1,764,762 2 4			
For interest accruing thereon to the 25th of March, 1711,		82,035 18 7	1,929,874 6 10	1,929,874 6 10	
Interest allowed by the said act for the aforesaid debt, from the 25th of March, 1711, to the 25th of December, 1711,		83,076 5 11			
On the said book of course from the 25th March, 1711, to the 30th of September, 1711,		219,568 13 11			
Interest accruing thereon,		1230 13 5	220,799 7 4	220,799 7 4	
For extra-freights and donarages to victualling ships sent to Lisbon, and into the Mediterranean with provisions for the service of her majesty's fleet in those parts, and for provisions delivered into stores, and other services performed before the 30th of September, 1711, for which bills were not then made out; as also to bills of exchange, and necessary money, to pursers wages, to the officers, workmen and labourers, employed in the several yards. For short allowance of victuals to seamen serving on board her majesty's fleet, and for contingencies, &c.		340,206 6 6	340,206 6 6		340,206 6 6
Sick and wounded, and for exchange of French prisoners, the debt of that office as per an estimate, received from those commissioners, viz.					
Due for the service of the sick and wounded seamen on board her majesty's fleet,		81,545 19 6½			
For subsistence of French prisoners,		20,742 2 5	115,194 17 2		115,194 17 2
To bills of exchange from foreign parts,		12,906 15 2½			
Total L.	74,284 9 5	7,157,554 0 6	7,231,788 9 11	425,693 12 10	2,974,856 17 7

Remaining on the said 30th of September past, of the South-Sea stock, &c. towards answering the said Debts, viz.

	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
There was granted by parliament, in page 403, of the act for establishing a trade to the South-Sea, for the debts of the navy, victualling, sick and wounded, to Michaelmas 1710, the sum of	5,130,539	5	5			
In page 404 of the said act, there is a sum of 378,859l. 5s. 8¼d. directed for the debts incurred between the 29th of September, 1710, and 25th of December following, in the several offices of the navy, victualling, and transports, and for interest on army and transport debentures, whereof is to be applied to the debt of the navy, on the head of wear and tear, 96,720l. 3s. and on the head of victualling, 228,275l. 12s. 5d. as per letter from William Lowndes, Esq., of the 29th of November past,	324,995	15	5			
The aforesaid act having also made provision for interest of the said debt, from the 25th of March, 1711, to the 25th of December following, which interest, as by the aforesaid account for the debts on the second book, appears to be 737l. 1s. 9d. And on the head of wear and tear, 79,823l. 18s. 10d. and for the victualling, 83,076l. 5s. 11d. and make altogether the sum of	163,637	6	6			
There has been received by the treasurer of her majesty's navy, South-Sea stock, out of 500,000l. granted by the said act, for the current year, 1711, whereof by an order from the right honourable the lord high treasurer, of the 2d of October last, pursuant to her majesty's warrant under her royal sign manual, dated the day preceding, there was to be applied for the course of the navy, to Michaelmas 1711, the sum of 237,386l. And for the course of the victualling, 51,214l. 7s. 2d. making together the sum of	288,600	7	2			
There has been subscribed to the South-Sea stock, by the treasurer of the navy, tallies on the general mortgage, 1710, for the like sum in the said stock, to be applied to the course of the victualling, to Michaelmas 1711,	168,100	0	0			
	6,075,872	14	6			
Of which there has been applied to the services of the navy and victualling, as appears in the proper column, in the foregoing account, towards the debt to Michaelmas 1711, the sum of	4,256,931	12	10			
Remains of the abovesaid South-Sea stock, to be farther applied, the sum of				1,818,941	1	8

On the 30th of September last, there was remaining in the Hands of the late and present Treasurers of the Navy, the Tallies and Money hereafter mentioned, (over and above the Assignments of the Navy and Victualling Boards) to be applied to the Services thereof, viz.

			l.	s.	d.			
						Brought down	1,818,941	1 2
Executors of Sir Tho. Littleton.	Tallies	On reversionary annuities	46,093	0	0			
		On half subsidies on a general mortgage, 1708,	4,095	3	3			
	In money		2,278	6	6			
	Ditto, for the victualling		7	10	7			
						52,474	0	4
Robert Walpole, Esq.	Tallies.	On the 4th, general mortgage, 1709,	62	18	0			
		On the 12th, 4s. aid	8,000	0	0			
		On the 14th, 4s. aid	31,800	0	0			
		On Candle	93	19	11			
	In money		5,010	2	6			
	Ditto, and several tallies for the victualling		6,592	3	10			
						51,559	5	0
Charles Cæsar, Esq.	Tallies.	On the 14th, 4s. aid	44,000	0	0			
		On malt, anno 1711,	110,400	0	0			
		On hops	14,390	16	8			
	In money		73,914	19	8			
	Ditto, for the victualling		8,215	11	7			
						250,921	7	11
							354,954	13 3
							2,173,895	14 11

					s.	*d.*
The debts remaining (by the aforesaid account) to be satisfied, amount to the sum of				2,974,856	17	1
Towards which the remains of the South Sea stock, tallies and money in the late and present treasurers of the navy's hands, as aforementioned, amount to the sum of				2,173,895	14	11
Wanting on the said 30th of September last, to discharge the said debts, the sum of				800,961	2	2
	l.	*s.*	*d.*			
But towards answering the said debt, there has been received since Michaelmas last, by the treasurer of the navy, for the service thereof, the sum of	497,216	6	1			
Remains to be supplied to the navy, of the sum voted for it the last session of parliament	295,182	14	9			
				792,399	0	10
So that if the navy could be supplied with the abovesaid remains, the charge between Michaelmas 1710 and Michaelmas 1711, would exceed the sum granted for the debt, and what was voted by the honourable House of Commons, but the sum of				8,562	1	4
But the produce of the funds, granted by the parliament in their last sessions, falling short to answer the sums voted, the proportion of the said deficiencies, which will fall to the navy, as per letter from Tho. Harley, Esq. amounts to the sum of				186,974	1	2
And consequently there will remain unprovided for, the sum of				195,536	2	6

Observations on the foregoing Account.

The first observation that is obvious upon perusal of this paper is, that this estimate of the debt of the navy, as it stood on the 30th of September, 1711, is made up by carrying on the former accounts of the debt of the navy, and adding to the old debt the increase that has been made upon the several heads betwixt Michaelmas 1710 and Michaelmas 1711.

By this account it appears at the foot of the column of totals, that, notwithstanding all that has been said of paying the debts of the nation, the debt of the navy was at Michaelmas-day last, 7,231,788l. 9s. 11d.

Whereof there has been discharged, as in the next column, by South-Sea stock, 4,256,931l. 12s. 10d. and then the debt at Michaelmas last remaining to be discharged was as in the last column, 2,974,856l. 17s. 1d.

Towards which there was of South-Sea stock not applied to any service, 1,818,941l. 1s. 8d. and in tallies and money remaining in the hands of the several treasurers of the navy, 354,954l. 13s. 3d. which, making together, 2,173,895l. 14s. 11d. there remained a debt at Michaelmas last, no ways discharged or provided for, of 800,961l. 2s. 2d.

But as a debt of above 800,000l. incurred in one year must appear very extraordinary, not only because it is a far greater debt than was incurred in the navy in any one year during the whole late administration, but because this parliament had so lately declared against all exceedings as illegal and unwarrantable, it was absolutely necessary to colour this over, and by first deducting what had been received since Michaelmas, and then by deducting what had been paid short of the sums voted by parliament, the real debt of 800,961l. 2s. 2d. is very handsomely reduced to 8562l. 1s. 4d. and there it is said, if the navy could be supplied with the aforesaid remains, the charge between Michaelmas 1710 and Michaelmas 1711 would exceed the sum granted for the debts, and what was voted by the honourable House of Commons, but the said sum of 8562l. 1s. 4d.

By this paragraph it plainly appears, that the expence of the navy betwixt Michaelmas 1710 and Michaelmas 1711 is the only account concerned in question; which demonstrates that the 497,216l. 6s. 1d. received by the treasurer of the navy since Mi-

chaelmas, cannot be admitted as lessening the debt incurred before Michaelmas. This estimate of the debt is dated the 19th of December 1711, which within a few days is another entire quarter, and it must be admitted there has been an expence made in the navy in that time, as well as there has been money received and paid: To deduct then the money received since Michaelmas, and not to bring to account the expence that has been made in the same time, is to take credit for five quarters, and charge themselves with but four. Besides, if the money received since Michaelmas has been applied to discharge debts incurred before Michaelmas, the whole quarter's expence betwixt Michaelmas and Christmas is unprovided for, and must be added to the debt, and every quarter's expence is estimated at 524,000l. Or if this money has been applied to services performed since Michaelmas, there can be no pretence to say, it lessens the debt incurred before that time: And it is highly probable this was the case, because we have heard so much of paying ready money upon all contracts made since Michaelmas, which could be supplied out of this money only.

What immediately follows as little contributes towards lessening the debt: To say, that the navy has received 295,182l. 14s. 9d. short of the sums voted, is giving a very good reason for so much of the increase of the debt. But this was likewise the case in every year during the late administration, and was urged as a necessary cause of the increase of the old debt; but this was so entirely exploded the last year, that I can scarce believe what was then declared a dangerous invasion of the rights of parliament, will now be thought right and justifiable; but though it be admitted as a necessary cause for increasing the debt, the debt will still remain the same until that money is received to discharge it; so that I am afraid, if (as is said) there was wanting on the said 30th of September last to discharge the said debts the sum of 800,961l. 2s. 2d. the publick will find they have little less to pay upon these two considerations, though it may serve a present turn, and be an amusement to such gentlemen as will give themselves the trouble to look no farther, to find at the foot of the account such a trifling exceeding as 8562l. 1s. 4d.

But for the better understanding this whole matter, it is necessary now to observe, that the first provision made in South-Sea act is for the whole debt of the navy, as it stood at Michaelmas 1710, and amounted to 5,130,539l. 5s. 5d. There is a farther provision made for debts incurred in the several offices betwixt Michaelmas 1710, whereof the expence in the course of the navy and victualling in that time amounted to 324,995l. 15s. 5d. which, being computed into the total of the debts, is made part of the capital of the South-Sea stock, and thereby discharged. There is afterwards a clause directing the commissioners of the navy and victualling to cause an account of the debts in their respective offices, due on the 25th March 1711, to be made up and stated, and transmitted to the treasury, in order to be subscribed to the South Sea stock. But this not being computed into the total of the debts, is not provided for in the capital stock, and consequently cannot be paid out of any part thereof, which by the act is applied to other services; but must be supplied either out of the 500,000l. granted for part of the provision for that year's service, or out of such tallies on the general mortgage as had been subscribed to the South-Sea stock by the treasurer of the navy. The proportion of the 500,000l. allotted for the service of the navy we find to be 288,600l. 7s. 2d. and the general mortgage-tallies subscribed by the treasurer of the navy to be 168,100l. making together 456,700l. 7s. 2d. which was all the South-Sea stock that was made applicable to the current service of the navy for last year, except the 324,995l. 15s. 5d. which in the South-Sea act is added to the capital stock. But yet we find that over and above the debts incurred between Michaelmas and Christmas, provided for in the bill, and the expence betwixt Christmas and Lady-day, for which power was given, but no provision made, all the bills registered in course in the navy and victualling, from Lady-day 1711 to Michaelmas 1711 are likewise discharged by the South-Sea stock; so that the whole year's expence upon the course of the navy

and victualling between Michaelmas 1710 and Michaelmas 1711 is discharged by the South-Sea stock, which amounts to 1,127,134l. 11s. 9d. although there was power by act of parliament to apply no more than 781,696l. 2s. 7d. The difference is 345,438l. 9s. 5d. to which I will add no more, but ask, out of what part of the South-Sea stock this was paid, and what there is to replace it? or with what justice the contractors were obliged to take their payments in the South-Sea stock at such great discounts, for services, which it is most evident the parliament designed should be answered out of the ready money granted for this year's service.

But, although there was a power given by the act of parliament to discharge the debts of the navy, incurred betwixt Michaelmas 1710 and Lady-day 1711, in the manner above explained, I presume, it will not be pretended, that this was granted as an additional supply to the navy, over and above the 2,200,000l. granted for the service of the year 1711, but must be understood as a power to apply so much of the South-Sea stock to the current service of the year as part of the supply granted for that purpose. If then the design of the parliament was to limit the expence of the navy to the sums voted for that service, in the committee of supply, where the proportions of expence for all parts of the service are always limited and adjusted, let us enquire how far the charge of the navy betwixt Michaelmas 1710 and Michaelmas 1711, has exceeded the supply granted for that year's service; and this may be done by considering it in two different views, wherein all the facts are taken from the foregoing estimates, or from accounts, made up by the commissioners of the navy and victualling, of the debts of the navy and victualling from Christmas 1710 to Lady-day 1711, or from the report of the commissioners of publick accounts; and it will be no objection, that the exceedings are not just the same in the different views, because they are grounded only upon such gross computations as are taken from those accounts; and it is not pretended here to state the exact exceedings, which cannot be adjusted without a full and particular account of the receipts, issues, and all the particular expences upon each head of the navy.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
There was granted for the service of the navy (exclusive of the ordnance) for the service of the year 1711, - - - -	2,096,000	0	0

The Navy had received between Michaelmas 1710 *and Michaelmas* 1711, *in South-Sea Stock,*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For debts incurred in the navy and victualling offices, from Michaelmas 1710 to Christmas 1710, - - - - - - -	324,995	15	5
For ditto, from Christmas 1710 to Lady-day 1711 - - -	346,324	19	3
For ditto, from Lady-day 1711 to Michaelmas 1711, - -	455,813	7	1
	1,127,134	11	9
The navy had likewise received in that time, from the exchequer, as by account from the commissioners of publick accounts -	1,229,849	3	9½
Of which there remained at Michaelmas last, in the hands of the several treasurers of the navy, which may be reckoned part of this money, not above 300,000l. and there being tallies on the general mortgage deposited with the bank, which were redeemed with this money, amounting to about 145,000l. making together - -	445,000	0	0
There had been expended before Michaelmas 1711, of the moneys received from the exchequer, - - - - - - -	784,849	3	9½
And there was wanting at Michaelmas last, to discharge the debts incurred before that time, - - - - - - - -	800,961	2	2

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Total expence between Michaelmas 1710 and Michaelmas 1711,	2,712,944	17	8½
Which exceeds the supply granted by parliament - -	616,944	17	8½

Another State of the Exceedings.

The debt of the navy at Michaelmas 1711 was - - -	7,231,788	9	10
The debt of the navy at Michaelmas 1710 was but - -	5,130,539	5	5
The debt was then increased - - - - - -	2,101,249	4	5
But in the debt of Michaelmas 1711 is included a year's interest, from Michaelmas 1710 to Michaelmas 1711, of the old navy and victualling bills, due before Michaelmas 1710, and which are part of the capital of the South-Sea stock, which interest is not distinguished in the estimate of the debt of the navy, but may be computed at - - - - - - - - - -	180,000	0	0
Which being deducted, the net increase of the debt, betwixt Michaelmas 1710 and Michaelmas 1711, will be - - -	1,921,249,	4	5
Expended of the money received from the Exchequer, as by the last account, - - - - - - - - - - -	784,849	3	9½
Total expence between Michaelmas 1710 and Michaelmas 1711,	2,706,098	8	2½
Which exceeds the supply granted by parliament - - -	610,098	8	2

The small difference between these two states is not worth the notice; but from what has been said, it is evident, that very great exceedings have been in the navy last year, upon which I will make no reflections, but leave it to other gentlemen, whose honour seems to be a little concerned to reconcile this practice with the opinions that have lately prevailed. The opinion of a private man, who has no opportunities of being perfectly informed of these matters, but can only make his own observations upon such papers as accidentally fall in his way, may be thought of no weight or consequence, but such regard has been shewn to the representation made last sessions of parliament, that I shall conclude this paper with transcribing one paragraph from it.

"In examining into the state of the war, and looking back from the beginning of it, we find, that in several years, the service has been enlarged, and the charge of it increased beyond the bounds prescribed, and the annual supplies granted by parliament: To this new and illegal practice, we must, in great measure, ascribe the rise and growth of the heavy debts that lie upon the nation; nor does the consequence of it end there, for we must also represent it to your majesty, as a dangerous invasion of the rights of parliament. The Commons must ever assert it as their sole and undoubted privilege, to grant money, and to adjust and limit the proportions of it; and when your majesty has recommended to them to consider of supplies, and they have deliberated upon the several estimates for the annual services, and considered and determined what the nation is able to bear, their proceedings would be very vain and ineffectual, if, after the respective sums are stated and granted, those through whose hands the disposition of them passes, are allowed, in any measure, to alter and enlarge them. This is an attempt which very little differs from levying money without consent of parliament, as will appear to your majesty from this one consideration, that a charge of that kind once incurred and laid as a debt upon the navy, or any other public office, is so far binding

upon parliament, that how little soever they approve of the means by which it was contracted, yet the public credit being pawned, the Commons cannot, without the ruin of that, refuse to provide for it."

A brief Account of the Debts provided for by the South-Sea Act, and the Times when they were incurred. With some short Observations.

It is too notorious with what industry it has been insinuated, and how generally received, that the whole capital stock of the South-Sea company was a debt contracted by the late ministry. A debt of near nine millions and a half was thought a very heavy burden upon the nation, and what a great many were ready to conclude must be occasioned by ill management, or by embezzlement of the publick money. I will not say that the total of the capital stock was swelled to this height with no other view than to blacken the late ministry, though I believe that was an incident that did not make the project at all the less agreeable; because it is very evident, other people found their account in it, not only by applying so great a share of it to the service of the current year, but because it was essential to their very project. But to see how far the late ministry are justly chargeable upon this account, I thought it worth while to examine into the several particulars, and enquire by what degrees, at what times, and in what manner, this great debt was contracted; and I found that the debt incurred during the late administration, was not near one half of the whole sum provided for by *this act*; that the debt at Michaelmas 1710, to which time all the debts were stated and adjusted, was but six millions seven hundred sixty-one thousand six hundred and ninety pounds eighteen shillings seven-pence farthing; of which two millions eight hundred ninety-seven thousand five hundred thirty-nine pounds nineteen shillings four-pence three farthings was an old debt of the last war, and incurred before the late administration; and that to the debt due at Michaelmas 1710 there is added above two millions seven hundred thousand pounds; which either arose from a great part thereof being granted in aid of the supplies for last year's service, or from the nature of the project; there being no other provision for the growing interest but by making it principal, the interest, together with the general mortgage-tallies, was included in this provision; all which being no part of the debt due at Michaelmas 1710, is not to be imputed to the late ministry, whose charge must be allowed to determine with their administration; but being now made part of the gross debt, which by this darling project is no otherwise paid, than by being turned into a perpetual debt, with an interest of 6 l. per cent. per ann. must be admitted to be an increase of the debt since the change of the ministry.

A view of the whole debt, distinguished under the three following heads, will best explain this matter.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The principal sum provided for by the South-Sea act, at Christmas 1711, was	9,471,325	0	0¼

Which arose thus:
Before the late administration,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The debt of the navy (exclusive of the Register-Office) at Michaelmas 1702 was	1,722,679	5	8
Ditto of the ordnance	166,293	9	0¾
The principal money of the army and transport debentures	987,157	3	8
Arrears of subsidies to the Elector of Hanover and Duke of Zell	9,375	0	0
Deficient tallies on coals, &c.	12,025	1	0

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Total debt at Michaelmas 1702,—	£,897,529	19	4½
During the late administration,			
The debt of the navy (after the debt of Michaelmas 1702 is deducted) was at Michaelmas 1710 - - -	3,407,859	19	9
Debt of the transports at Michaelmas 1710 - -	424,791	5	4½
The interest then in arrear on the army and transport debentures	31,499	14	1¼
Total debt at Michaelmas 1710,—	3,864,150	19	2½
Since the change of the ministry.			
The debts incurred in the several offices of the navy, ordnance, and transports, and for the interest of the army and transport-debentures between Michaelmas 1710 and Christmas 1710 - -	378,859	5	8¼
Interest of such part of the debt as carried interest from Christmas 1710 to Lady-day 1711 - - - - - - - -	85,000	0	0
Interest of the whole from Lady-day 1711 to Christmas 1711, from which time such debts as carried no interest were charged with interest, and the interest in arrear was made principal, and charged with interest - - - - - - - - - -	386,325	0	0
Five hundred thousand pound stock granted for the service of the current year - - - - - - - - - - -	500,000	0	0
By subscribing the subsidy-tallies of the year 1710, in order to have the general mortgage free at the year 1716, to be made a fund for paying the interest of the whole debt provided for by this act, the principal and interest of which at Lady-day 1711 (from which time the interest was made principal) amounted to -	1,371,428	9	1
Total debt incurred since Michaelmas 1710	2,721,612	14	9¼
Total of the several particulars	9,483,293	13	4½

The difference that appears to be betwixt the total of the particulars and the total of the South-Sea stock, is occasioned by the debt of the ordnance being more at Michaelmas 1702 than it was at Michaelmas 1710, which is one instance of the debt being lessened by the late ministry, where the service would admit of it.

It is observable, that the debt before the late administration necessarily occasioned an increase of the debt since incurred, not only the interest of such part of the debt as carried interest, but the arrears of the several offices, being in course to be satisfied before the new contracts advanced the prices upon all stores, provisions, and necessaries supplied for the use of the publick, and consequently contributed in some measure to the yearly increase of the debt incurred in this war.

Notwithstanding this, it appears that the whole debt incurred in eight years does not exceed three millions eight hundred sixty-four thousands one hundred and fifty pounds nineteen shillings two-pence half-penny; and it appears from authentic accounts, that the deficiency of the funds in that time, amounted to one million five hundred fifty-seven thousand five hundred and forty pounds twelve shillings nine-pence farthing; which reduces the debt contracted in eight years by the late ministry to two millions three hundred and six thousand six hundred and ten pounds six shillings five-pence farthing; which is not three hundred thousand pounds a year, one year with another. And he that thinksit a great mismanagement to incur a debt of about

three hundred thousand pounds per annum, in all the public offices, will wonder to find, since the change of the ministry, one year's debt in the navy only amounting to double that sum, as appears by a late printed account of the debt of the navy at Michaelmas 1711, with observations thereon.

This will still seem a little more extraordinary, if it be considered, that the supplies of last year did far exceed the supply of any one year during this war; which will be found true, if compared with any of the years of the highest expence; and still more so, if we may be allowed to take a medium of the eight years for one year's expence. The supplies of the eight years concerned in this question, amounted to forty-two millions seven hundred fifty-four thousand and twenty-one pounds six-pence three farthings; which, at a medium of the whole for one year, will be five millions three hundred forty-four thousand two hundred fifty-two pounds twelve shillings seven-pence; and this compared with the seven millions one hundred ninety-two thousand three hundred ninety-nine pounds five shillings eight-pence farthing, which in money and South-Sea stock was granted for the service of the last year, exclusive of the deficiencies transferred to the land-tax and malt, and of the five hundred eighty-nine thousand eight hundred thirty-nine pounds seventeen shillings four-pence, (voted this sessions for making good the deficiencies of the last year's grants) will soon shew, that the shortness of the supplies was not the occasion that the exceedings of last year were greater than those of former years, that had lately undergone such severe censures.

And as for any extraordinary services performed last year beyond all former years, I know of none but that notable expedition to Canada;[1] and am not concerned whether the undertaking a project that had been before concerted and rejected as impracticable, or the success that attended it, is to justify so extraordinary an expence to the nation.

The present Ministry justified: Or, an Account of the State of the several Treaties of Peace between her Majesty and her Allies, and France and Spain: With an Account of the Obstructions of Peace, and of what was done relating to the Catalans. 1714.

During the important crisis which succeeded the peace of Utrecht, that treaty was severely attacked by the opposition upon all its points, but particularly on the allegation that the queen

[1] "The English ministry had conceived great expectations from an expedition against Quebec and Placentia, in North-America, planned by Colonel Nicholson, who had taken possession of Nova-Scotia and garrisoned Porte-Royal, to which he gave the name of Annapolis. He had brought four Indian chiefs to England, and represented the advantages that would redound to the nation in point of commerce, should the French be expelled from North-America. The minister relished the proposal. A body of five thousand men was embarked in transports, under the command of Brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs Masham; and they sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of May, with a strong squadron of ships commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker. At Boston in New England, they were joined by two regiments of Provincials; and about four thousand men, consisting of American planters, Palatines, and Indians, rendezvoused at Albany, in order to march by land into Canada, while the fleet sailed up the river of that name. On the twenty-first day of August they were exposed to a violent storm, and driven among rocks, where eight transports perished, with about eight hundred men. The admiral immediately sailed back to Spanish River Bay, where it was determined, in a council of war, that as the fleet and forces were victualled for ten weeks only, and they could not depend upon a supply of provisions from New England, they should return home, without making any further attempt. Such was the issue of this paltry expedition, entrusted to the direction of an officer without talents and experience."—SMOLLETT's *History of England, vol. II.* p. 212-3.

was thereby induced to abandon the insurgents of Catalonia to the vengeance of the King of Spain, whose title they had refused to acknowledge.

"The House of Peers resounded with debates upon the Catalans, the Pretender, and the danger that threatened the protestant succession. With respect to the Catalonians, they represented, that Great Britain had prevailed upon them to declare for the house of Austria, with promise of support; and that these engagements ought to have been made good. Lord Bolingbroke declared, that the queen had used all her endeavours in their behalf, and that the engagements with them subsisted no longer than King Charles resided in Spain. They agreed, however, to an address, acknowledging her majesty's endeavours in favour of the Catalans, and requesting she would continue her interposition in their behalf."—SMOLLETT'S *History of England, vol. II. p.* 279.

In answer to the addresses of this House, That her majesty will be pleased to order an account to be laid before this House, how far the peace is complete between her majesty's allies, and France and Spain, and what is yet wanting to make the same universal; as also what obstructions her majesty has met with in her endeavours to make the same universal and complete; and likewise that her majesty would please to order an account to be laid before this House, of what endeavours have been used, that the Catalans might have full enjoyment of all the ancient liberties and privileges, and that a full state of all proceedings during the treaty of peace, relating thereunto, be likewise laid before this House; her majesty has thought fit to order, besides the papers herewith delivered in, the following state of the treaties of the negociations of peace, and of the endeavours which she has used that the Catalans might have the full enjoyment of all their ancient liberties and privileges, to be prepared and laid before this House.

On the eleventh day of April, the ministers of Great-Britain, of Portugal, of the present King of Sicily, and of the States-General of the United Provinces, signed their respective treaties with the ministers of his most Christian majesty at Utrecht.

From that time, therefore, no treaties between France and any of the allies remained unfinished, except those of the emperor, and of the body of the empire: The first of which was executed at Radstadt on the sixth of the last month, N. S. and his imperial majesty undertaking therein to procure the consent of the empire to all the articles of it, the peace of the latter may, in effect, be reckoned to have been likewise made at the same time, although a congress is appointed to meet at Baden, where the consent of the electors, princes, and states of the empire, is to be given in form, and several particular claims to be discussed.

Passports not having been granted to the ministers of Spain, till more than fourteen months after the conferences at Utrecht were opened, the Duke of d'Ossuna did not come to the congress before the 19th of April, N. S. 1713, nor enter on any business till the arrival of his colleague the Marquis de Monteleon in the month of June.

On the 13th of July following, the treaty of peace between her majesty and the catholick king was signed; but the treaty of commerce could not be finished till the 9th of December, N. S. 1713.

The peace between Spain and Portugal her majesty looks upon to be as good as concluded, it appearing by late accounts from Utrecht, that the project thereof had been drawn up in form, and sent to the two courts to be approved; and that the differences which remain were too inconsiderable to occasion any new delay. In the meanwhile, her majesty has taken the most effectual care of the interests of the King of Portugal, having given to that prince, on the 18th of August, 1713, of her own motion, and without any requisition on his part, a new guarantee, whereby the queen obliged herself to secure the restitution, even by force of arms, if that should become necessary, of any thing which might be taken from Portugal before the conclusion of the peace; to procure to that crown the colony of the Sacrament, or, in lieu thereof, such

an equivalent as the King of Portugal himself should be contented to accept; to obtain satisfaction to the Portugueze for what they claim to be due them, on account of their assiento, or contract with the crown of Spain; and to set on foot, after the peace, an amicable negotiation for accommodating the differences which have arisen concerning several estates situated in Portugal, and claimed by subjects of Portugal residing in Spain; and concerning those Spanish ships which were, about the beginning of the war, seized by the Portugueze: On these principles, the Earl of Strafford made a solemn declaration to the ministers of Spain, in February last, when he exchanged with them the instruments of ratification of the treaties between her majesty and the catholick king, that the peace which the queen then ratified, did not dispense with the obligations which she lay under to the King of Portugal, as well by her guarantee lately granted, as by her defensive alliance made in 1703, and that her majesty was determined to assist and defend this prince on the foot of the pretensions specified in the said guarantee, and according to the tenour of the said defensive alliance.

The treaty of peace between the Kings of Spain and Sicily was executed on the same day on which her majesty's treaty with the crown of Spain was signed, that is, on the 13th of July, 1713.

All the articles of a treaty between the catholick king and the States-General have been long ago adjusted; and that treaty would have been executed in form, had not the ministers of the States-General made and insisted upon a declaration, which those of Spain apprehend to be repugnant to the terms already settled.

It has not hitherto been possible so much as to enter on a treaty between their imperial and catholick majesties; the emperor having thought fit to withdraw the last of his ministers from Utrecht, before those of the King of Spain could appear and act in that congress.

This short account of the present state of the several treaties of her majesty and her allies with France and Spain, shews how little is wanting, in comparison with what has been already done, to render the peace at last as universal as it would have been long ago, had not continual obstructions been thrown in the way of this great work, at its beginning, and in every step of its progress.

France having complained of the manner of treating, when former treaties were made to set a negotiation for a general peace on foot; and having for that reason refused to make any new overtures to the States-General, her majesty received, in the month of April, a proposal from the most Christian king, which she immediately communicated by her ambassador to the ministers of Holland, assuring them, that in making peace, as in making war, she would act in perfect concert with the States: The Dutch ministers, in return to this mark of her majesty's confidence in them, and friendship for their republick, having expressed themselves to be weary of the war, heartily desirous of peace, and ready to join n any method her majesty should think proper to obtain it, gave their opinion, that the overture made by France was too general; "that it was necessary the queen should make the French explain themselves more particularly;" and that till they had done so, it was not proper to take any concert with the rest of the allies.

As soon as her majesty received this answer from the Hague, she insisted that the French should be more direct and particular in their overtures; and that they should form a distinct project of such a peace as they were willing to conclude: No time was lost in carrying this negotiation forward, and the utmost care was taken, according to the desire of the ministers in Holland, whom her majesty had consulted, to preserve the secret; but the dilatory method of treating, which in those circumstances was unavoidable, and other accidents, to which transactions of this kind must be always exposed, were the occasions that nothing more satisfactory than the first propositions, which France had made, could be obtained till the end of September 1711.

On the first of October, the queen's instructions were given to the Earl of Strafford, to repair with all possible diligence to Holland, to acquaint the ministers of the States with all that had been done, in consequence of what they had in the month of May desired; and to communicate to them the propositions signed by Monsieur Mesnager four days before, to wit, the 27th of September; which her majesty looked upon to include, in their general expressions, all the particular demands, proper to be made in the course of the negotiation, and to be a sufficient foundation whereupon to open the conferences. The Earl of Strafford was, at the same time, instructed to assure the ministers of Holland, that her majesty was determined to accept of no advantages to herself, repugnant to their interests; nor of any peace, unless they had all reasonable satisfaction as to their barrier, as to their trade, and to every other respect: He was likewise to exhort them to join with her majesty in promoting the strictest union among all the confederates, as the only means to carry the negociation successfully forward; and communications and assurances of the same nature were at the same time given to the other allies.

Before these orders could be executed, and even before the last overtures had been made on the part of France, or it could possibly be known what had been transacted, the whole confederacy was industriously alarmed; jealousies were every where sown; and even in Britain, the most licentious clamours were raised against her majesty's proceedings.

This behaviour must appear very extraordinary, when, besides what is above mentioned, it shall be considered, that the receiving a minister from France by her majesty, which was urged as the reason of the apprehensions of the allies, and which was the only one they pretended to give, was no more than what the Dutch, and (there was ground to believe) others of the confederates, had several times done; and that the person sent hither, was the same Monsieur Mesnager, who a year or two before had lain concealed in Holland for many weeks, and had treated during that time with the chief ministers of that republick.

The fatal consequences, which the least appearance of disunion amongst the allies would necessarily produce, began then to be felt; and her majesty found herself obliged to let the imperialists and the Dutch know, that the French might have been brought to explain themselves further than they did, had it not been for the extraordinary uneasiness, impatience, and jealousy, which, upon the first appearance of taking any measures towards peace, discovered themselves among the allies.

From thence are all the obstructions to the peace to be dated; and to those obstructions alone, such points as seem to fall short of the expectations of any of the parties concerned, are to be attributed. The queen foresaw, that nothing would be left undone to force the negociation out of her hands, as well by those who were against any peace at all, as by those who feared that her majesty, being at the head of the negociation, more advantages might accrue to Great Britain than they were willing to allow: And therefore the confederacy, which formed itself in opposition to what the queen had undertaken, instead of altering her conduct, became the strongest reason imaginable to continue it. Things were already brought to that extremity, that there was no middle between a steady pursuit of the true interest of Great Britain in the first place, and abandoning ourselves to be disposed of in war, or in peace, as should suit the conveniency, or gratify the passions of the confederates.

Soon after the Earl of Strafford's departure to Holland, Monsieur Buys arrived here with the character of envoy from the States-General. When a minister of this consequence was sent, hopes were immediately conceived that all jealousies might be cured, and a perfect harmony be created between the queen and the States: After which, an union with the other allies would necessarily follow; and the whole confederacy en-

tering as one man into the congress, the sincerity of the French would have been soon tried, and the possibility or impossibility of obtaining a good peace soon decided.

In order to this end, her majesty's servants were instructed and impowered to settle with this minister such disputes as related to the reciprocal interests of the two nations, and to prevent, by this previous concert, any difference which might arise in the course of the treaty between the queen and the States. They were further directed to adjust, in conference with him, such a plan for the general peace, as it might be proper finally to insist upon; and in this case her majesty would have been ready, jointly with the States, to have broken the conferences, if these terms had not been granted without exception and without delay. But, such was the publick misfortune at that time, that this minister was only empowered to hear, and not to speak, and could not take upon him so much as to conclude, or even sign, *sub spe rati*, a new offensive and defensive alliance betwixt the queen and the States, which in these circumstances of affairs he judged, and her majesty's servants concurred with him, to be extremely necessary. By the conferences which were held with Monsieur Buys here, by the accounts which came from abroad, and by the representations which some of the allies made about the same time to her majesty, it appeared undeniably evident, not only that the war was become on the present foot absolutely impracticable, but also that no alteration could be attempted, either in the method of carrying it on, or in the views towards which it was directed, without dissolving at once the confederacy; and that the dispute was, in fact, not whether a peace, by which Spain and the Indies would be left to Philip, should be made, but who should have the making of it?

The real annual expence of this kingdom amounted to more than seven millions; whereas it is certain, that we were not in a condition effectually to raise near six millions in the course of a year; from hence it follows, that if this proportion had been continued, about nine millions would have been the true charge of a second year, and about eleven millions that of a third.

This was the state of our affairs, whilst the house of Austria contributed nothing but one regiment to the war of Spain, little to that of Italy; had but few forces, and those entirely unactive on the Rhine; and sent none in the Netherlands, except such as those harassed provinces were obliged to maintain, and were therefore rendered unable to furnish troops, or make the necessary provisions for the operations of the army; both which they might otherwise have done, and both which they did in an eminent degree whilst they were under the government of the present King of Spain.

The States-General bore a considerable burden; but as they had from the year 1708 sent no supplies of any kind either to Portugal or to Catalonia, and had drawn themselves almost entirely out of the Spanish war; as they furnished in no proportion their quota for these a service; as they had reduced their joint contributions with the queen, in all payments, to one-third of the whole; and as they were very backward in answering even this share of expence, so the load of Great-Britain came upon their account, as well as upon the emperor's, to be vastly increased: As to the rest of the allies, all the troops which they furnished were maintained by the queen and the States, except a few, and those almost wholly employed in covering their own frontiers.

In this situation of affairs, her majesty declared to the imperialists, and to the Dutch, that if they would not allow France to have given sufficient grounds for opening the conferences; if they were desirous to carry on the war, and determined to accept of no terms of peace, inferior to those which had been formerly demanded and refused; she was on her part ready to concur with them; but that, in justice to herself and to them, she thought herself bound to let them know, that she could no longer bear so disproportionate a burden; that it was evident that the common effort must be still greater than it was, or that there would remain no prospect of arriving at the ends which they proposed; and that, for these reasons, it would be incumbent upon

them, if the war continued, to increase their expences, whilst the queen reduced hers.

The ministers of the States-General were very candid and open upon this head. Monsieur Buys asserted, that his masters had done their utmost already, and could be obliged to no more; many of the others had on several occasions declared their country unable to support the charge they were at another summer; and the Pensionary himself, in a deputation of the States appointed to attend the Earl of Strafford, in October 1711, declared, that it was impossible to think of continuing the war another year; that what from the emperor, and what from the princes of the north, we should be in the utmost danger, should we attempt to do it; and, finally, that they were traitors to their country who were against the peace.

Many instances might be produced, to shew that there was at least as little reason to expect from the house of Austria, as from the States-General, a greater effort than they had hitherto made. The peace of Hungary was concluded about the month of May 1711, and that constant excuse, which the ministers of Vienna used to make for all their deficiencies, did by consequence no longer subsist: Yet her majesty found it impossible, at the latter end of that year, to obtain a reinforcement of no more than eight thousand men from thence, although her minister was impowered to have offered forty thousand pounds for the march of them; and although the present King of Sicily, then Duke of Savoy, undertook, if he might be assured of this re-inforcement, any time before the close of the campaign, to establish his winter-quarters on that side of France; which would have been in that point of time the more decisive, because a project was then formed, and would have been executed, could the States have been in time induced to have taken even less than their own share upon them; her majesty supplying their deficiency, as well as her own proportion, to have kept a great body of horse all the winter, on the frontiers of the Low-Countries; by which means Picardy, and the Isle of France, would have been ravaged, no magazines could have been erected, and the French must have gone in the spring a great way back into their country to assemble their army.

The imperial ministers confessed very freely, that their master expected the queen should furnish all the money, and that the utmost he could do, was to send troops at her expence; in the same breath avowing, the emperor's intention to break the negociation of peace, and to continue the war till Spain was conquered; the entire monarchy whereof he expected: But if there had remained any doubt of the little assistance which was to be hoped for from the house of Austria, who aimed at such great acquisitions, this matter would have been put entirely out of dispute, by the proposals which Prince Eugene himself made in Holland first, and afterwards to the queen.

These proposals, it must be thought, were carried at least as high as his imperial majesty judged himself able to make good; since it is notorious, that he would have stuck at nothing, which might have broke the measures of peace, and have encouraged the resolution of prosecuting the war: And yet, even by these proposals, his imperial majesty did not pretend to act in the field with two thousand men more, than, in the year 1702, it was understood that the Emperor Leopold undertook to furnish; although the expence of a great part of these troops was not to fall upon him; and although he offered to contribute but a fourth of the charge of the army in Spain, so that the remaining three-fourths, as well as the whole transportation and extraordinary of that war, would still have been placed to the queen's account.

From what has been said, it is manifest, that the method, in which the war was proposed to be carried on, could no longer be supported; and that there was not any glimpse of hope left, that the allies could be brought to make any considerable augmentation of force, to have prosecuted the war; therefore in this manner must have been the ruin of Britain, to have insisted upon an impossibility, as a condition, without which the queen would not proceed, must have disunited the alliance, and suspend-

ed the operations of the armies in all parts; in both these cases the consequences are too evident to be enlarged upon.

In the beginning of the year 1711, died the late Emperor Joseph; and the eyes not only of the princes of all the confederates, and of her majesty, in the first place, were immediately fixed on his brother. This event occasioned a great alteration in the councils of Europe, and gave a new turn to the sentiments of many princes.

There was reason to believe, that the ministers of Vienna themselves began to cool in the project of recovering Spain and the Indies. They seemed to intend nothing more than to get the present emperor into Germany, and to secure the possession of Italy to themselves; and the former, as well as the late instances they had made, for attempting the reduction of Sicily, though at the expence of diverting part of that force, which was applied to the war of Spain, pointed the same way.

In Holland, a partition of the Spanish monarchy seemed almost the general scheme; and the conduct of that republick, as well as the confession of its ministers, shewed, that the project of driving Philip out of Spain was looked upon there to be pure chimera.

Soon after the death of the Emperor Joseph, her majesty had been acquainted, that some of the princes of the empire thought it a point, which deserved the most serious reflection; whether they should suffer the imperial and Spanish crowns to be united on the same head; and whether it might not be proper, in the capitulation of the empire, to insist on the separating of them. Other members of the Grand Alliance, and those the only two with whom her majesty had entered into any formal engagement for recovering the entire Spanish monarchy, represented, upon the same occasion, against placing this crown on the emperor's head: It was urged by one of the most considerable princes in the alliance, that the principle upon which he engaged in the war was now altered; and that instead of fighting to procure the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, his interest, and even his safety, required that he should fight to prevent it.

The case therefore stood thus: The present emperor, even after his brother's death, and his own election, would content himself with nothing less than the whole Spanish monarchy, and insisted that the war should be prosecuted in this view. Of the other allies, some looked on this prospect as chimerical, others as dangerous; from whence it follows that to keep the Grand Alliance united in this principle was impracticable; and it must be allowed, that to have altered this principle, to have changed so many treaties, to have reconciled so many different interests, and to have formed a system entirely new, in the midst of the war, was an experiment too hazardous to be attempted.

In this situation of affairs no time was to be lost: The queen knew very well, that attempts to open a treaty with France, separately from her, were made by those who clamoured the loudest against her measures; and the present emperor had thought fit, on board one of her majesty's ships, and by her own minister, to send her a message of the same nature. She therefore insisted with the imperialists, and with the Dutch, that she would be at some certainty, and that they should comply with her in the measures either of war or of peace.

How the war became impracticable has already appeared; what obstructions there were to the carrying on a treaty of peace comes next to be related.

The principal, and indeed the only avowed, dispute between her majesty and the States at this time, concerned the method of carrying a negociation forward. The States pretended, that a fair opportunity would be given to the ministers of France, to divide the confederates, if they were suffered to meet together in a general congress, before the essential articles of peace were settled by specifick preliminaries; the use which had been made of this method, on a former occasion, to evade the concluding of any peace, when, according to the confession of the Dutch ministers themselves, the dif-

ferences on which the allies and France broke off, did not deserve the life of a single soldier, gave no great encouragement to pursue the same again; besides which, as the queen would not take upon her to settle the interests of others, so neither would she suffer others to determine those of her own kingdoms; and if all the confederates were to assemble in order to adjust a preliminary treaty, the objection made by the States returned upon them.

In December, 1711, the States concurred with her majesty in fixing the place of the treaty, appointing the day on which the congress should open, inviting the allies to send their ministers thither, and giving the necessary passports to the plenipotentiaries of France. And if nothing had happened to revive the spirits of those who were bent against the peace, it is highly probable, by the little time which it cost to conclude most of the treaties after the conferences that had been interrupted, were resumed at Utrecht, and the allies proceeded in earnest to negociate, that the treaties of all the confederates with France, might have been finished before the season of opening the campaign in 1712. But before Monsieur Buys returned into Holland, or the conferences could begin, the efforts were renewed with the greatest vigour to break off the negociation, the cry against a peace by which Spain and the Indies should be left to any branch of the house of Bourbon, became louder than ever; and letters and memorials were not only delivered, but printed; and appeal made against her majesty's proceedings to all Europe, and even to her own subjects.

On these encouragements the good dispositions towards peace received a check, and some of those who had owned themselves against the prosecution of the war to recover the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, joined now, under this very pretence, to break the measures of peace. The treatments which her majesty met with at this time will appear in the clearest light from this circumstance. The minister of the States-General proposed to her majesty's servants, that, considering the difficulties which the queen lay under, how impossible it was to recover by war, or by treaty, the Spanish monarchy from King Philip, and how impossible he likewise apprehended it to be in the present circumstances of affairs, for her majesty to carry on any negociation, by which this monarchy should be left to Philip, he was ready to extricate her majesty from this dilemma, and to screen her ministers in carrying on the work which they had begun, in the name of his masters, to present a memorial, by which the point of obtaining Spain and the Indies should be given up; provided he might be assured, that the Dutch should have an equal share with her majesty's subjects in the assiento, which contract he supposed it was stipulated should be made with Great-Britain.

From the causes, and by the steps, which have been here mentioned, was the disunion among the allies arrived to the highest pitch, at the opening of the conferences in the month of January, 1711-12, when the strictest union amongst them was more than ever necessary, and when the whole fruit of those successes, wherewith God had blessed their cause in the course of the war, depended on it. They sent their several plenipotentiaries to Utrecht, but it was very apparent, that most of them acted on that maxim, which one of them professed, that giving into the measures of peace was the surest way to continue the war. They flattered themselves, that the imperial ministers, in conjunction with those of Britain, having two years before baffled the designs of Holland to make peace, it would be at least as easy for the ministers of the emperor, in conjunction with those of the States-General, to render fruitless, at this time, all her majesty's endeavours to the same end. After this it will not appear surprising, if the utmost dexterity was exerted to delay the entering on business at Utrecht, and to wait for the events of the campaign.

On the 29th of January, 1711-12, the first general conference was held between the ministers of the allies and those of France, and by the beginning of April a dispute was set on foot concerning the method of proceeding, which made all treaty impracticable, and which was kept up, till a quarrel happening between one of the pleni-

potentiaries of France, and one of those of the States, a new obstruction was created to take place and to answer the ends of the first.

The French had made their overtures in writing; the allies had likewise given in their demands in writing; and the question arose, whether the French were obliged to give a specifick answer in writing, or whether they should now proceed in the negociation by debating with the several allies, agreeably to the method used in former congresses? By the minutes of the Protocol, to which the French ministers appealed, it appeared that they were under no such obligation, but between the 2d of April and the 5th, Count Sinzendorff had been at the Hague, where the resolution was taken to carry things to extremity, that is, not to treat with the ministers of the most Christian king, unless they gave an answer in writing, and orders were accordingly sent by the States to their plenipotentiaries. The design was laid upon this to have broke off all further treaty; but this design was disappointed by the declaration which the French ministers made on the 6th, that their instructions allowed them to go no farther than they had offered, but that they would write to the king their master to know his pleasure; after which, during three months time, there was not so much as any steps made on the part of the allies for an answer from the French, though at the same time the imperialists were pushing to get the congress broke, or at least her majesty's ministers excluded.

In August the second obstruction took place; and that, trifling as the occasion of it may seem, was so managed, that till the 30th of January, N. S. 1712-13, the difficulty could not be overcome.

Ten months having been lost at Utrecht, and the success of the campaign not having answered the design of those who projected the breaking of the treaty by the operations of the army, the ministers of the allies made no further difficulty to proceed in the very method which her majesty's plenipotentiaries had from the first advised. This method succeeded so well, that in two months after the negociation was resumed, all the parties in the war made their peace with France, except the emperor and the empire, and the ministers of those powers had likewise brought their disputes to so narrow a compass, that on the 15th of May, 1713, the only difference between them was concerning the marquisate of Burgaw, estimated at the yearly value of about 12,000 crowns.

In this state of things Monsieur Kirchner, the last of the imperial ministers who continued at Utrecht, left that place, and the emperor's resolution was declared of supporting that war single, which, assisted by the queen and the States, he had not been able to carry on with any tolerable vigour.

It was from this time easy to foresee, that the emperor intended to treat no more at Utrecht, and that a separate negociation between the courts of Vienna and France, whenever it should happen, would not prove very advantageous to the empire, or favourable to the protestant interest in Germany, of which her majesty had taken early, and, as she hoped, effectual care, by obliging France to consent that all things concerning the state of religion in the empire should be settled conformably to the tenour of the treaties of Westphalia; in such manner as to make it plainly appear, that the most Christian king neither would make, nor would have had made, any alteration in the said treaties. Thus one of the contracting parties had already in effect yielded to the abolition of that clause in the 4th article of the treaty of Ryswick so fatal to the protestant religion. And if his imperial majesty had concluded his treaty at Utrecht, it is hardly to be believed, that in the midst of so many allies, whose blood had been shed, and whose treasure had been exhausted in his cause, he would have refused to their joint intercession, what France had complied with on the single instances of the queen.

It has been already observed, that of the allies, when the congress at Utrecht was

opened in the beginning of the year, had in good earnest gone about their several treaties, the peace might in all probability have been made before the armies could have taken the field. It may be necessary here to observe the state of affairs at another period of time, and another opportunity lost of treating with the greatest advantage on our side, and with the greatest probability of success.

On the 6th of June, 1712, her majesty communicated to both houses of parliament, upon what terms a general peace might be made: Those who were against any treaty, and who entertained hopes that the sense of the nation would not go along with her majesty, and that obstructions would arise even in Britain to the conclusion of the peace, might have seen how vain those expectations were, by the returns which the two houses made to this instance of her majesty's condescension, by the assurances they gave of their confidence in her, and of their entire reliance on her wisdom to finish this great and good work, and by their humble desire that she would please to proceed in the present negociations for obtaining a speedy peace. Those who pretended only to be against the method of treating, and who were fond of specifick preliminaries, had now the very thing which they desired, his most Christian majesty having declared himself explicitly and particularly on the most important points that were to be settled in the treaties of peace. The queen was even at that time not under the least obligation, but at full liberty to have proceeded in the negociation, or to have broke it off, according as the French had behaved themselves. But France was under the strongest obligations to her majesty, and by her majesty's means to the allies. The concessions then made on the part of France, were made without any concession whatever on the part of the confederates: If, therefore, even then they could have been prevailed upon to unite with the queen, and with one another, during a short cessation of arms, the general peace might have been secured, or if that had failed, we should have got by the cessation into our hands a place of greater importance than we could have expected by the most successful campaign to conquer. But instead of applying themselves to improve this happy conjuncture, the ministers who met to treat of peace, seemed attentive only to what passed in the field, and Utrecht seemed the scene of no other business than unnecessary disputes concerning the forms of proceeding, and negociations to accommodate differences, which the quarrels of servants had begun.

From these unhappy measures were many evil consequences derived, and by them were all the subsequent transactions affected, particularly those which related to the interest of the Catalans.

This people had submitted to the present King of Spain, on his accession to that throne; had taken the oaths of fealty to him, and in the cortes held at Barcelona, in the years 1701 and 1702, had received from him a new establishment of their privileges: Notwithstanding which they began in the year 1704 to shew their inclinations to a revolt, and it appears that in the beginning of the year 1705, they made overtures of this kind to the queen, and that numbers of them were already actually in arms. In compliance therefore with what they desired, and encouraged by the assurances received, that not only the Catalans, but other people of Spain, were ready to declare for his present imperial majesty, as soon as they should see any prospect of being supported in their revolt, the queen thought fit to give directions to the Earl of Peterborough and to Sir Cloudesly Shovell, joint admirals of her fleet, on the first of May, 1705, to do the best they could to induce the Catalans to co-operate with them for the reduction of Spain: In order to which, they were impowered to promise in the queen's name, that she would secure to them a confirmation of their rights and liberties from the said prince, King Charles the Third. But it appears by the same instructions, that instead of giving these assurances, the admirals were to take measures for annoying the towns on the coast of Spain, and for reducing them by force, unless suitable returns from the Catalans and Spaniards were made to these kind offers on her

majesty's part. This likewise appears to have been the measure by which the queen proceeded from the commission, credentials, and instructions given to Mr Crowe, who was sent to Genoa, in March 1705; besides which it is also to be observed, that after the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesly Shovell were arrived with her majesty's fleet at Lisbon, it still remained, for some time, uncertain what design they should prosecute, and this uncertainty hindered them from pressing the people of Catalonia, whilst King Charles rather checked than incited them; so that when the queen's forces proceeded on this service, the Catalans were looked upon to be the principals, and we only accessaries in the war: From all which it is evident, that the landing of the Earl of Peterborough in Catalonia, and her majesty's entering into that part of the war, were in consequence of the solicitations of the Catalans, and other Spaniards affected to the house of Austria; and that all the engagements which she gave to these people, went no further than the obtaining from King Charles the Third, a confirmation of their rights and privileges; and although her majesty offered at that time to give a guaranty for the same, and to enter into a treaty with that people, yet it does not appear that such a guaranty was ever given, or that such a treaty was ever made. This being the state of the queen's engagements to the people of this province, there could have been no doubt of making them good in every part, had the events of the war and the circumstances rendered the placing his present imperial majesty on the throne of Spain practicable; and there is as little doubt, that besides what has been obtained by her majesty for the Catalans, the confirmation of all their privileges would likewise have been procured from his catholick majesty, had not the conduct of the emperor singly prevented it.

In the year 1712, it has been already said, that although the fairest prospect of making a general peace was opened, yet his imperial majesty continued in his resolution not to make it: The queen, on the other hand, was under a necessity of pursuing the measures she had taken, and thereby not only of agreeing to a cessation of arms, but also of withdrawing her troops out of the province of Catalonia, the supplies granted by parliament for that year having been so calculated, that the whole establishment was given only for the first quarter, and one-third of four millions of crowns for the other three quarters, conditionally, that the emperor and the State-General would take upon themselves the other two-thirds, which in fact neither of them did.

Under these circumstances it was plain, that the Catalans would be left without any terms made in their behalf, and that the empress and imperial forces, who remained in that province, would be exposed to the greatest difficulties and dangers. The queen, therefore, took immediately all the care she could to prevent these misfortunes, and, at the same time, to secure and strengthen his imperial majesty as far as lay in her power, notwithstanding the treatment she had received, and the just provocation she had to leave him to struggle with the consequences of his own measures.

At the latter end of this year, 1712, her majesty set a treaty on foot for the evacuation of Catalonia, and for the neutrality of Italy. Her majesty's aim by the first part of this treaty was to secure the return of the empress and the imperial troops, and since she could no longer support the Catalans by her arms, to provide for them by the terms of peace. Her majesty's aim in the second part was to leave as little room as possible for France or Spain to attack his imperial majesty, when the treaties between her majesty and the States-General should be concluded with the most Christian king. The queen considered that these treaties, and the barrier of the States, would secure the ten provinces of the Netherlands from any invasion, and by this convention for a neutrality in Italy the emperor's territories in that country were likewise covered, so that by the care which her majesty took, since he was determined to run the risk of continuing single in the war, he would lie open in no frontier but that of the Rhine, where, by the same means, he would be able considerably to increase his strength, as well with

draughts out of Italy, as with the Germans and other forces which were to be transported from Spain.

It was no sooner than the end of January, 1712-13, that by the good offices of her majesty's ministers at Utrecht, the imperial and French plenipotentiaries were brought to meet upon this negotiation, and, in the mean time, her majesty endeavoured, as well by her own ministers at Madrid, as by pressing the Spanish minister who was then here, to induce the catholick king to facilitate this matter as much as possible, and particularly on the head of the privileges of the Catalans, in which the minister of France concurred with the greatest earnestness. But it soon appeared, that his catholick majesty, who saw the advantage which the conduct of the imperial court gave him, would hardly be prevailed upon to grant any thing more than a general act of oblivion, and a restitution of honours and estates.

On the 14th of March, N. S. 1713, the convention for the neutrality of Italy, and the evacuation of Catalonia, was executed by her majesty's ministers on behalf of the emperor, and by those of France on behalf of the king of Spain, and the article concerning the privileges of the Catalans left undetermined, a right being reserved to her majesty to insist, whenever the emperor should treat of peace, that those privileges should be preserved to them; and the most Christain king declaring, that he would concur with the queen to the same end.

In May 1713, the treaty of peace between her majesty and the catholick king was signed provisionally here, and in July, definitively at Utrecht, whereby there is not only an absolute amnesty with a full possession of all their estates and honours, but also the privileges of the Castalians granted to the Catalans, which article is at least in this respect considerable, that the people of Catalonia are thereby entitled to hold any employments in the West Indies, or to trade directly thither, in as full and ample manner as the people of Castile, from which they were formerly as much excluded as any foreign nation whatever.

The preservation of their antient privileges is neither granted nor directly refused by this article; so that the queen, either when the peace shall come to be treated between their imperial and catholick majesties, or on another favourable occasion which may offer itself, is at liberty to renew her applications upon this head. In the mean time, it is certain, that the refusal of the people of this principality, as well as the island of Majorca, to submit to the catholick king, when, in pursuance of the treaty of neutrality, these countries were evacuated by the emperor's forces; and their obstinate resistance since that time, must have rendered the obtaining of their privileges still more difficult, if that be possible, than it was.

If the antient privileges of these people in their full extent were not obtained, it must be attributed to those who rendered it impracticable to treat effectually for them before the withdrawing of the queen's forces out of Catalonia; and if their condition is become since more desperate, those are only to answer for it, who have encouraged them not to submit a second time to their prince, with the hopes of relief, which they who gave such hopes must have known themselves in no condition of making good.

From this state of the several treaties between her majesty, her allies, and France and Spain; by this account of the general negotiations of peace, and of the particular case of the Catalans, the reasonableness of all the steps her majesty has taken, and those designs which have been pursued, at first to wrest the negotiation out of her hands, and since to unravel all that had been done, and to throw us into confusion, will sufficiently appear.[1]

[1] The whigs and their historians are of a very different opinion:—"The Catalans, thus abandoned and given up to their enemies, contrary to faith and honour, were not, however, wanting to their own defence; but, appealing to Heaven, and hanging up at the altar the queen's solemn declaration to protect them, underwent the utmost miseries of a siege; during which multitudes perished by famine and the sword, many were afterwards executed, and many persons of figure were dispersed about the Spanish dominions in dungeons."—RAPIN's *Hist. of England, vol. IV. page* 384.

A Report from the Commissioners appointed to take, examine, and state the Public Accounts of the Kingdom, and to determine the Debts due to the Army, &c. with a State of the Expence of the late War, 1714.

"In the mean time," says the continuator of Rapin, "to prepare the Commons to give their approbation to the conduct of the ministry, in concluding their treaties with France and Spain, several papers were laid before the House: Particularly, a report, with observations from the commissioners of public accounts, setting forth the abuses and mismanagements in cloathing the army, in disposing the off-reckonings of regiments, and in other instances. Then, to give a view how heavy the war was become to England, and how insupportable the continuance of it would have proved, there was added a state of the expence of the late war for twelve years, which, with the supply of L.2,776,228 granted this session, amounted to above sixty-eight millions and a half. But the most remarkable paper of all was the account of the several treaties of peace between the queen and her allies, and France and Spain, with the obstructions she had met with, in her endeavours to make the same universal and complete; and of what was done relating to the Catalans. This account (supposed to be drawn up by the Lord Bolingbroke, in order to remove the objections against the late treaties, particularly the giving up the interests of the King of Portugal and of the Catalans) was so varnished over with glosses and popular pretences, that many members, who were willing to believe what was said, and had no opportunity or inclination to be better informed, were persuaded of the truth of it, and induced to side with the ministry in all the debates about the succession and treaties."—RAPIN's *Hist. of England, vol. IV. p.* 353.

YOUR commissioners have proceeded with their utmost care in taking the public accounts, and humbly present a state of the receipts and issues of her majesty's exchequer from Michaelmas 1703 to Michaelmas 1704 (which immediately succeeds that laid before the parliament by the last commission of accounts) as also a state thereof from Michaelmas 1712 to Michaelmas 1713.

We have been obliged, in obedience to an order of the late House of Commons, to spend some time in examining several extraordinaries demanded from parliament, together with the facts contained in the report of the commissioners sent into Spain. However, we have detected some mismanagements in the clothings of the army; and, having yet represented nothing on that head, we here offer them to your consideration.

We do not take notice, that there are great sums paid by the contractors to the colonels on cloathing their respective regiments, sometimes (as we are informed on oath) to the value of one thousand four hundred pounds on a single contract; because the practice is so notorious and universal, that it wants no representation. But the following instances have, in our humble opinion, something more extraordinary in them, and not unworthy the notice of parliament.

There was a contract made by Sir Joseph Tredenham and Arthur Moore, Esq. comptrollers of the accounts of the army, in the year 1706, for clothing six French regiments of foot then raised. Your commissioners, observing the expence of this clothing, which amounted to seventeen thousand sixty-one pounds eighteen shillings,

was answered, pursuant to a direction of the treasury, by an immediate payment from Mr Brydges, and not by a regular assignment of the off-reckonings of those regiments, enquired into the reasons of this proceeding.

We found by the books of the comptroller's office, that one Richard Hallam was the contractor; but on examination could get no other information from him, than that he was only a nominee in this affair: For he deposed, "That though his name was used in a contract made the 27th of April, 1706, by Sir Joseph Tredenham, and Arthur Moore, Esq. then comptrollers of the accounts of the army, for clothing the six French regiments then to be raised, under the command of the Earl of Liffard, Count Paulin, Count Fran. Nassau D'Auverquerque, Mons. Sibourg, Mons. De la Barth, Mons. de Montargis, he was not the real contractor, but employed only as an agent for the said Sir Joseph Tredenham and Arthur Moore: That he received only a gratuity from them for the trouble they had given him in this matter, but could not recollect the sum: That he had not seen the accounts of this clothing for some years, and therefore could not be more particular."

About ten days after this deposition had been made, the deponent brought the under-written letrer to your commissioners:—

"When I was summoned before your board I could not remember the particulars about the clothing six French regiments, which was almost seven years since, and I understand that the contract and business of the colonels are entered in the comptroller's books. I still own that I was but an agent, and paid for what I did, and a gratuity for my trouble, which I received of Mr Harnage, who also furnished the whole clothing; for what I bought he gave me the money to pay for the same, the contract made by the comptrollers being by me assigned over to him. This, upon recollection and examination, is the truth of that matter."

We perceiving this letter to be a contradiction to the deposition, apprehended the most probable method of knowing the truth would be to send for Mr Harnage, who is here said to be the contractor. We accordingly summoned him, and the effect of his examination on oath was in a great measure a confirmation of the fact, as it stands stated in the letter. He deposed, "That Sir Joseph Tredenham, and Arthur Moore, Esq. comptrollers of the accounts of the army, being appointed to contract for the government with persons to clothe the six French regiments of foot raised in 1706, under the command of the Earl of Liffard, Count Paulin, Count Francis Nassau d'Averquerque, Monsieur Sibourg, Monsieur de la Barth, and Monsieur de Montargis; that he proposed in the name of himself and Mr Churchill to undertake the same; but his proposals were refused, and one Hallam (a person he did not know) was accepted as contractor; that Hallam some time after was recommended to him, to the best of his remembrance, by the comptrollers of the accounts of the army; that he was prevailed upon to furnish the clothing himself, and to employ Hallam in buying some of the cloths, though he was unwilling to do it, Hallam being a man, as he was told, in mean circumstances; that he received on this contract only thirteen thousand six hundred and eleven pounds ten shillings, besides one hundred pounds given to Hallam for his trouble, though he believes the government paid several thousand pounds more, but does not know to whom; that he believes he had no assignment of the contract from Hallam, and that there was not any instrument or contract but that entered in the comptrollers books; that, to the best of his remembrance, he and Mr Churchill went to the comptrollers office, where the comptrollers produced Mr Hallam's contract, out of which several defalcations were made, and the comptrollers agreed with them to furnish the goods mentioned in the contract for the remaining sum, which was thirteen thousand six hundred eleven pounds ten shillings; that he was assured at the pay-office he should receive the money, it being known there that he provided the clothing."

Mr Churchill being named in this deposition, we examined him likewise; but he said, "That on settling his accounts about three years before with Mr Harnage, with whom he had been concerned in clothing other regiments as well as these six, he had burnt all his papers relating to these accounts; that therefore he could only tell us in general, that he was concerned with Mr Harnage in this clothing; that one Hallam, a man he never saw, had first contracted for it with the comptrollers of the army, and that they took the contract from him."

The case remained thus represented for some time, and your commissioners had no opportunity of getting any further information concerning it, till, on inspection into the accounts of some clothings, we had occasion to send (amongst others) for Moore himself, who gives the following account of this contract:—

"That about March, 1705, the Duke of Marlborough directed the comptrollers of the accounts of the army to contract for clothing and accoutrements for six French regiments of foot, which her majesty had raised, or resolved to raise, and to lay the proposal before the lord treasurer. The comptrollers thereupon received proposals from several persons, and at the same time employed some others to enquire the lowest rates, at which such goods might be furnished; and they particularly employed in this enquiry Mr Richard Hallam, a packer, who informed them, that the same might be done for ready money at one thousand pounds a regiment cheaper than the usual contracts, and very considerably cheaper than any proposals laid before the comptrollers, although they offered to contract with the proposers to be paid in one month after the delivery of the goods. All which the comptrollers laid before the lord treasurer, and had his lordship's directions thereupon. The comptrollers received orders for the contractors to allow to each of the colonels three hundred pounds, in regard so much more would be saved by this way, than if they were themselves to contract as the other colonels of the army did. And in their report to the lord treasurer they represented, that on the six regiments there was at least six thousand pounds saved, besides what was given to the colonels, the rates being compared with what was given by other regiments at that time for the like clothing and accoutrements. The comptrollers, being desirous to shew what service might be done by that office, prevailed upon Mr Hallam to execute the contract, assuring him, at the same time, that the goods should be furnished by some other persons, whom the comptrollers should appoint; and that they would take care, that whoever performed the contract should employ him in his way of trade, and gratify him for his trouble. That after the contract was signed, the comptrollers got Mr Harnage and Mr Churchill (who they knew had a very great stock of such goods on their hands) to accept of the contract; and they informed Mr Hallam thereof, and that the contract was to be for Mr Harnage and Mr Churchill's use, and that they were to provide the goods, receive the money from the government, and reward him for his trouble. This, he says, upon inspecting the comptrollers books, is what he can recollect of this matter, only that he is certain the comptrollers always imagined they had done the government a very eminent piece of service in this affair."

This contract, we see, was at first undertaken by the order of the Duke of Marlborough, and afterwards concluded by the direction of the Lord Treasurer Godolphin. But by what particular warrant those noble lords acted, does not appear to your commissioners, and we cannot conceive them empowered by the general authority of the great posts they then enjoyed, thus to dispose of the publick money.

If we consider the case in the view Mr Hallam's deposition puts it, we must always be of opinion, that though there is no charge of bribery or corruption, yet it is an irregular practice, for any person employed to contract for the government, to be himself secretly concerned in such contract on any pretence whatsoever; because, could we suppose a contract so made beneficial to the publick, there is an appearance of col-

lusion, and a ground to suspect what may not be true; which ought to be avoided by all officers concerned in the disposal of publick money.

If we take it as explained by Mr Harnage and Mr Churchill, then there remains no imputation on the comptrollers of the accounts of the army: For they say, that they performed the contract; that they received thirteen thousand six hundred and eleven pounds ten shillings; that Hallam was their agent.

If we allow Mr Moore's representation, he removes the chief difficulty, which naturally occurs in this case, that it was extraordinary the comptroller should accept proposals from one unable to perform so great a contract, and reject those offered by sufficient and wealthy persons. He is so far from apprehending any thing in the transaction blameable, that he thinks the method taken in employing Hallam, was the very occasion of reducing the contract so low, and making it advantageous to the government.

Besides the thirteen thousand six hundred and eleven pounds ten shillings, which Mr Harnage is said to have received, we find there was paid by Hallam,

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
To each colonel	For his own use, 300*l.* - - - - -	1800	0	0
	For the clothing his servants, 208*l.* - - -	1248	0	0
For eighteen colours - - - - - - - - -		120	0	0
For packages and incident charges - - - - - - -		182	8	0
		3350	8	0

Which sums, with the gratuity of one hundred pounds given to Hallam, make up the seventeen thousand sixty-one pounds and eighteen shillings charged by Mr Brydges in this account.

It is not pretended these remaining sums were under the direction of Mr Harnage, and therefore we are at a loss to know whose agent Hallam was in the distribution of them; or by what authority he made a deduction (as Colonel La Barth swears he did) of thirty-four pounds from each colonel in consideration of prompt payment; nor do there appear any reasons, why so much countenance should be shewn to the gratuities given by contractors to other colonels on clothing their regiments, by allowing such sums to these colonels in lieu thereof; as if those gratuities were become legal and established perquisites. Nor why the one hundred pounds bestowed on Hallam, who was but a private agent, should not rather have been paid out of the profit of the contract, whoever received it, than have been charged to the publick.

There is a circumstance which seems very unintelligible, if we are to suppose, that Mr Harnage executed the contract, and that Hallam was only his agent: It is, that Hallam assigned over the money due on this contract to John Mead, goldsmith, in consideration of a competent sum to him paid by the said Mead, who afterwards, by virtue of that assignment, received the whole from Mr Brydges. Now Mr Harnage, on a second examination, hath deposed, "That to the best of his knowledge he never employed Mr John Mead, goldsmith, deceased, as agent for him at the pay-office in receiving money, on account of any of the clothings he hath been concerned in: Nor ever knew of any assignment made to him on that account; but Mr Nathaniel Jackson was the goldsmith he constantly employed."

Mr Mead being dead, we thought we had no other way of explaining these difficulties than by requiring his widow and executrix to let us know whether it appeared by her husband's books for whose use this money was received. But she desired to be excused from giving us any satisfaction of that kind, because it might be a prejudice to her affairs; and she thought herself only obliged to do it to those who had ac-

counts depending with her husband. We cannot therefore draw any certain inference from this state of the fact, but must leave the whole to the House, who will best judge of the nature of it, consider the disagreement of the evidence, and determine where the proof lies.

But your commissioners have a further reason for relating this matter at large, which is, that we find by Mr Brydges's accounts, there hath been no more than six thousand five hundred eighteen pounds nine shillings and seven-pence farthing repaid by the off-reckonings of these regiments, and that consequently there hath accrued a loss to the publick of ten thousand seven hundred and forty-three pounds eight shillings and four-pence three-farthings.

There are two contracts for clothing Guiscard's regiment of dragoons, wherein Mr Harnage and Churchill were likewise concerned, and wherein there is an appearance of a breach of trust, and a great expence brought upon the government.

The first of these contracts was made by the late Earl Rivers, in behalf of her majesty, with Mr Harnage and Churchill, for six thousand seven hundred twenty-seven pounds, which was to be advanced by the publick. Mr Harnage declares on oath, "That in the accounts of this clothing betwixt him and Mr Churchill, there were one thousand pounds or guineas charged for a gratuity, which Mr Churchill (who transacted the whole affair) told him was given to the late Earl Rivers, in consideration of their being admitted into that contract."

The other was made in 1708, by Mr Le Bass, with the said Mr Churchill and Harnage: For which Mr Harnage deposes, "There were likewise one thousand pounds or guineas charged on the account thereof, as a gratuity, which Mr Churchill informed him were given to the Marquis Guiscard; and also a further sum of one hundred pounds, or more, to Mr Le Bass."

What we have to say on the first contract is, that this regiment being raised in June, 1706, and reduced in July, 1708, the off-reckonings did not amount to near the sum contracted for. But notwithstanding this apparent loss to the publick, a warrant was obtained from her majesty, countersigned by the secretary at war in November 1708, for payment of seven hundred and seven pounds six shillings and four-pence, allowed for interest till the whole sum could be raised out of the off-reckonings, which by this warrant were continued for some months after the reduction of the regiment.

We make no remarks on the money given on this occasion, because the noble person who received it is since dead.

As to the second contract, it is thus represented to your commissioners by Mr Le Bass, who hath deposed, "That Mr Churchill and Harnage solicited the secretary at war to have his name put into a warrant, empowering him to contract for a full clothing for Guiscard's regiment of dragoons, commonly called Laffabriques, in the year 1708, and to assign over the full two years net off-reckonings for the same; that soon after he contracted with the said Mr Churchill and Harnage for furnishing the said clothing; that he understood they gave Monsieur Guiscard seven hundred pounds (which Mr Harnage says was a thousand pounds) in consideration of their being employed in this contract; that they gave this deponent about an hundred pounds for making use of his name, and the trouble he had on this account."

Now it is submitted, whether it is not extraordinary, that a second contract should be entered into before the first was satisfied, in favour of a foreigner, who by his religion was incapable of being admitted into her majesty's service; and who, besides the profits of this regiment, received the pay of a major-general, with other great advantages from the publick: Or whether this power ought to have been granted to Mr Le Bass on the solicitation of Mr Churchill and Harnage, who were known to be the persons intending to contract under it; or whether the secretary at war (who recommended the warrant to her majesty, and countersigned it) had not executed his

trust with more caution, at least if he had for that reason declined doing it, since it was, in effect, empowering them to contract with themselves?

Mr Le Bass further deposeth, "That in the year 1708, or 1709, he promised Mr James Taylor, chief clerk to the then secretary at war, that he would give him a present in case he was made agent to the regiment of dragoons, whereof Belthazer de Foissac was lieutenant-colonel, and to the several regiments of foot, whereof Constantine de Magny, John Trepaud, Anthony La Columbire, were lieutenant-colonels; that afterwards he was appointed agent by the major part of the field-officers and captains, and had a warrant granted him, and countersigned by the secretary at war, for confirming the same; that thereupon he, some time after, made the said Mr Taylor a present of two hundred and fifty pounds; that in the year 1709, he procured a warrant, countersigned also by the secretary at war, for the subsistence of several officers in Guiscard's regiment of dragoons after it was reduced, and gave the said Mr Taylor a further gratuity of twenty or thirty guineas, he does not remember whether."

Besides those already mentioned, Mr Harnage and Churchill have been concerned in several contracts made by persons employed by the government, amounting to the sum of one hundred ninety thousand nine hundred fifty-five pounds nineteen shillings and two-pence.

We pass over their agreements with colonels for clothing their particular regiments, being very numerous, and not within the intention of our present representation.

We having reason to believe, as well from the prices allowed in these contracts with the publick, as from other circumstances, that there were as considerable gratuities given for obtaining them, as for those above stated, we examined Mr Harnage on oath, and proposed the following questions to him.

Whether any money was given, and to whom, for procuring any of these contracts?

Whether any person or persons were concerned with him, except Mr Churchill and Mr Craggs?

Whether all the money due on these contracts were received?

Whether any allowance was made for prompt payment?

To which he declined making any immediate reply, but desired time to have recourse to his books, and some days after brought the following answer in writing;—

"Richard Harnage saith, That he having been concerned in great variety of dealings, and with great variety of persons, cannot affirm any thing upon oath that doth not appear in his books, or some authentick papers of transactions, so long ago passed; and having no such papers, cannot take upon him to charge any person whatsoever to have had any share of the profit of any such contract, except the persons who were concerned with him: That he does not remember any sum or sums given for the procuring any of those contracts, or any money brought to account for that purpose. The said Richard Harnage further saith, That he can say nothing positive concerning the receipt of the money, it being received by several hands, and that he never kept account of it, neither hath any papers that give him any light into that affair. And he further saith, That he does not know of any sum of money given to any person for prompt payment; and that he cannot of his own knowledge say that any person was partner in the said contracts, but Mr James Craggs, Mr William Churchill, and himself. RICHARD HARNAGE."

This answer seeming to be drawn up in general and uncertain terms, particularly that part where it is said, "that he cannot take upon him to charge any person whatsoever to have any share of the profit of any such contract, except the persons who were concerned with him," we pressed him to explain that sentence, and to declare whether any persons besides those he called partners, were concerned with him, or had

any share of the profit; but he refused giving any other answer than what was contained in the paper here recited. We are unwilling to complain of any disregard shewn to the power reposed in us; but we think ourselves obliged to take notice, that if persons contracting with the government shall be permitted to refuse answering questions, which may discover the real considerations on which their contracts are made, there will be no probability of detecting publick mismanagements for the future, and all enquiries of this nature will be rendered ineffectual.

We likewise summoned Mr Churchill, but understood he had a little before left England, and not returning till after the expiration of our commission for taking the publick accompts, by virtue whereof this examination was begun, we have not proceeded further in it.

We have discovered some instances (and have ground to believe there are many more not yet proved to us) of clothings, which have been supplied out of her majesty's magazines to regiments abroad, and for which no account hath been rendered to the publick.

The instance that hath already come to our knowledge, is of a clothing delivered out of her majesty's stores in the year 1708, to Colonel Bladen's regiment in Portugal, by order of the Earl of Galway.

John Philip de Clapie, who hath been a captain in this regiment from the raising to the reduction of it, deposes, "That the regiment received a full clothing from Colonel Bladen, which was taken out of her majesty's stores in Portugal by the Earl of Galway's order, though sent over thither for another regiment which was then prisoners."

We examined Mr Edmund Strudwick, who (we were informed) was concerned in this affair, and he deposed, "That Colonel Bladen's father desired leave to make use of his name in an assignment made by Colonel Bladen, bearing date the 10th of March, 1709-10, of the off-reckonings of his regiment, till the sum of two thousand eight hundred thirty-nine pounds seventeen shillings and six-pence should be paid, which he granted; but never furnished any clothing, or received any money, or gave any receipts on account of the said assignment; that he afterwards assigned over the said assignment, and thinks it was to Colonel Bladen's father."

We summoned the colonel's father, who confirmed the truth of what Strudwick had sworn, and declared on oath, "That he knew no more of the matter, than that he solicited at the pay-office for the money, and received tallies, all which he gave to his son."

Thus it appears that an assignment was made, and the money actually paid by the publick; but we cannot find that a clothing was ever provided in consideration thereof. On the contrary, it further appears (besides what is alledged in Captain Clapie's deposition) by the accounts of Mr Medlycott, commissary of stores in Portugal, that a great quantity of all species of clothing, except serjeants coats and waistcoats, were delivered to Mr Traplien, for the use of Colonel Bladen's regiment, which, if there was no other proof, would entitle her majesty to a proportion, at least, of the off-reckonings assigned on this account: For we have it on oath from several captains of this regiment, that there was no more than one clothing delivered during the time of Colonel Bladen's command.

Nor does the colonel himself give us any satisfaction in this matter; for in his first representation of it, he takes no notice of what appears by the above-mentioned account to have been delivered out of the publick magazines: But he says, "He made an assignment of the off-reckonings for sixteen months, amounting in value to the sum of two thousand eight hundred pounds, or thereabouts, which said sum has since been discharged in candle-tallies and South-Sea stock; that in consideration of the said assignment, he did cause a good and sufficient clothing to be delivered to the regiment

in Portugal; and having hereby, as he humbly conceived, discharged his duty to the queen and the regiment, he did not keep any papers by him, nor can he find any upon diligent search, relating to the particulars of the said clothing; that therefore he is entirely incapable of giving any account of the distinction between species and prices, because the said clothing, though made of English manufactures, was almost all of it provided abroad.

On further recollection, he says, "That he believes his agent might receive out of the stores at Lisbon some remaining part of a clothing that belonged to the Earl of Galway's Spanish regiment of foot, who were then prisoners. But that it is impossible for him to say what this remainder consisted of, or whether his agent paid for the same, because he is, since this transaction, become a bankrupt, and retired into a convent for protection, with his regimental papers in his hands; and though there are still accounts depending between them, he hath not heard from him some years. But he hath been informed and does believe, that the said Spanish regiment, when they were taken by the enemy at the battle of Caia, were about three hundred and fifty men under arms, completely clothed, without accounting for those that might have deserted before that day. He hath also been informed, and doth believe, that one of the regiments of dragoons, raised in Portugal after the battle of Caia, was likewise clothed out of the remainder of the said Spanish clothing before any part thereof was delivered to his agent. Therefore he does presume the remainder, after these deductions made, could not be very considerable. But he is ready to pay for whatever his agent may have received in his behalf from the store-keeper, if the same be not already accounted for. He further adds, in proof of his providing a clothing, that such part of it as was provided in England was bought of one Peter."

He hath also produced to your commissioners a general certificate from some captains of his regiment to this effect: "That he did, in the year 1710, deliver to them, and to every captain, a good and complete clothing for each of their respective companies; that whilst they were under his command, he did upon all occasions do justice to them, and to all the officers and soldiers in the regiment." This certificate is signed amongst others by Captain de Clapie: But it does not contradict the assertion in his deposition, "That the clothing was taken out of her majesty's stores in Portugal, by the Earl of Galway's order:" For it is agreed on all hands, that a good and full clothing was furnished to the regiment. But, as is said before, it does not appear that it was furnished at the colonel's expence, or consequently, that he had a right to all the money he hath received on this account, especially when it is understood, that Robert Peter (who is the person said to have furnished that part of the clothing which was bought here in England) hath sworn, that he never had any dealings with the colonel for more than the value of two hundred nineteen pounds nineteen shillings; and that, in the accompts thereof, we find several articles no ways relating to the use of the regiment. As to that part which is said to have been provided abroad, we can observe nothing, but that there is no proof of it; and how satisfactory the reasons (given by the colonel for his not being able to produce any account) are, must be entirely left to the determination of the House.

We have had another irregularity in clothing under our examination, which relates to Major-General Handasyd's regiment.

The case is this: "Mr John Mac-Culloch, in the year 1710-11, provided a full clothing for General Handasyd's regiment, for which he received three thousand and thirty pounds. In the year 1711-12 he contracted for half a clothing for the said regiment, and had an assignment of the off-reckonings, amounting to sixteen hundred pounds, which he paid to General Handasyd's son by order of the general; but did not provide any clothing. In the year 1712-13, he contracted for another full clothing for the said regiment, and had an assignment of the off-reckonings, amounting to

two thousand three hundred pounds, or thereabouts, which he received, and paid also to the general's son, though no clothing was then provided. But the same was altered, and he received five hundred and fifty pounds for the alterations; after which, part of the clothing was sent to Jamaica. But there are two hundred and forty suits now remaining in England, which, with one hundred and thirteen more, are to serve for the clothing the said regiment for the year 1714."

Mr Mac-Culloch hath sworn all these particulars, and his evidence is confirmed by the oaths of Mr Boulter a laceman, and of Mr John Osheal, who was employed in making and altering these clothes.

It is further supported by Capt. Robert Gardner, who was empowered by a letter of attorney from Major-General Handasyd, in February 1703-4, to contract here for clothing his regiment, and who gives this following account, on oath, of his transactions in this affair: "That, pursuant to his authority, he made several assignments of the off-reckonings of this regiment, to the value of fourteen thousand six hundred sixty-eight pounds, the last of which was made in April 1710, to Messieurs Man and Mac-Culloch for three thousand and thirty pounds twelve shillings and ten-pence; that he believes the clothing provided on this assignment was not sent over to Jamaica, but detained in England."

These facts are not contradicted by what the general says concerning the clothing of the regiment; for he alledges, "That some time since a clothing, which he expected from England for his regiment in Jamaica, not coming thither, he bought a French clothing, which was taken off Martinico by a privateer. That he can give no particular account of the said clothing, but he remembers that it was very bad, and did cost only ten shillings a coat and breeches; that there were several shirts, shoes, stockings, and cravats, the number of which he does not remember; that soon after a clothing arrived from England by the packet-boat, which he delivered to his regiment."

But he cannot swear to the truth of these circumstances, because, he says, his memory will not serve him to recollect whether the clothes were delivered in the year 1710, or 1711; nor what the quantity or quality of them was, having had only a sight of a coat and breeches, and they being delivered out at Port Royal, fifteen miles distant from the residence of the governor of Jamaica; which, at the regiment's coming home, when required, will be made appear. But that he would rather refund the money than take any oath concerning this matter."

From all these accounts it appears, that there hath been only one clothing (for the French clothes bought in Jamaica are not pretended to be worth much) provided for this regiment; though there have been assignments made to the value of six thousand nine hundred and thirty pounds.

Another instance of mismanagement in disposing of the off-reckonings of regiments, is in that of Colonel Watkins. Mr Potter, agent to this regiment, did, by virtue of a letter of attorney from Colonel Watkins, make an assignment, dated the 1st of April, 1706, of two years off-reckonings, (amounting to the sum of three thousand nine hundred sixty pounds, or thereabout) to Mr Robert Peter, clothier. The next day Mr Peter re-assigned the whole assignment to Colonel Watkins. Some time after he furnished clothes to the value of eight hundred twenty-three pounds, and was paid for them by Mr Potter. But he deposes, that he never received any other sum on account of clothing this regiment; nor does Mr Potter know of any other clothes furnished to it during the time of Colonel Watkins's command.

The colonel made another assignment, dated December 31, 1709, to Mr Luke King of the off-reckonings of this regiment, amounting to eleven hundred seventy-eight pounds, or thereabout. But Mr King declares on oath, "That he never knew that any clothes were furnished to the regiment; that his name was only made use of in the

assignment; that by Colonel Watkins's order he transferred the assignment to Mr Jackson, a goldsmith, and only received sixpence per pound." Nor can your commissioners be informed that any clothes were supplied on this second contract.

Colonel Watkins alledges for himself, "That his regiment never complained for want of clothing; that to the best of his remembrance he took care that every man in his regiment should be furnished with clothing, according to the custom of the army; but that he can give no account thereof, by reason of the distance of time."

Since the colonel pretends not to offer any proof sufficient to confront or weaken the evidence above stated, we are left to suppose, that out of these two contracts, he hath applied above four thousand pounds to his own private use.

These particulars are only a few of the many instances which might be given of the indirect practices in clothing the army. But they are sufficient to prove, that the good husbandry and œconomy, so much pretended to in carrying on the late war, hath been as defective in this article as in any of the other publick expences.

This may be further demonstrated to the House by an account of the clothings furnished by the publick, for the use of her majesty's forces, which is as followeth:—

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For clothing sent to Portugal, and consigned to Mr Alexander Stevenson	5,000	0	0
For clothing for 4000 foot and 1000 dragoons, sent to Catalonia, under the care of Mr Thomas Castle	24,571	19	6
For 20,000 sets of small clothing sent to Spain under the care of the said Mr Castle	12,490	0	0
For the clothing of the six French regiments sent under the care of Mr Edward Douglass	17,061	18	0
For clothing of 3000 foot and 1000 horse of the forces in Spain, sent under the care of Mr Henry Vincent	23,625	0	0
For 40,000 sets of small clothing, sent to Spain under the care of the said Vincent	24,980	0	0
For clothing and accoutrements of horse and dragoons sent to Portugal, and consigned to Mr Vincent	23,360	16	4
For 5000 bayonets for the expedition commanded by the Earl Rivers, sent under the care of Mr Edward Douglass	880	0	0
For clothing sent to Spain, and consigned to Mr Vincent	12,870	8	1
	10,369	2	3
	8,424	2	5
For 4488 pair of shoes bought of Mr David, and delivered to Mr Castle	1,065	18	0
For 10,000 sets of small clothing for the forces in Portugal, consigned to Mr Medlycott	6,437	10	0
For an entire clothing and half for Lord Galway's dragoons, consigned to ditto	5,475	3	11
For an entire clothing and half for Brigadier Carle's late regiment, consigned to ditto	4,142	12	1
For an entire first and second clothing for four regiments of foot in Portugal, consigned to ditto	16,434	19	2
For an entire clothing, with saddles and accoutrements for a regiment of dragoons, consigned to ditto	5,627	7	4
For arms and accoutrements for six regiments of dragoons in Portugal, consigned to ditto	7,782	16	6
For accoutrements for the said regiments, consigned to ditto	5,663	0	0

For arms, &c. sent under the care of Mr Netmaker for the forces to the late expedition to Canada	28,036	5	0
Total of the several payments afore-mentioned	244,298	18	7

By this account the government hath disbursed the sum of two hundred forty-four thousand two hundred ninety-eight pounds eighteen shillings and seven-pence. And your commissioners have, notwithstanding what hath been said as to some particular cases, reason to believe, that the contracts in general, pursuant to which it was paid, were not always made with the greatest caution. But besides any loss, which may have accrued by that means, we find in the accounts we have required for our information in this matter, that there yet remained about fifty thousand pounds unanswered to the publick, even allowing the sum of six thousand nine hundred and ninety pounds four shillings and two-pence, chargeable to the King of Spain's account, to go in part of repayment; which perhaps may be thought a concession without a reason, when it is known, that there was no treaty betwixt her majesty and the present emperor; and that the sum annually granted by parliament, for carrying on his successes in Spain, cannot be considered as a subsidy due to that prince, but as money voluntarily advanced; and which therefore was, or ought to have been, under the same management with the other publick money given for that service. There is not above the sum of eighty-seven thousand six hundred eighty-nine pounds fourteen shillings and nine-pence halfpenny pretended to be accounted for by the commissary of stores.

As this is a considerable loss to the publick, so it must have arisen from mismanagement somewhere. For if, on advancing these sums, there was not a prospect of repaying the publick, then it will be difficult to account why the advances should ever be made, or why the directions were given for making proper deductions from the regiments to whom they were delivered. If the money was advanced on just grounds and good computations, then it is reasonable to suppose, had due care been taken, that the government could not have suffered so egregiously.

This method of clothing at the publick charge was one of the many exorbitant expences which attended the Spanish and Portugal war; and the contracts for corn, transported from Genoa, and other places, for that service, have been likewise an excessive burden to the publick. But these latter contracts have not yet been so distinctly laid before us as to enable us to state any account thereof.

We are sensible it may be expected we should here offer some observations on the accounts of the pay-master general; and we take leave to acquaint the House, that we have examined, with the best care we could, those which are already laid before us. But, when it is understood that he hath not yet exhibited his final account, nor vouchers for any of his payments further than the year 1707, we humbly conceive, it will be allowed, that few remarks can be made, but such as may possibly admit of a full answer, when this final account and all his vouchers are produced, and such therefore as ought not to be offered to the House.

Mr Brydges hath been frequently pressed for this final account, and so lately as the 27th of February last, he gave the following reasons why it cannot yet be made up, and laid before us:—

"The final account and vouchers of some of the deputy pay-masters abroad being but very lately transmitted over, and some not yet arrived, and those accounts returned not being yet fully examined, are the reasons why my final account for the eight months, ending the 24th of August, 1713, cannot yet be made up, and laid before the honourable commissioners of publick accounts in the same particular method as my accounts ending at Christmas, 1712, have been delivered in to them; so that

what can be done at present is to lay before the commissioners my cash-accounts, to the last day of February, 1713, which will be ready in a few days, in the same method with those already delivered to them, to the 14th day of September, 1713.

Feb. 27, 1713-14. J. BRYDGES."

Nor can we receive better satisfaction from the accounts of the deputy pay-masters. For Mr Morice being dead, we cannot take any personal examination relating to his accounts, which were but lately laid before us, and in so very general a manner that little can be collected from them.

Mr Mead (through whose hands most of the money remitted for the Spanish service passed) hath exhibited his accounts to us, without mentioning the dates and species of his payments, which he declares on oath he cannot do, because several of them were made by persons at a distance from him, who returned him no such distinction. He further declares, he found no necessity for keeping any such account, not having any instruction for that purpose from Mr Brydges. To supply this defect we desired a sight of his cash-book, but he refused to submit it to our examination, because, he says, it contains his own private affairs, as well as the public accounts.

However, though for these reasons it is impossible for us to give a particular state of the accounts of the army, yet we conceive a general computation of the annual expence on this head, as well as on that of the navy, for twelve years last past, may not be unacceptable to the House, in that it will give a view how heavy the maintenance of the war was become to England, and how insupportable the continuance of it would have proved.

A State of the Expence of the late War.

Payments made by the Earl of Ranelagh, from the 1st of June, 1701, to the 24th of December 1702.

Year.	*The several Services.*	*Particular Totals.*			*Annual Totals.*		
		l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
1701	For twelve battalions sent to the assistance of the States				102,185	17	3
1702	Guards and garrisons, from 25th December, 1701, to 24th December, 1702,	275,546	12	2½			
	Forces in Flanders from and to ditto time	985,660	13	11¼			
	Descent under the Duke of Ormond	89,766	3	5			
					1,350,973	9	7

Payments made by Charles Fox, Esq. from the 25th December, 1702, to the 23d of June, 1705.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*					
1703	To 40 000 men in Flanders, from 25th December, 1702, to 24th ditto, 1703	881,352	14	1					
	To 100,000 men, troops of augmentation, ditto time	156,704	2	4½					
	To the circle of Suabia	23,255	16	3¼					
					1,061,312	2	8	¼	
	To forces in Portugal, from 16th August to 24th December, 1703				169,387	8	5		
								1,230,700	1 1¼
1704	To 40,000 men in Flanders	1,031,727	10	3¼					
	To 10,000 men, troops of augmentation,	161,206	15	9					
					1,192,934	6	0¼		

					l.	*s.*	*d.*		
	To the Duke of Savoy pursuant to treaty				203,355	19	7½		
	To extraordinaries relating to the war				44,978	4	10		
	To bounty money				64,473	0	0		
	To forces in Portugal				355,599	13	8½		
								,861,341	4 2¾
1705	To 40,000 men in Flanders, from 24th December, 1704, to 23d June, 1705,	474,317	3	1¼					
	To 10,000 men ditto time	84,111	8	2½					
					558,428	11	3¼		
	To the Duke of Savoy pursuant to treaty ditto time				89,800	7	6½		
	To subsidy to the King of Prussia				23,255	16	4		
	To forces, &c. in Portugal				186,883	13	2¼		
	To forces in Flanders, from 24th June to 24th December, 1705				759,278	7	0¾		
	To forces in Spain and Portugal, ditto time				213,374	14	4½		
								1,831,921	9 9¾

Payments made by James Brydges, Esq. from the 24th of June, 1705, to the 24th of August, 1713, &c.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
1706	To forces in Flanders, from 25th December, 1705, to 24th December, 1706	1,566,285	18	8			
	To forces in Spain and Portugal ditto time	835,801	8	4			
					2,402,087	7	0
1707	To forces in Flanders	1,498,552	6	1½			
	To forces in Spain and Portugal	967,551	16	10			
					2,466,104	2	11½
1708	To forces in Flanders	1,649,209	14	6			
	To forces in Spain and Portugal	1,127,675	6	9¾			
					2,776,885	1	3½
1709	To forces in Flanders	1,761,631	7	5¾			
	To forces in Spain and Portugal	1,436,943	2	3			
					3,198,574	9	8¾
1710	To forces in Flanders	2,025,957	6	2¾			
	To forces in Spain and Portugal	1,389,199	12	1			
					3,415,156	18	5¾
1711	To forces in Flanders	1,868,872	6	5¾			
	To forces in Spain and Portugal	1,424,926	4	7			
					3,29, 198	11	0¾
1712	To forces in Flanders	1,294,754	12	5¾			
	To forces in Spain and Portugal	490,772	2	4½			
					1,785,526	14	9¾
1713	To forces in Flanders, from 22d December, 1712, to 24th August, 1713	329,923	15	2			
	To forces in Spain and Portugal ditto time	137,260	16	10¼			
					467,184	12	0¾

Payments made by Thomas Moore, Esq.

1713	To forces from 23d September, 1713, to 13th February following		175,663	10 0¾
	Arrears due by estimation		1,461,909	13 7½

Payments made by John Howe, Esq., from the 24th of December, 1702, to the 23d of February, 1713-14.

Year.	From and to what time.	Payment on Account for forces employed in the war abroad.			Payment on Account for guards and garrisons.			Annual Totals.		
		l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
1703	From 24th Dec. 1702, To 23d Dec. 1703	46,669	7	8	257,416	9	4	304,085	17	0½
1704	To 23d Dec. 1704	31,965	11	2	311,172	10	1¾	343,138	1	3¾
1705	To 23d Dec. 1705	70,629	6	1¾	337,271	0	7	407,900	6	8¾
1706	To 23d Dec. 1706	86,950	12	4¾	288,495	18	1½	375,446	10	5¾
1707	To 23d Dec. 1707	42,023	14	6	302,586	15	5¾	344,610	9	11¾
1708	From 24th Dec. 1707, To 22d Dec. 1708	35,184	3	10	509,576	16	8¾	544,761	0	6¾
1709	From 23d Dec. 1708, To 22d Dec. 1709	57,537	9	5	505,151	5	8¾	562,688	15	1¾
1710	To 22d Dec. 1710	83,058	18	10	513,089	13	7¾	596,148	12	5¾
1711	To 22d Dec. 1711	53,979	7	1[illegible]	473,270	2	7¾	527,249	9	8¾
1712	From 23d Dec. 1711, To 21st Dec. 1712	90,578	18	5	419,328	1	10¾	509,907	0	3¾
1713	To several payments for the service of the year 1713	43,499	10	6	319,023	5	1½	362,522	15	7¾
	By the royal hospital for the like sum received at the Exchequer on account for the service of the years 1711 and 1712	-	-	-	-	-	-	44,963	16	3¾
	By ditto on the same account for the service of the years 1712 and 1713	-	-	-	-	-	-	56,490	0	0

Ordnance from 1702 to the 30th of June, 1713.

What Year.	Land Service.			Sea Service.			Total.			Grand Total.		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
1702	101,892	11	7¾	81,023	3	9	182,915	15	4¾			
1703	80,695	4	3¼	91,735	2	9¾	172,439	7	1			
1704	72,863	10	9½	51,913	11	3¾	124,777	2	0¾			
1705	97,386	11	3¾	94,445	9	11¼	191,842	1	3			
1706	119,484	1	3¼	101,978	14	6½	221,462	15	9¾			
1707	97,178	1	7¼	88,827	6	8	186,005	8	3¼			
1708	143,884	2	8	145,388	14	3½	289,272	16	11½			
1709	125,913	13	2¼	112,737	3	7	238,650	16	9½			
1710	163,090	19	9	64,409	8	6½	232,500	8	3½			
1711	124,955	18	3½	56,135	1	10½	181,092	0	2			
1712	140,551	8	0½	111,867	13	4¾						
	106,746	14	8½	84,256	19	4½	443,422	15	1¾			
1713	96,537	6	6¾	56,596	4	11¼	153,133	11	5½			
	1,471,180	3	8	1,146,325	14	11¼	2,617,505	18	7½			
Stores exhausted amounting to	-	-	-	-	-	-	48,672	9	6			
										2,666,178	8	1¼
							Carried over,	-	-	35,464,604	6	4

Transports from the 2d March, 1701-2, to the 2d of March, 1713-14.

Years.	Holland service.			Spain and the West Indies.			Portugal and Spain.			Total.			Grand Total.		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over,	- - - - -			- - - - -			- - - - -			- - - - -			35,464,601	6	4
1702	14,311	9	8½	77,318	18	2	- - - - -			91,630	7	10½			
1703	7,140	11	6	31,671	7	8	56,290	5	7	95,102	4	9			
1704	7,243	15	4	- - - - -			103,596	17	9	110,840	13	1			
1705	5,439	11	3	- - - - -			103,253	14	4	109,393	5	7			
1706	8,095	2	0	1,292	2	9	143,077	11	1	152,464	15	10			
1707	7,864	11	1	891	5	3	140,812	11	10	149,568	8	2			
1708	29,141	10	8	1,951	12	8	179,574	18	2¾	210,668	1	6¾			
1709	6,654	6	11	824	10	3	243,046	19	5	250,525	16	7			
1710	5,812	12	9	947	14	11	210,751	1	5¼	217,511	9	1¼			
1711	8,024	5	3	2,234	7	10	96,966	2	10½	- - - - -					
Canada	- - - - -			57,806	12	0	- - - - -			165,031	7	11½			
1712	6,706	1	3	1,308	0	0	77,424	14	8	85,238	15	11			
1713	21,078	10	8	1,076	19	0	58,196	8	4	80,351	18	0			
	127,512	6	4½	177,123	10	6	1,413,691	5	6½	- - - - -			1,718,327	4	5

Navy, Victualling Sick and Wounded, and Marine Regiments; and Treasurer of the South-Sea Company.

	Expence of the navy, victualling sick and wounded, and marine regiments, between the 1st of October, 1701, and the 30th of September, 1713 - - - - - - -			27,843,906 10 9½
1712	To the Treasurer of the South-Sea Company for interest, and charge of management thereof - - -	270,681	17 0½	
1713	Ditto - - - - -	556,279	10 0	826,961 7 0½
	Total of the expence			65,853,799 8 7

It is obvious, that the commencement of some of these accounts precedes the actual declaration of the war: But the Grand Alliance being then settled, we apprehend they must be allowed as part of the expence.

Some of them are carried beyond the time of the determination of the war: But those charges have been consequences of it. The troops in Flanders were continued there pursuant to an address of this House. The ships in the Mediterranean have been employed in services relating to the war. Many payments made since have been in consideration of what was performed during the war.

Besides the arrears here mentioned to be due by estimation, considerable demands are every day brought into the pay-office, and more are here expected.

In this account is comprehended the whole money issued to the fleet and army. But there ought to be a deduction of the necessary expence on those heads in time of peace; and if it be computed for twelve years last past, according to the establishments made since the war, it will amount to twelve millions nine hundred and thirty thousand four hundred and sixty-one pounds seventeen shillings and four-pence.

Your commissioners take leave just to mention a proceeding in relation to the buying and selling commissions in the army, dated May 1, 1711, directing, that on the sale of any commission, twelve-pence in the pound should be paid both by the buyer and seller, which money was to be applied to increase the fund for maintenance of Chelsea college.

This money not being brought to the account of the hospital, we examined Mr Francis Lynn (who was appointed receiver of it); and he deposed, "That he received

four hundred twenty-five pounds seven shillings and three-pence on this account, which he kept some time in his hands, but that since our enquiry he had paid it to Mr Merrill for the use of the hospital:" He further said, "He acquainted Mr Merrill a year since, that he had this money in his hands, which Mr Merrill owns he did."

Your commissioners think it extraordinary that this practice of buying and selling commissions, should receive so great countenance as to have a publick office erected for the transacting it. They further observe, that eighteen colonels, who were all that appeared to have bought or sold regiments during the time this regulation subsisted (which was from May 1, 1711, to April 1, 1712,) were excused the payment of this twelve-pence in the pound by particular warrants, and the burden fell on the inferior officers only.

There have been general directions given by the treasury, that the receivers of taxes, and other publick officers, should transact their affairs with the bank of England.

By which means the ancient method of paying money in specie into the exchequer hath been much laid aside, and a great part of the revenue of the kingdom received in bank notes.

How far this new practice may prove fatal to the publick, if the bank shall ever be obliged, on any exigency of the government, to stop their payments, we know not; but we are of opinion that it is worthy your consideration.

Your commissioners were informed, that the sufferers in the islands of Nevis and St Christophers, had agreed to give considerable premiums for obtaining relief from the publick for their losses; and on enquiry into the matter, we find, That in the year 1709, Mr James Campbell was employed by Mr Stephen Duport, agent for those islands, to solicit this affair; that he was to have two and a half per cent. for all the money the sufferers should receive from the publick; and some time after an act passed for giving them one hundred and three thousand and three pounds eleven shillings and four-pence; that on the 3d of July, 1712, the greatest part of the agents for sufferers agreed to give him one per cent. more; that in October, 1712, they came to another agreement, which was to give him five per cent. more for all the money received from the publick on this account, if the debentures should at any time before the 1st of July, 1713, be sold for more than 76 per cent. By which increase the whole premium was advanced to eight and a half per cent.

Whether negociations of this kind are allowable, where money is given by the publick, though for private uses, we are not to determine; but this matter being now under your examination, we thought it not improper to mention this circumstance.

There is a transaction relating to the customs in Scotland, whereby her majesty hath been considerably defrauded, and so much as we have been able to discover thereof, we here lay before the House.

In the latter end of May, 1707, the three following ships, viz. the Neptune of Glasgow, the Eagle galley, and the May-Flower of Glasgow, arrived in the road of Greenock loaded with brandy from France, and the ship called the Recovery of Dowart arrived likewise about the same time on the west coast of Scotland; but no entry was made, or customs paid, for any goods on board the said ships, though it appears that the same goods were landed in Scotland.

But the fact will be most fairly stated, and best understood, by reciting the substance of some of the depositions taken on this occasion.

Archibald Maclean, tide-waiter at Port Glasgow, deposed "That he and another waiter were sent by John Kaltsoe, surveyor of the said port, on board the Eagle, which he saw loaded with brandy; that he went likewise on board the Neptune and May-Flower, which were then unladed, but was told by the waiters on board that they had likewise been loaded with brandy; that the said deponent was ordered by Kaltsoe, a surveyor, to continue on board the Eagle till she arrived at the Isle of Man, or some part of Ireland; that as soon as this ship was under sail, she begun to unlade into several light-

ers, which came to her side for that purpose; and that the deponent and the other waiter were shut up, and kept in the cabin during the time of the unlading."

William Semple and James Roland deposed, "That being waiters at Port Glasgow, they were sent on board the Neptune by John Kaltsoe, surveyor, and were told by the sailors that she was loaded with brandy for France; and they were threatened and commanded by the master and ship's crew to betake themselves to the cabin, where they were shut up and kept during the time the goods were unloaded." Semple further deposed, "That whilst he was on board the Neptune, he saw several small boats about the May-Flower and Eagle galley."

Thomas Kennedy, land-waiter at Port Glasgow, deposed, "That he saw several of the lighters which transported the brandy from the Eagle, Neptune, and May-Flower, in their course from the said ships, and coming into the key of Port Glasgow; that James Thomson, master of one of those lighters which carried the goods from the said ships to Port Glasgow, told this deponent, that he was loaded with brandy from one of the said ships, and produced to this deponent a permit for the same, signed by Daniel Campbell, then collector at Port Glasgow; that he was told by Robert Robertson, that he, and others who were concerned in the goods of the said ships, had agreed to pay ten pounds per ton for the said brandy, and that he the said Robertson had actually paid to the said Campbell above five hundred pounds in money and brandy, for the duties of the said Robertson's share of the said cargoes."

The said Semple and Ronald likewise deposed, "That while they were aboard, they saw in the cabin of the Neptune several blank permits, signed by Daniel Campbell, collector at Port Glasgow." And the said two deponents, as also the aforesaid Maclean, declared, "That after they returned ashore from the said ships, their superior officer demanded no accompt of them, nor did they pretend to make any, believing that their superior officers at that port were in the knowledge of, and connived at, what had happened with respect to the unlading the Neptune and Eagle galley. But that the said three deponents, and another waiter, having been turned out of their offices on that account, applied to the said Daniel Campbell for some acknowledgment of their services; that the said Campbell referred them to Richard Murray, his clerk, for an answer; who gave to each of the said four, ten pounds over and above their salaries, which sum was never demanded of them till the morning on which the said deponents made this deposition; that the said Murray then told them that they must repay it to him."

Robert Noble, tidesman at Port Glasgow, deposed, "That he knew the greatest part of the ship Neptune, and all her cargo, did belong to the said Daniel Campbell and his partners; that he had the management and direction of the same; that he believes the said Campbell signed permits for unloading the cargoes of the aforesaid four ships; that he had seen one of the said permits."

William Gilhagie, merchant in Glasgow, deposed, "That Daniel Campbell was proprietor of the Neptune; that he, the deponent, had a share of the cargo with Thomas Smith, merchant in Glasgow, and others; that he knew of no money that was paid for customs; but that Thomas Smith and Thomas Clark, as managers of the Neptune's cargo, detained from those concerned a large quantity of brandy, which he believes was for the most part for Daniel Campbell's use." This deponent, Arthur Park, and John Hill, merchants, further deposed, "That they had seen several transires signed by Daniel Campbell, for the brandy of the said ships."

William Miller, collector at Fort William, deposed, "That he heard Thomas Clark, merchant in Glasgow, say in a publick company, that fifty pieces of brandy of the Neptune's cargo were set apart for a particular person's use, and as a fund for the common charges in getting the brandy landed; that he heard the said Clark acknowledge, that he had sold a parcel of brandy to a considerable value, and taken bills and other

security for the money, payable to Daniel Campbell, collector at Port-Glasgow, or to said Clark for Campbell's use." The aforesaid Kennedy further deposed, "That he heard some of the merchants concerned in the cargoes of the said ships, exclaim against the said Daniel Campbell for having exacted the duties, and not accompted for the same to her majesty; that they threatened to sue him for recovery thereof; that when Sir Robert Dixon, one of the commissioners of the customs, came to Port-Glasgow to enquire about unlading the ships, (which made a great noise in the country) this deponent was informed, that the said Daniel Campbell sent two waiters in all haste to the isle of Bute, (where the ships had sailed after unlading) to give notice thereof to the masters of the said ships, and to advise them in all haste to sail out of the kingdom, lest their ships should be arrested." The said Semple and Ronald deposed, "That whilst they were at anchor at the Isle of Bute, one Duncart Macklarty came on board the Neptune with a letter to Dugall Campbell, the master, and immediately on the receipt of this letter, the Neptune, Eagle, and May-Flower, weighed anchor and sailed, and the deponents and other custom-house officers were dismissed and sent ashore." That the said Ronald further deposed, "That the said Dugall Campbell, master of the Neptune, told him, that this letter was from Daniel Campbell, collector at Port Glasgow, and gave occasion to their immediate sailing."

By other depositions (which, with those above abstracted, your commissioners are ready to produce to the House) it appearing that the said ships were laden with brandy, which was landed in Scotland, without paying any duties; that Thomas Smith, merchant in Glasgow, was with others concerned in the said brandy on board the said ship Neptune; that he was employed in overseeing the unlading the brandy in the Neptune and Eagle, and hiring lighters for transporting the same; we examined him on oath, whether the ship Neptune arrived at the time aforesaid, and brought any brandy into Scotland? What duty was paid, and to whom, for the goods in the said ship? Whether any part of the said goods were sent from Scotland to London? Whether any transires were granted, importing the payment of the duties, and what those were? He refused to give us any satisfaction, and said he did not apprehend himself obliged to answer such questions.

We likewise examined Mr Daniel Campbell, collector at Port-Glasgow; and in answer to a general question about the arrival of those ships, he swore, That he knew nothing of any goods which were landed out of them in any port, either in North-Britain or South-Britain.

But being further interrogated, Whether he knew of any brandy or other goods landed out of those ships, or brought into the port of Glasgow by any lighter or other vessel from on board them, between the first of May, 1707, and the first of August following, he declined answering so particular a question.

It is humbly submitted whether these depositions are sufficient to prove, That the brandy on board the ships was landed without paying any duties? And whether they do not charge Mr Campbell with a high breach of trust in agreeing for ten pounds per ton, and detaining the same for his own and his partner's use.

We presume not to offer any other remarks on this fact than, that if we suppose the ships to be fully loaden, as is most probable they were, the quantity of brandy would amount to about three hundred and forty ton.

That had it been seized, the duties (as French brandy) would have amounted to twenty-eight thousand one hundred eighty-six pounds or thereabouts.

Your commissioners have been entirely disabled from stating the debts due to the army, and have only employed themselves in some previous examinations, which would have been useful to them, could Mr Brydges have sworn to the accounts of the several regiments under his care of payment. But, being required to do it, he still insists

on the reasons given us the last year, and declares on oath, "That for want of muster-rolls and establishments, he cannot yet attest the credits of any one regiment."

We represented these difficulties to parliament in a former report, and a clause was brought into a bill, in order to remove them, by directing the payment of the arrears, according to such establishments or warrants as had been or might be made by her majesty, and such muster-rolls as could be obtained, and where muster-rolls were wanting, according to the lists of effectives, to be attested on oath. But this clause not passing, the inconveniences still remain, and it is again submitted to the House, in what manner they are to be removed.

Your commissioners can only say, that in the present circumstances, the accounts of the army can never be regularly made up; nor could your commissioners, appointed for that purpose, proceed to any determinations with certainty or justice, as will be evident to those who will be pleased to consider the nature of their commission.

H. B.
G. L.
S. W.
12th April, 1714. F. A.
T. L.
W. S.
H. C.

Magnatum apud Anglos Privilegia: *Or, the Privileges and Preheminences belonging to our English Peerage. Extracted from the Writings of the most celebrated Authors, ancient and modern. Together with several Remarks relating to our Temporal Peerage, by way of Introduction.* 1712.

This statement of the privileges of the English nobles appears to have been made about the period when Queen Anne took the remarkable step of securing a majority in the House of Lords, by creating twelve new peers at once. The author probably thought it worth while to call the attention of the public to the powers and pre-eminence of a body augmented by so strong an exertion of the prerogative.

Elenchus Authorum: *Or, The Names of the Authors quoted in this small Tract.*

Anderson.
Bacon.
Baker.
Bodin.
Blount.
Bracton.
Braudlatcht.
Briton.
Brooke.
Bucke.
Bulstrode.
Burnet.
Coke, Sir Edward
Coke, Roger
Camden.
Chamberlain.
Clarendon, Earl.
Coventry.
Cotton.
Croke.
Compton.
Dalison.
Davis.
Dyer.

Dodridge.
Elfing.
Finch.
Filmer.
Fitzherbert.
Fleta.
Frerotus.
Gratian.
Heywood.
Hobart.
Holbourn.
Hutton.
Jones, Sir William.
Jones, Sir Thomas.
Justinian.
Keble.
Lambert.
Levinz.
Manwood.
Mills.
Modern Reports.
Moor.
Nalson.
Owen
Perkins.
Plowden.
Plutarch.
Prinne.
Records of Parliam. Register.
Ridley.
Rushworth.
Rolls.
Syderfin.
Saunders.
Stamford.
Stiles.
Terms of Law.
Ventris.
Womans Lawyer.
Year-Books.
Zouch.

The Privileges of the superior Nobility, Lords of Parliament.

As all the degrees of the superior nobility (viz. Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons) were originally derived from the sovereign power of our monarchs, kings, and queens of England, even so all the honourable immunities and privileges, that by law appertain unto the temporal lords of parliament, had their emanation, only at the first, from the special grace and indulgencies of our imperial princes, the supreme legislators of this nation.

Now, before a view of these great privileges be tendered to the reader, I shall presume to accost him, by way of introduction, with some considerable remarks relating to our lords temporal, that are *Pares Regni*, and peers of parliament, which do here immediately follow.

Remark I.

The policy of England how seen in the distinctions of persons.

It is an established maxim, among such as have written of policy, and of the sundry sorts of government,[1] that in all well-governed commonwealths, a distinction of persons is absolutely necessary: According to which it hath been the politick prudence of this our nation, for the sustentation and regiment of the common-weal of the same, to make a threefold division of persons, namely,

1 Mar. c. 1.

1. The King, or sovereign monarch; under which names also a sovereign queen is comprehended, as it hath been declared, by a law enacted in the first year of Queen Mary's reign: So that the regal power thereby is asserted to be in a queen as well as in a king.

2. The nobility, which do comprise dukes, marquisses, earls, viscounts, and barons spiritual and temporal.

3. The commons, by which general words are understood, knights, esquires, gentlemen, yeomen, artificers and labourers. *Co. Litt. fol.* 16. 3. 109. *B. et* 156. *B. Dodridge's Treatise of the Nobility, pag.* 1.

Remark II.

None noble under the degree of a baron.

The law of England calleth none noble under the degree of a baron, and not as men of foreign countries do use to speak, with whom every man of gentile birth is reported

[1] *Nulla universitas potest subsistere, nisi nam ordo servet et sustineat. Bod. de Rep. Lib.* 3.—Orig. Note.

noble; for we daily see, that both gentlemen and knights do serve in the parliament, as members only of the community. *Lambert's Justice of Peace, l. 4. c. 13. Co. Litt. f. 16. B.*

Remark III.

Neither do these words, the nobles, the high or great men of the realm, imply the person and majesty of the king, *Dyer* 155. *Crompton's Courts, fol. 35. B.* But with the civilians the king or emperor is reckoned among his nobility: *Cod.* 12. 1. 8. And why so? Because he should not be puffed up with the glory of his place, and conceive he were of a more excellent mould than the rest, when indeed we are all one and the self-same clay. *Sir Thomas Ridley's View of Laws, Part. 2. c. 1. Sect. 7. pag. 140. Edit. 4th, 1675.*

The words, *The nobles*, do not imply the king.

Remark IV.

The superior nobility are known by the general name of peers of the realm, barons of the parliament, barons of the realm, and barons of honour, for difference of them, who yet, according to that old form of barons, be commonly called barons, as those of Burford, of Walton, of the exchequer, and those who were barons under the Count Palatines of Chester and Pembroke, that were barons in fee, and by tenure. *Camden's Britannia, fol. 196. Engl. Edit. 1610, and Finch, lib. 2. cap. 1. pag. 86. Edit. 1627.*

The several names or titles bestowed on the greater nobility.

Remark V.

Dukes, marquisses, and earls, and all other of nobility, do sit together in the king's great council in parliament, as barons, and in right only of their baronies. And therefore by the general name of barons of this realm, and for the baronage thereof, we do understand the whole body of the nobility. *Co. 2. Inst. fol. 61. and Camden's Brit. 169. Engl. Edit. 1610.*

All the degrees of nobility do sit in parliament, in right of their baronies.

Remark VI.

The parliament robes of dukes, marquisses, earls, and viscounts, do differ nothing from the barons, but they wear the guards upon their shoulders three or fourfold; for although dukes, marquisses, earls, and viscounts, in their creation, are tired with garments of silks and velvet, yet in the parliament they use the same as barons do, made with scarlet, with divers differences of white furr, set with fringes, or edging on their shoulders; for there they sit by reason of their baronies, and according to their dignity take their places. *Mr. Tho. Mills, fol. 66.*

The parliament robes of dukes, &c differ not from those of the barons.

Remark VII.

Although the nobility of England in titles, and by certain ceremonies, may be distinguished, yet a baron is in equipage, as unto nobility, and privileges incident to their dignities, with dukes, marquisses, earls, and viscounts, *Co. Lib. 6. fol. 53.* Countess of Rutland's case. And it is in ordinary experience, that dukes, and others of any high degree of nobility, in cases criminal, are tried by barons, together with many earls and viscounts, as their peers, and peers of the realm, *Co. Lit. fol. 156. B.*

A baron is in equipage, as to nobility and privileges, with dukes and other degrees of the peerage.

Remark VIII.

In the reign of Hen. III. the title of baron, which had been before promiscuous to men of estate, was first confined to such only, as by the king were called to have voice in parliament; but that which King Hen. III. began a little before his death, his son King Edward I. and his successors, constantly observed and continued. *Baker in vitâ E. I. Camden's Britannia, fol. 169. and Co. lib. 12. fol. 70. Lord of Abergavenny's case.*

The title of Barons confined to those who were summoned by writ of parliament.

Remark IX.

In 9 Hen. III. neither duke, marquiss, or viscount in England.

At the making of the statute of Magna Charta, in Hen. III.'s time, there was not any duke, marquiss, or viscount in England: And Edward, the eldest son of Edw. III. called the Black Prince, was the first duke in England after the Conquest; and Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, in the reign of Rich. II. was the first marquiss: And before the reign of Hen. VI. there was not any viscount: And the Lord de Bellomonte, or Beaumont, was the first viscount, created by Hen. VI. *Co. Lit.* 69. *B. et* 83. *a. Co.* 2. *Inst. fol.* 5. *Camden Britan. fol.* 165. *et* 167. 4 *Hen. IV. N.* 18. *Cotton.*

Remark X.

Honours of peers not alienable.

Upon a debate (*anno* 1640) in the House of Lords, concerning a power of conveying away of honour, it was resolved upon the question, *nemine contradicente*, "That no person that hath any honour in him, and peer of this realm, may alien and transfer the honour to any other person."

Resolved upon the question, *nemine contradicente*, "That no peer of this realm can drown, or extinguish his honour (but that it descend to his descendants) neither by surrender, grant, fine, or any other conveyance to the king." *Dr Nalson's Collect.* 1. *vol. fol.* 744.

Remark XI.

A conference of the lords to be with the commons about the king's bestowing honours.

Anno 1641. A message was sent to the House of Commons, to desire a present conference by a committee of both houses, touching honour.

The subject of the conference to be, "That both houses may petition his majesty, that titles of honour may not be bought and sold for money, but that it may be confirmed by his majesty, as antiently it was, for virtue and merit." *Dr Nalson's* 2 *vol. f.* 325.

Remark XII.

How the descent in honorary titles is guided among parents.

Although the laws of this realm regularly do make all the daughters, where there are no sons, equally to inherit lands and tenements, and to be one heir to their ancestors, yet it is not so in the descent of dignities and titles of honour; for inheritances concerning matters of honour, being things in their nature participating of superiority and eminency, are not partable among many, and therefore must of necessity descend unto one, and that is to the eldest daughter, sister, aunt, or cousin female, inheritable, where there are no heirs males, that may lawfully challenge the same. *Dodridge in his Treatise of Nobility and Peerage, p.* 169. *Tit. Noblewomen. Camden's Britannia, fol.* 165. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. *Bracton, lib.* 2. *cap.* 34. *fol.* 76. *B. Co. Lit. fol.* 165. *a. Fleta lib.* 5. *c.* 9. *n.* 16. *p.* 313. *Britton cap.* 72. *fol.* 186. *B.* 187. *a.* But some hold, that if a baron dies, having issue divers daughters, the king (who is the sovereign of honour and dignity) may confer the dignity on him that marries any of them, as has been done in divers cases. *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 3. *Tit. Dignity.* And *Co. Lit.* 165. *a.*

Remark XIII.

There cannot be *possessio fratris* of a barony.

A question was moved in parliament (*anno* 16. Car. I.) touching the barony of Ruthen, where the case was, That one being created baron to him and his heirs, hath issue a son and a daughter by one venter, and a second son by another venter, and the eldest son hath the barony, and sits in parliament, and afterwards dies without issue, Whether the second son shall have that dignity, as heir to his father: Or the sister should have it as *possessio fratris* in lands, &c. and desired to have the opinion of the judges therein? And all the judges resolved, That there is not any *possessio fratris* of a

dignity; but it shall descend to the son; for the younger son is *hæres natus*, and the sister is only *hæres facta*, by the possession of her brother, of such things as are in demesne, but not of dignities, and such like; whereof there cannot be an acquisition of the possession. *Cro. Car. fol.* 601. *The Lord Grey's Case.*

Remark XIV.

A greater dignity drowns not a lesser.

The greater dignity doth never drown the lesser honour, or dignity: But both do stand together in one and the same person: And therefore if a knight be created a baron, yet he remains a knight still: So if a baron be made a viscount, yet the dignity of a baron continueth: So if a viscount be made an earl, yet the viscountship remaineth, *et sic de cæteris:* But if an esquire (which is no name of dignity) be made a knight, the degree of the esquire is changed and gone, and cannot be so named in any judicial proceedings. *Co. 2. Inst. fol. 594 & 669. Co. lib. 4. fol.* 118. *a. Acton's Case, 27. H. 64. 4. E. 410. 5. E. 4. 142. 35. H. 6. 12. 32. H. 6. 29.* But it is agreed, (*in Plowden's Com.* 213.) That if the crown of England do descend to a duke, within England, his name of duke is gone.

Remark XV.

Honour conferred by a foreign prince, upon the monarch of England's subject, without acquainting him, is not admitted.

The law of England doth prohibit any subject of this realm to receive titles of honour or dignity of the gift, or donation, of a foreign prince or king, or emperor (without the knowledge, consent, and approbation of his own sovereign prince;) for it is a thing greatly touching the majesty of the king, and the state of his kingdom: It is the right of majesty, and among the ensigns of sovereign authority. "And therefore such titles of honour are not to be accepted by subjects, nor admitted by the prince: That it belongs only to the prince, and not to any other whatsoever, to distribute dignities to their subjects; according to that saying of Valerian the emperor, 'Let that dignity only hold, which is born by our will.' For much is detracted from the prince's majesty, and the subjects obedience, if they may be permitted to receive honours from foreign princes; for a tacit contract of fidelity seemeth to pass between the honourer and honoured: That such titles are secret enticements to withdraw the hearts of subjects from their princes; that an action of theft lies against him that shall brand another man's sheep with his mark, and an action of fraud against him that by strewing of food shall entice another man's sheep to his flock."

The conclusion of this remark shall be the judgment of Queen Elizabeth, touching the title of honour conferred by the emperor on Thomas Arundel of Wardour, without her majesty's being acquainted with it; "Between princes and their subjects there is a most straight tie of affections. As chaste women ought not to cast their eyes upon any other prince than him whom God hath given them; I would not have my sheep branded with another man's mark; I would not that they should follow the whistle of a strange shepherd." *Camden's Eliz. Anno* 1596, *p.* 467, 468, *Engl. Edit.* 1635.. *Camden's Britannia, fol.* 246. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. *Baker's History in vitâ Eliz. pag.* 408. *Edit.* 1660. *and Camden's Eliz. Anno* 1594. *p.* 435. *Dr Zouch de Judicio inter Gentes, pars* 2. *Sect.* 2. *p.* 64 *&* 65. *Ed.* 1650.

Remark XVI., and last.

What trusts and ensigns of honour barons have.

Dukes, earls, and all others of the degree of nobility and honour, have offices of great trust, and confidence, being for two principal purposes, *Ad consulendum regi tempore pacis*, to counsel the king in time of peace. The other, *Ad defendendum regem et patriam tempore belli;* to defend the king and country in time of war: And therefore antiquity hath given unto them two ensigns to resemble both the said duties: For the first, the head is adorned with a cap of honour, and coronet, and the body with a robe, in resemblance of counsel: Secondly, they are girt with a sword, in resemblance,

that they must be faithful and true to defend the prince and country. *Co. Lib.* 7. 34. *a. Nevill's Case*, and *Lib.* 12. *fol.* 95. *Countess of Shrewsbury's Case, Co.* 2. *Inst. fol.* 5. *&* 6. *Bracton, lib.* 1. *c.* 8. *n.* 2. I will conclude this last remark thus: The ennobled amongst the Romans had a badge of a moon, or crescent; in Plutarch's judgement, not so much to signify the instability or frailty of their place and honour, as to put them in mind to be obedient and loyal to their prince, the fountain of their high dignity, as the sun is to the moon, *Plut. in Probl. Probl.* 72.

Having given the reader several remarks concerning our noblemen, I am now coming to give him a declaration of the divers and sundry honourable privileges and immunities allowed unto them by the laws and customs of this realm; and that both in and out of parliament.

And in order thereunto, it will not be impertinent in the first place to shew what a privilege is, and how it is defined by several authors; 1. Frerotus defineth it, *Privilegium est Jus singulare, hoc est, privata Lex, quæ uni hominis, vel Loco, vel Collegio; et similibus aliis conceditur. In Paratittlis ad titulum Decretalium de Privilegiis.*

2. Gratian thus; *Privilegia sunt Leges privatorum, quasi privatæ Leges. Nam Privilegium inde dictum est, quia in privato feratur. Decreti prima pars Distinctio* 3. *c.* 3.

3. *Privilegium* (saith *Georgius Braudlacht Westp.*) *est jus singulare, certæ personæ, vel rei, ob aliquam æquitatis rationem, contra communes juris normas indultum,* lib. 7. c. 5. *de privilegiis.*

4. Another tells us, *quod privilegium est quasi privata lex, et contra dispositionem juris communis concessio facta.*

5. Dr Ridley defines it in this manner; "It is an immunity granted unto a private man, beside the law." His view of the civil and ecclesiastical law, *part.* 3. *cap.* 4. *sect.* 1. Out of all which authors we may pronounce, that privileged persons are such as are enriched with some special freedoms, or benefits, contrary to the common course of law.

Privilege I.

Trial by record, not by jury.

A baron, viscount, earl, or other lord of parliament, and peer of the realm, being plaintiff in any action, the defendant pleads, "That the plaintiff is not a baron, viscount, earl, &c." as he is named in the writ, this must not be tried at our common law by jury, who may be corrupted, nor by witnesses, as in the court of Chancery, who may be suborned; but it must be tried by the record in that court, which imports by itself solid truth: So great respect hath the law to the trial of their honour and dignity. *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 94. *&* 95. *Countess of Shrewsbury's Case, and fol.* 70. *Lord Abergaveny's Case. Co. Lit.* 16. *B. Co. lib.* 6. 53. *Countess of Rutland's Case, & lib.* 9. 49. *Earl of Shrewsbury's Case, Co. lib.* 7. 15. *b. Calvin's Case,* 6. *H.* 6. 46. *Br. Challenge* 18.

Notes on this Privilege.

A woman whether of the degree of nobility.

1. When a title of honour doth descend to a woman, if question in law doth arise between the noble woman, and any other person, whether she be of that degree of nobleness or no, the issue shall be tried by the record thereof, and by the king's writ it shall be certified, and not by a jury of twelve men, even as it should be in case her ancestor had been party. *Dodridge's Law of Nobility and Peerage, Tit. Noble Women.*

A diversity between nobility gained by marriage and by descent.

2. In the case of acquired nobility by marriage, if the question be, "Whether duchess or not duchess, countess or not countess, baroness or not baroness?" the trial hereof shall not be by record, as in the former note, but by a jury of twelve men; and the reason of the diversity is, because the dignity is accrued unto her by marriage, which our lawyers term matter in fact, and not by any record. *Co. lib.* 6. *fol.* 53. *a. Isabella Countess of Rutland's Case,* 2. *H.* 6. 11.

Privilege II.

For the honour and reverence, which the law gives to nobility, their bodies are not subject to torture, *in causa criminis læsæ majestatis: Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 95. *Countess of Salop's Case.*

Peers not put to the torture in treason.

A Note on this Privilege.

By the imperial constitutions, the nobility may not be put to the rack or torture to discover the truth, but vulgar or common persons are in such case liable to that punishment: *Cod.* 9. 4. 11, *&* 17. *&* *Cod.* 12. 1. 10. But this immunity of noblemen holds only in matters of no great moment; *Sed cum de crimine majestatis quæritur, nulla dignitas à tormentis eximitur. D.* 48. 18. 10. 1. *Cod.* 9. 8. 3.

Nobiles non torquentur in quibus plebei torquentur.

Privilege III.

If any servant of the king in the check-roll, compass, or intend to kill any lord of parliament, or other lord of the king's council, this is felony: 3. *H. VII.* 14. *Co. lib.* 22. *fol.* 95. *Countess of Shrewsbury's Case. Co.* 3. *Inst. fol.* 37.

Conspiracy of the king's servants on the check-roll to destroy a lord of parliament.

Privilege IV.

At the suit of the subject the bodies of noblemen, lords of parliament, shall not be arrested; neither capias nor exigent lieth against them: *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 95. *The Countess of Shrewsbury's Case: Crompton's Courts,* 14. *a. Edit.* 1594. *Camden's Britannia,* 169. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. *Co. lib.* 9. 49. *Earl of Salop's Case, Finch's Law, lib.* 4. *c.* 26. *p.* 354. *Br. Exigent.* 72. *Stiles's Reports,* 234. *&* 252. *The Case of the Countess of Rivers, Co. lib.* 6, 53. *Countess of Rutland's Case.* This privilege belongs also to our spiritual lords, the bishops, in respect of their baronies.

Exemption from arrests.

Notes on this Privilege.

1. The reason why noble peers are privileged from arrests is grounded on presumption of law, That the most honourable are likeliest to be right honest, and pay even before demand; and likewise, that their fortunes are sufficient to satisfy, without attaching their persons. *Co. lib.* 6. 52. *B. The Countess of Rutland's Case, More's Reports,* 765. *n.* 1063. *Finch's Law, lib.* 4. *c.* 26. *pag.* 354. *Stiles's Reports, fol.* 222. *More v. Earl of Rivers, Br. Exigent.* 72.

Peers why exempted from being caught by the poll.

2. If the court of Common Pleas in a debt doth award plea of a capias against a baron, or other peers of the realm, which by the law doth not lie against them, and the same appeareth in the writ itself, yet if the sheriff arrest them by force of the capias, although that the writ be against law notwithstanding, inasmuch as the court hath jurisdiction of the cause, the sheriff is excused, *Co. lib.* 10. 76. *B. The Case of Marshalsea,* 38. *H. VIII. Dyer,* 60. *B. Co. lib.* 6. 54. *a. Countess of Rutland's Case.*

When the sheriff is to be excused, upon arrest by capias.

3. If a capias in an action of debt be awarded against a baron, or other peer of the realm, which is erroneous, (because their body by the law is privileged in such cases) yet, if the officer be killed in execution thereof, it is murder, for the officer is not bound to dispute the authority of the court, which awardeth the process; but his office is to execute the process. *Co. lib.* 9. *fol.* 68. *Mackalley's Case.*

The killing of an officer in executing a capias that is erroneous adjudged to be murder.

4. For contempts, a capias lies against a peer of the realm: As for rescousing of one arrested by the course of law. 27. *H. VIII.* 27. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 14. *a.* So a capias *pro fine* lies against a nobleman; for none can be privileged against the king. *Cro. Eliz.* 170. *Lord Stafford v. Thinne. & fol.* 503. *Earl of Lincoln against Flower.*

Capias lies against a peer for a contempt.

5. If a lord of the parliament, doth with force and arms, detain a man in prison in his house, or elsewhere, the remedy in such cases, by himself, or his friends abroad at liberty, to have a writ called *de homine replegiando,* to deliver him: But if the lord, to

In what case the writs *de homine replegiando,* and

of withernam lie against a peer.

prevent the execution thereof, and of malice, do keep, or convey away this same man, *so wrongfully imprisoned, so privily*, as that the sheriff cannot execute his said writ, *then will the court award a withernam*, whereby the sheriff shall attach and arrest the body of the said lord, and imprison him, until he do deliver his said prisoner. 11. *H. IV.* 15. *F. N. B.* 68. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 20. *a. Hobart's Rep. fol.* 61. *Foster v. Jackson.*

Privilege V.

To be exempt of juries, and empannelled upon inquests.

Noblemen, and lords of parliament, are not to be empannelled upon the common jury of twelve men, for the inquest *de facto*. *Br. Exemption* 3. *and Challenge* 37. 27. *H. VIII.* 27. *Crompton's Courts*, 14. *a. co. lib.* 6. 53. *Countess of Rutland's. Terms of Law, f.* 161. *b. Tit. Exemption. co. lib.* 9. *Earl of Shrewsbury's Case, Dyer* 314. *p. l.* 98. *Co. Lib.* 12. 95. *Countess of Shrewsbury's Case. Camden's Britannia*, 169. *Engl. Edit.* 1510. *Co. Litt. fol.* 156. *B.*

A Note on this Privilege.

A special writ in the register to discharge a peer from serving in juries.

In case a lord of parliament be returned upon a common jury, there is a special writ for his discharge: And this may be directed either to the sheriff, not to put him into juries, or to the judge to discharge him: But if a peer of the realm be returned, he must be sworn, or lose issues, if he appear not, unless he bring the writ. *Register.* 179. *B. F. n. B.* 165. *A. D. Finche's Law, lib.* 4. *c.* 48. *pag.* 506. *Co. Lib.* 6. 53. *Countess of Rutland's Case.*

Privilege VI.

Knights returned on his jury.

In the Common Pleas, a temporal lord of parliament shall have knights returned on his jury. *Co. Lib.* 12. 95. *Countess of Shrewsbury's Case & Lib.* 6. 53. *Countess of Rutland's Case. Dodridge in his Treatise of Nobility, fol.* 145. *Edit.* 1658. 4. *Eliz. Dyer*, 208. *Plowd. Com.* 117. *a. Earl of Derby's Case. Syderfin* 2. *Part. fol.* 31. *Earl of Leicester's Case.* 13. *E. III. Inquest* 44. 27. *H. VIII.* 22. *b. Finch's Law, lib.* 4. *c.* 36. *pag.* 412. *Br. Challenge* 5. *and Trial* 142. *Crompton's Courts* 14. *a. &* 20. *a.* 8. 9. *l.* 4. 37. 34. *H. VI.* 18. *Fitzh. Challenge* 113. *Modern Reports* 1. *pt.* 226. *Br. Enquest.* 100. *Br. Novel. Cases N.* 88. This privilege is incident to bishops, as peers of the realm.

Notes on this Privilege.

If upon the non-return of a knight, there is a challenge of the array, this shall quash all the array, as to the other defendants.

1. Where there are divers defendants, whereof one is a lord of parliament, and the array is challenged by reason no knight is returned, this shall serve to quash all the array against the other defendants also, for that it is entire. *Dyer*, 246. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 20. *B.*

A knight, if returned, not material, whether he appear.

2. If a knight be returned on a jury, when a nobleman is concerned in a suit, it is not material whether he appear and gives his verdict, or not. 1. *Modern* 226. *Southcot* 2. *Stowel. Crompton's Courts, fol.* 20. *B.*

A serjeant at law, that is a knight, when his privilege is not allowable.

3. If there be no other knights in the county, a serjeant at law, that is a knight, may be returned, and his privilege shall not excuse him. 2. *Mod.* 182. *The Countess of Northumberland's Case.*

When no knights are returned, the defendant a common person may challenge the array, as well as a peer plaintiff.

4. If a noble peer of the realm be plaintiff, and a common person defendant, they join issue, and two knights are not returned in the jury between them, as there ought to be, the defendant may challenge the array of that jury, as well as our peer. *Mich.* 33. *&* 34. *Eliz. Anderson* 1. *part.* 272. *N.* 281.

5. The Earl of Kent, by the name of Reginald Grey, Esq. brought a writ of entry against H. G. and the pannel was returned: Now by the heralds, he was then newly de-

clared Earl, and thereupon he challenged the array, because there was no knight returned in the pannel: But it was not allowed by the court; for that there was no default in the sheriff, he being commonly reputed an esquire. *Dyer*, 318. *p. l.* 10. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 20. *B.*

Privilege VII.

No essoin or day of grace is to be granted to plaintiffs, in suits or actions, wherein noblemen, lords of parliament, are defendants. *Camden's Britannia*, 169. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. 27. *H.* 8. 27. *Crompton* 14. *a. Co. lib.* 9. 49. *Earl of Salop's Case*, 27. *E.* 3. 88. 27. H. 8. 22. This privilege is incident to the lords spiritual as well as to the lords temporal. Essoin lies not against a peer.

Notes upon this Privilege.

1. The reason of immunity is, for that thereby a nobleman should be no longer delayed than the ordinary course of the court is, and such a lord is to have expedition of justice, in respect he is to attend the sacred person of the king, and the service of the commonwealth. *Co. lib.* 9. *fol.* 49. *Earl of Shrewsbury's Case.* Reason why against a nobleman an essoin lies not.

2. If there be no ignoble person, party to the suit, the judges do, and may at their discretion, grant, upon motion and prayer, a day, or more, of trial, otherwise than by the strict course of the law the plaintiff may challenge. *Dodridge's Treatise of the Nobility, pag.* 144. *Edit.* 1658. When the judges may grant, upon prayer, a day or more.

3. In case a baron, or baroness, earl, &c. have their absence excused by essoin, he who casts such essoin, or excuse, ought to find pledges, that the essoin is true; but in the case of a common person, it shall rest upon the credit and integrity of the essoniator: And the reason of such diversity is this; for that noblemen, *in warrantizatione Essonii*, do not swear by themselves, but by their proxies, viz. their pledges, &c. *Bracton, lib.* 5. *Tract.* 2. *de Essoniis, c.* 9. *Nu.* 3. *fol.* 351. *B. & c.* 2. *N.* 3. *f.* 337. *B. Britton, c.* 1. 22. *fol.* 282. *a Fleta, lib.* 6. *c.* 10. *nu.* 15. *Co.* 2. *Inst.* 137. To what essoins one shall be sworn, and to what not.

Privilege VIII.

Noblemen, peers of the realm, and lords of parliament, are exempted from attendance at the sheriff's tourn, or at any court leet, or to take there the oath of ligeance. *Statute of Marlebridge, cap.* 10. *Finch's Law, lib.* 4. *c.* 1. *pag.* 242. *Britton, cap.* 29. *f.* 73. *B. Co.* 2. *Inst. fol.* 120 & 121. And so are bishops from attendance at tourns and leets. Exemption from attendance at tourns or leets.

Notes upon this Privilege.

1. Every man of the age of twelve years, and upwards, (being within the precinct of leets) oweth suit, and must be sworn to the king's allegiance; and this is called a suit real, being not due by reason of men's freehold, but of their body, because they are resiant within the precinct of the leet. *Britton, cap.* 29. *fol.* 73. *B. F. N. B.* 161. 12. *H.* 7. 18. 25. *E.* 3. 236. *Co. lib.* 7. *fol.* 6. & 7. *Calvin's Case, Co. Litt.* 68. *B. Fleta, lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. *Nu.* 4. *Co. Litt. fol.* 172. *B.* Infant at 12 years bound to take the oath of ligeance in the leet.

2. Albeit noblemen be exempted from their personal coming to the tourn and leet, and many other persons never took the oath of allegiance, yet are all subjects of what quality, profession, or sex soever, as firmly obliged to their allegiance, as if they had taken the oath, because it is written by the finger of the law of nature, in every one of their hearts, and the taking of the corporal oath is but an outward declaration of the same, *Co.* 2. *Inst. fol.* 121. The substance and effect of that legal ligeance (say the learned judges in *Calvin's Case*) is due by the law of nature, *Ex Institutione Naturæ*, the form and addition of the oath is, *ex provisione Hominis.* Persons that never have taken the oath of ligeance, are as much bound to their ligeance, as if they had taken it, and why.

Privilege IX.

Exemption from taking the oath of supremacy.

By the statute of 5th. Eliz. c. 1. it is enacted, That every knight, citizen, and burgess of the parliament, shall take the oath of supremacy before the lord steward, or his deputy; but it is not required of any of the temporal lords, because the king is otherwise sufficiently assured of their faith and loyalty, as is presumed.

Privilege X.

Making proxies.

A temporal peer of the realm summoned to parliament, in his absence, lawful, and licence of his prince may appoint a proxy to vote for him, which none of the House of Commons can do, *Co. 4. Inst. fol.* 12. 21. *E. 4.* 50. *Davis's Reports, fol.* 47. *B. Le Case, de Capitulariter Congregatis.* The bishops, lords of parliament, do enjoy this same privilege.

Notes upon this Privilege.

The making proxies by the peers, shews their right to be summoned.

1. Those lords that would not appear, according to their summons, made their proxies, and even this shews their right to be summoned, else what needed their proxies, *Elsing, cap. 5. of Proxies.*

Lords amerced if they appeared not at the parliament either personally or by proxies.

2. If the temporal lords of parliament neither came, nor made proxies, then for their disobedience unto the king's writ, they were amerced, viz. antiently an earl at 100l., and a baron at 100 marks; which since was qualified many times, viz. *An.* 31. *H.* 6. *n.* 46. A duke was taxed at 100l., an earl at 100 marks, and a baron at 40l., if he came not to parliament, *Elsing, c. 5. of Proxies.*

He that receives a proxy must be a member of the Lords House, and no stranger.

3. Though in the high court of parliament, our temporal barons may give their votes by procuracy, or proxy, yet the proctor ought to be a baron, and member of the same house, for a stranger is not capable of such proxy: *Davis' Reports*, 47. *B. Case, de Capitulariter Congregatis*; which is, according to the rules of the canonists, namely, *Absens non potest demandare votum nisi uni de Capitulo: Instit. Juris, Can. lib.* 1. *cap. Electionibus.*

Oportet quod procurator semper institutus sit de Collegio.
Votum dari non potest per Literas.

A proxy must not be made to a peer that is *absent himself.*

4. A proxy cannot be made to a lord, that is absent himself: For instance; the Lord Latimer sent his proxy, which the clerk refused; but was repealed by the lord chancellor, for that the Lord Latimer's deputies were not present: *Elsing, cap. 5. of proxies.*

A lord to whom a proxy is made, if afterward absent, the proxy is invalid.

5. If a lord, unto whom the proxy is made, be afterwards absent, the proxy is void, yea, although the procurator be absent *ex licentia regis,* and hath made a procurator also for himself, for the proxy is but an authority to give another man's assent, which cannot be transferred to a third person: *Elsing, c. 5. of Proxies.*

A peer maketh a proxy to three lords, and one of the proxies gives consent, the other two say, Not content, this is no voice.

6. A lord of parliament, by licence obtained of the sovereign, made a proxy to three lords of parliament, *Conjunctim, et divisim, dans eis potestatem tractandi, tractatibusque auxilium et consilium impendendi, atque Statutis, et Ordinationibus, que inactitat, contigerint. consentiendi, ita quod non sit melior conditio occupantis.* And one of the procurators gave consent to a bill, and the other two said, Not content: And first it was by order of the lords debated among the judges and civilians attendants, and conceived by them, that this was no voice, and the opinion was affirmed by all the lords of parliament, *seriatim,* at the parliament holden *ann.* 1. *Eliz. Co.* 4. *Inst. fol.* 12 *&* 13.

A lord that makes a proxy comes after into the house, and sits there

7. At the same time another question was started, that if a lord of parliament made a proxy, and after come into the lords house of parliament, and sit there without arguing, consenting, or speaking any thing: And it was conceived by the judges, and ci-

vilians, that his sitting there without saying any thing, was a revocation in law of his proxy; *d fortiori*, if he moved, or spake to any matter there propounded; and their opinion was resolved by the lords *seriatim*, *Co. 4. Inst. fol.* 13. Without speaking any thing, adjudged a revocation in law of the proxy.

8. In the year 1626, 2 *Car.* 1. the house of peers made an order, that for the future no lord of the House shall be capable of receiving above two proxies, nor more to be numbered in any cause voted. *Rushworth's Historical Collections*, 1. *part*, *fol.* 273. Ordered, that no lord can be capable of receiving above two proxies.

Privilege XI.

When the king doth summon a duke, earl, or any other peer of the realm, of the parliament, he sends his writ, directed to himself particularly, and not to the sheriff of the county, as the general summons are for knights and burgesses for the parliament, *Co.* 4. *Inst.* 4. *and Dodridge's Tract of the Nobility*, *pag.* 25 & 26. *Tit of Earls.* Every spiritual lord of parliament, as well as the temporal, ought to have several writs of summons. Writs special of summons to parliament directed to the peerage temporal.

Privilege XII.

No temporal peer and lord of parliament, sitting in parliament, or within the usual time of privilege of parliament, is to be imprisoned, or restrained, without order from the House, unless it be for treason, felony, or refusing to give security for the peace. *Elsing's Method of holding Parliaments*, *c.* 7. *pag.* 178. *Edit.* 1660. *Baker in vitâ*, *Car. I. fol.* 468. *Edit.* 1660. *The Earl of Arundel's Case.* This preheminence appertains to our bishops as well as to our temporal lords of parliament. Imprisonment of a temporal lord in parliament time.

Privilege XIII.

The house of lords are the interpreters of acts of parliament in times of parliament. Interpreters of acts during parliament.

Or,

It belongs to the house of peers, by the ancient laws and constitutions of this kingdom, to interpret acts of parliament, in time of parliament, in any cause that shall be brought before them. *Dr Nalson's Collections*, 2. *vol. fol.* 625. Our spiritual lords of parliament have their share in the interpreting statutes in parliament time.

Privilege XIV.

If writs of error be brought in parliament upon judgments given in the King's Bench, the lords of the higher[1] house alone, without the commons, are to examine, and amend the errors, *Co.* 4. *Inst.* 21, *Finch's Law*, *lib.* 4. *c.* 36. *pag.* 483. *Filmer's Patriarcha*, *pag.* 140, 141. *Edit.* 1680. Writs of error.

A Note upon this Privilege.

The lords finding themselves extremely pressed by the bringing writs of error upon judgments into their house, whereby the publick affairs were much retarded, made this order, June, *anno* 1641.

"Ordered, that such persons that bring in writs of error into this house upon a judgment given in a court of justice, and if it appear that there is no just cause of error in the said judgment, but merely for delay of justice and execution, that then such costs are to be given against the parties, that bring the writ of error, as the house shall think fit to give in that case: And that the record shall be remitted whence it came, that the defendant may take out execution." *Dr Nalson's* 2 *vol. fol.* 272. *vide* the manner how a writ of error is brought into the lords house, and how there amended. *Nalson's Collections*, 1 *vol.* 1651. *Co.* 4. *Inst. fol.* 21. *Finch' Law*, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 47. *pag.* 482. 489. Order of the lords about writs of error.

[1] Under the lords of the higher house are comprehended the bishops.—*Orig. Note.*

Privilege XV.

Lords of parliament are properly *De magno Concilio Regis.*

The monarch, king, or queen of England, is armed with divers councils, whereof one is called, *Magnum Concilium Regis*, which is always applied to the upper house of parliament, and sometimes, out of parliament, to the peers of the realm, who have been summoned, alone to give their sovereign advice, in matters propounded to them. *Co. Litt. fol.* 110. *a. Elsing, c.* 1. *pag.* 51 *et* 52. *Co.* 3. *Inst. fol.* 125. 27. *Aug.* 5. *H.* 4. in the exchange between the king and E. of Northumberland, *in Turre, Co.* 4. *Inst.* 65. Note, the parliament is always called, *Commune Concilium Regis.*

Privilege XVI.

No supplicavit, &c. can be granted against our nobility.

Noblemen, peers of the realm, and lords of parliament, are not to be arrested by any warrant of any justice of peace, or for the good behaviour, nor by a supplicavit out of the high court of Chancery, or from the King's Bench; for such an opinion our law conceived of the peaceable disposition of noblemen, that it hath been thought enough to take their promise upon honour, in that behalf. *Lambert's Justice of Peace, lib.* 2. *c.* 2. 24. *E.* 3. 33. *Subpœna Fitzh.* 20. *Camden's Britannia,* 169. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. *Dodridge's Treatise of Nobility, f.* 139 *&* 140. *Edit.* 1658.

A Note upon this Privilege.

A lord ordered to find sureties for the peace; the parliament but adjourned.

On articles of peace, one Coleman demanded, that the Lord Gerrard might find sureties, which the court granted, albeit he was a peer, and the parliament but adjourned, so that by this precedent, a sitting peer may be bound to the good behaviour, 2 *Keble,* 435. *Nu.* 74.

Privilege XVII.

Expences of knights.

Lords of parliament are not to contribute to the expences of the knights of the shire, that come to parliament, 28. *E.* 3. *N.* 23. *Cotton* 11. *H.* 4. 2. *B. Crompton's Courts, fol.* 17. *B.* 18. *a.*

Privilege XVIII.

In offices of trust, their right of appointing deputies.

In all places, or offices of trust, committed to peers and lords of parliament, they are allowed to make deputies, by reason of the necessity, supposed in the law, of their attendance on the person of their sovereign, both to assist him with their counsel, for the commonwealth, and also to keep him and the realm in safety, by their prowess and valour: But otherwise the law is, if an office, or place of trust, be granted to a common person, as a stewardship or parkership; for he cannot exercise the same by deputy, unless the grant be so made, *Co. lib.* 9. *fol.* 49. *The Earl of Shrewsbury's Case. Perkins, Sect.* 99 *&* 100. *Terms of Law,* 117. *B. Tit. Deputy.*

Privilege XIX.

Suppressing riots, routs, or unlawful assemblies.

In the statute made in 2. of H. V. c. 8. authority is given to the sheriffs, and other the king's justices, for the better suppressing of riots and routs, &c. to raise *posse comitatus*, the power of the county; yet may not the sheriff, upon such authority, command the person of any nobleman, and lord of parliament, to attend that service. *Dodridge in his Treatise of the Nobility.*

Privilege XX.

Challenge none of peers upon a jury.

Though the law alloweth a common person, that is arraigned for treason, or felony, in favour of life, to challenge thirty-five of his jury, without shewing cause, and others by shewing cause, yet when any subject, that is a lord of parliament, and a peer of the realm, is to be tried, either for felony or treason, he shall not challenge any of his

peers at all, nor put any of them to their oath, the law presuming, that they being all peers of the realm, and judging upon their honour, cannot be guilty of falsehood, favour, or malice. *Co. Lit.* 156. *B. et* 294. *a. Dr Burnet's History of the Reformation, 2. Part, fol.* 179. *Baker in vitâ E.* 6. *fol.* 330. *Edit.* 1660. *Hayward's E.* 6. *fol.* 136, *et* 294. *Camden's Eliz. Anno* 1601. 543. *Engl. Edit.* 1635. *Baker in vitâ Eliz. f.* 415. *Co. 3. Inst. f.* 27. *Moor's Reports, fol.* 622. *N.* 849. *The Case of the Earls of Essex and Southampton.*

Privilege XXI.

By the statute of 32. H. 8. cap. 16. it is ordained, that the subjects of the realm shall not keep in their families, or house, above the number of four strangers born: But by a proviso in that act, every lord of parliament hath his privilege allowed to him, to keep in his family the number of six strangers born, any thing in that act to the contrary notwithstanding. The bishops, as lords of parliament, may lay claim to the same privilege.

Aliens or strangers born.

Privilege XXII.

Noblemen, barons of the realm, being the defendants in Chancery, instead of a subpœna, have a letter directed to them from the lord chancellor, or lord keeper, of their appearance, at a day therein prefixed. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 33. *B. Dodridge's Treatise of the Nobility,* 140. *Edit.* 1658. No doubt but a bishop is to have a letter instead of a subpœna.

A letter in lieu of a *Subpœna.*

Notes upon this Privilege.

1. If a peer appears not on the letter directed to him, no attachment shall be taken forth against him: For in the fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, the order and rule was declared in the parliament chamber, and so to be enrolled in the parliament, that an attachment is not to be awarded by common law, custom, or precedent. *Dyer,* 315. *a. & Crompton's Courts, fol.* 33. *B.*

Though a lord appears not in Chancery upon a letter, yet no attachment shall be taken forth against him.

2. Mr Justice Ventris tells us, that if a bill in Chancery be exhibited against a peer, the practice, or course, is, first, for my lord keeper to write a letter to him; and if he doth not answer, then a subpœna, and then an order, to shew cause, why a sequestration should not go forth; and if he still stands out, then a sequestration; for there can be no process of contempt against his person, 2 *Vent. fol.* 34.

The practice when a bill is exhibited against a peer, and the peer does not answer upon a letter.

3. If a duchess or countess, or the wife of a lord of parliament, after the death of their husbands, be impleaded in Chancery, the plaintiff shall not sue a subpœna against them; but the chancellor or keeper shall write to them, as the use is, and hath been, to their husbands. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 33. *B.*

A letter from the chancellor to the wife of a peer, instead of a *Subpœna,* as the use is to a peer deceased.

4. If a duchess, or countess, or the wife of a lord of parliament, (having gained their titles by marriage only) marry, after the death of their husbands, those that are under the degree of nobility, and they are impleaded in Chancery, not a letter, but the common subpœna, shall issue forth against them, and their wives, without mentioning in the writ their titles of honour, which they had before; for those they have lost, by marrying common persons, *Crompton, fol.* 33. *B. Tit. Star-Chamber. The Woman's Lawyer, lib. 3. sect. 5. pag.* 125 *&* 126. *Owen's Reports, fol.* 81, 82. *Duchess of Suffolk's Case, Co. Litt. fol.* 16. *B. Dyer,* 79.

If the wife of a lord of parliament (she having gained her title by marriage only) after the death of her husband, marry one under the degree of nobility, and impleaded in Chancery, she shall not have a letter, but the common *Subpœna.*

Privilege XXIII.

By the statute of 2 Hen. V. it is enacted, that the justices of peace in every county, named of the quorum, must be resident in the shires wherein they are justices: But there is a proviso in that law, by which the lords, and peers of parliament named in

Quorum justices.

such commission, are excepted, 2 *Hen. V. Parl.* 2. *cap.* 1. Spiritual lords of parliament that are in such commissions, are excepted as well as the temporal lords.

Privilege XXIV.

Trial by battle.

Against a peer of the realm bringing an appeal, the defendant shall not wage battle, much less against the king, either upon an indictment or appeal. *Finch's Law, lib.* 4. *cap.* 37. *pag.* 423. *Discourse of the Customs of London, fol.* 13. *Stamford's Pleas of the Crown, fol.* 108.

Privilege XXV.

Statutes of bankrupts.

No noblemen, that have stocks in the East India or Guinea company, are to be taken or reputed merchants, within any of the statutes of bankrupts, 14 *Car. II. c.* 24.

Privilege XXVI.

Clergy benefit.

Temporal lords of the parliament, in all cases where clergy lieth at the common law, or is restrained by statute, shall upon their prayer be adjudged as a clerk convict, though they cannot read, 1 *E. VI. cap.* 12. *Finch's Law, lib.* 4. *c.* 45. *pag.* 466. *Syderfin,* 1. *part. fol.* 277. *Stamford's Pleas of the Crown, lib.* 2. *c.* 43. *fol.* 129. *B. Levinz,* 1 *part, fol.* 180.

Note on this Privilege, taken from Judge Dodridge's Treatise of Nobility.

In what cases lords have the privilege of their clergy, where commons have not.

1. By the aforesaid statute, a lord of parliament shall have the privilege of his clergy, where a common person shall not, viz. For the breaking of a house by day or night; for robbing any in the highway, and in all other cases, excepted in the statute of 1 *E. VI. c.* 12. saving in wilful murther and poisoning.

A lord shall not have the benefit of 1. Ed. VI. unless he require it.

2. In all other cases, wherein clergy is taken away by any statute made since the said act of 1 Ed. VI. he is in the same degree, that a common and inferior person is, but the court will not give him the benefit of this same statute, if he do not require it.

A lord of parliament, in case of confession upon arraignment, or abjuration, or outlawry for felony, he may have the benefit of clergy, since the statute of 18 Eliz. c. 18.

3. If the lord of parliament doth confess his offence upon his arraignment, or doth abjure, or is outlawed for felony, it seems that in those cases he may have the benefit of this statute, viz. his clergy; for that by the statute of 18th Eliz. cap. 18. he, nor any other, need to make his purgation, but shall be forthwith delivered out of prison by the justices.

Privilege XXVII.

Capitis amputatio; decollation or beheading.

In treason, it hath been an ancient use and favour from the kings and queens of this realm, to pardon the execution of hanging, drawing, and quartering of peers, and to make warrant for their beheading, *Lord Bacon's Cases of Treason, chap.* 2. *pag.* 82, *annexed to Sir Robert Holbourne's Learned Readings, pr.* 1681. *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 130.

Notes upon this Privilege.

The course what, when the sovereign is minded to dispense with, and remit the manner of the execution of judgment in treason, and only to have the head cut off.

1. When a nobleman is attaint of treason, and hath passed on him the judgment in case of high treason, viz. of drawing, hanging, and quartering, the course is, that the sovereign makes his letters patents directed to the lord chancellor, or lord keeper, reciting the attainder; "Yet we minding to dispense with that manner of execution of judgment, in respect that the said A. B. is a nobleman, do therefore by these presents remit and release the said A. B. of and from such execution of judgment, and instead thereof, our pleasure is, to have the head of the said A. B. cut off, &c. as in such cases has been used touching or concerning noblemen: And by the same do require the lord chancellor, or, &c. to make two writs under the great seal, one to the

lieutenant to deliver the said prisoner, and the other to the sheriff of London, to receive, and execute the said prisoner," &c. *Co. lib. fol.* 130. *Edit.* 1677.

2. It has been said, and it passes for a maxim in law, that though in judgments of treason the king can order the execution to be by cutting off the head, since it being a part of the sentence, that the head shall be severed from the body, the king may in that case remit all the other parts of the sentence except that; yet in felonies the sentence must be executed in the way prescribed by law; and that if the king should order beheading instead of hanging, it would be murder in the sheriff, and those that execute it: But this seems to be taken up without good grounds, and against clear precedents; for in the reign of E. VI. the Duke of Somerset, though condemned for felony, yet was beheaded. And in the reign of King Charles the First, the Lord Audley being likewise condemned for felony, all the judges delivered their opinion, that the king might change the execution from hanging to beheading, which was done, and was not afterwards questioned. So in 32. H. VIII. the Lord Hungerford, of Heitsbury, was attainted of buggery, and had judgment to be hanged by the neck, until he was dead; and yet was beheaded on Tower-Hill. By which instances it is evident, that it is in the king's power to change the execution from hanging to decollation, or beheading. But we find in history, that some lords have not met with the usual privilege belonging to the nobility: For Thomas Fines, Lord Dacres of the South, in *anno* 33 H. VIII. was attainted of murder, and had judgment to be hanged by the neck until he was dead, and according to the judgment was hanged at Tyburn; and so the Lord Sturton in 3 & 4. Ph. & Mar. was attainted of murder, and had judgment to be hanged until dead, and according to that sentence he was hanged. *Co. Inst.* 52 & 211. *Dr Burnet's History of the Reformation, part 2. lib 2. pag.* 350.

Whether execution ought to be always according to the judgment.

Examples of lords that were condemned for felony, and yet have been beheaded.

Examples of lords that have been condemned for felony, have been hanged.

Privilege XXVIII.

It is a preheminence incident to an earl, or other of degree above him, for our monarchs, kings and queens of England, to salute him, by the name of their cousin, although peradventure he be of no consanguinity to our sovereign princes. *Camden's Eliz. Anno* 1567. *pag.* 84. *English Edition,* 1635. *Dodridge's Treatise of the Nobility, pag.* 35. *Tit. Earls. Co. lib.* 9. *fol.* 49. *a. The Earl of Shrewsbury's Case.*

Appellation of cousin.

A Note on this Privilege.

The title of Earl was the most eminent and supreme dignity, before the Conquest, until 11 E. III. where the Black Prince was created Duke of Cornwall; and those, who of ancient times were created earls, were of the blood royal: And even to this day, the king in all his appellations doth stile them, *per nomen charissimi consanguinei nostri.*

The reason why earls and other degrees above them, have been, and are saluted with the name of cousin, by the kings of England.

Privilege XXIX.

No dwelling house of any peer of this realm, whilst he, or his wife be there resident, shall be searched, but by immediate warrant from the king, under his sign manual, or in the presence of the lieutenant of the county, or one of the deputy lieutenants, or two justices of the peace, whereof one to be of the quorum. 16 *Car. II. cap.* 4.

A bishop is a peer of the realm, and therefore he must have the same privilege.

The searching of the dwelling house of a peer, where he or his wife are resident.

Privilege XXX.

By the 13 & 14. Car. II. c. 3. it is provided, "That no dwelling house of any peer of this realm, is to be searched for arms, but by immediate warrant from the king, un-

Search for arms.

der his sign manual, and in the presence of the lieutenant, or one deputy lieutenant of the county.

A lord spiritual is privileged by the same proviso, as well as a lord temporal.

Privilege XXXI.

Search for prohibited books, conventicles, &c.

The house of a peer cannot, in the case of prohibited books, of conventicles, &c. be entered by officers of justice, without a warrant under the king's own hand, and the hands of six of his privy council, whereof four to be peers of the realm. 13 & 14. *Car. II. c.* 33.

A bishop, as a peer of the realm, ought to have the privilege given by that act.

Privilege XXXII.

Assessment towards the standing militia.

No peer of this realm ought to be taxed or assessed towards the standing militia, but by six or more of themselves, 13 & 14. *Car. II. cap.* 3.

The bishops, as lords of parliament, ought, in the same manner, to be taxed as noblemen are.

Privilege XXXIII.

Wearing of swords.

In the 21st year of King Edward the Third, a proclamation issued, that no person should bear any arms, within London and the suburbs, or in any place, between the said city and palace of Westminster, except such of the king's people as he shall appoint, to keep the king's peace, and the king's ministers, according to the statute of Northampton; yet earls and barons may wear their swords except in the king's presence, and place of council. 21. *E. III. n.* 1. *Cotton.*

Privilege XXXIV.

Creation money.

If the king, upon the creation of any peer of the realm, duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron, do (as the manner is) by his letters patents, give unto such new created nobleman, an annuity or rent, for the support of his degree, which they call creation money, this is so annexed unto the dignity, that by no grant, assurance, or any manner of alienation, it can be given from the same, but is still incident, and a support of the same creation. *Dyer, fol.* 2.

Privilege XXXV.

Scandalum Magnatum, or injury done to the name and honour of a nobleman.

The supreme legislator of this nation, is so tender of the honour, credit, reputation, and persons of the nobility, that there is a law, purposely framed, (namely, 2 *R. II. c.* 5.) to obviate, withstand, or hinder all offence, by false reports, or lies, whereby any scandal to their noble persons may arise; or debate, and discord, between them and common persons; and because it is to defend them, it is called *Scandalum Magnatum*. *Cowel's Interpreter*, Verbo, *Scandalum Magnatum*. *Exposition of Terms of the Law, f.* 269, *a. and Minshieu*, 647. An action *de Scandalis Magnatum* lies as well in the case of a spiritual as a temporal lord of parliament.

Notes upon the Privilege.

For scandalous words a peer of the realm may have his action, and recover damages.

1. Besides the penalties assigned to be inflicted upon transgressors, by the acts of *Westm.* 1. *c.* 33. 2 *R. II. c.* 5. & 12. *R. II. c.* 11. every nobleman and peer of this realm, against whom any scandalous words, false news, or lies, be spoken, may prosecute against the offender, an action, *de Scandalis Magnatum*, and recover damages against him.

Scandalous words written to another,

2. If a man do write unto another scandalous words, and reports, touching a nobleman, and this letter be signed with his seal, and subscribed with his name, yet upon

this letter, shewed upon evidence, the nobleman may recover damages, in an action *de Scandalis Magnatum*, whereof you may see two precedents in *Crompton's Justice of Peace*, 85.

concerning a peer of the realm, whether an action *de Scandalis Magnatum* will lie.

3. The opinion of some men hath been, that a countess, baroness, or other woman of great estate, cannot maintain an action, *de Scandalis Magnatum*, because the statute of 2 *R. II. c.* 5. speaks but of prelates, dukes, earls, barons, &c. by which words they conceive the meaning of the makers of that statute was only to provide in that case for lords, and not for women of honour. *Crompton's Justice of Peace*, 45. *B. Dodridge's Nobility, pag.* 167. *Tit. Noblewomen, Dr Chamberlain's Angliæ Notitia, pag.* 358. 1 *part, edit.* 15*th*, 1648.

Whether countesses, baronesses, &c. can maintain an action upon the statute *de Scandalis Magnatum*.

4. There is a difference taken, between an action on the statute of *Scandalum Magnatum*, and a common action: The words in one case shall be taken *in mitiori sensu*; and in the other, in the worse sense against the speaker, that the honour of such great persons may be preserved, 1 *Vent. fol.* 60. *Earl of Peterborough's Case*, 1. *Mod.* 232.

A diversity taken by the lawyers, between an action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, and a common action.

The Earl of Stamford brought an action on the statute of 2 *R. II. de Scandalis Magnatum*, and had judgment: And the defendant brought a writ of error, returnable in the exchequer chamber; and it was moved, that this writ of error shall not be allowed, because the statutes do not extend to this action; and of this opinion was all the court; and they said, that so it was adjudged in Nevil and South's Case, and in the Lord Sayes's case. *Syderfin*, 1 *part*, 143. *Earl of Stamford*, v. *Needham*.

A writ of error lies not upon a judgement, on action of the statute of 2 Ric. II.

Privilege XXXVI.

At the common law, it was lawful for any nobleman, or ignoble, to retain as many chaplains as he would, for their instruction in religion; but by a statute made 21 H. VIII. c. 13. a restraint was made, and a certain number only allowed to the nobility, and such chaplains, for their attendance, have immunities, as by the statute at large may appear, viz. Every duke may qualify six chaplains, every marquis and earl, five a piece, every viscount four, and every baron three.

Retainer of chaplains.

Every archbishop and bishop are allowed a certain number of chaplains, who for attendance have immunities as other chaplains have; an archbishop may have six chaplains, and a bishop four chaplains.

Notes upon this Privilege.

1. If a baron is to be created an earl, &c. yet within the act 21 H. VIII. he can have but only so many chaplains as an earl might have, for although he have divers dignities, yet he is still but the self-same person, to whom the attendance and service should be done, *et sic de similibus. Co. lib.* 4. *fol.* 118. *Acton's Case.*

A baron created an earl, &c. shall have but only so many chaplains as an earl, &c. might have.

2. If an earl, or baron, retaineth a chaplain, and before his advancement he be attainted of treason, there the retainer is determined, and after the attainder such chaplain cannot take a second benefice; for though his lord be still living according to nature, yet after the attainder, he is a dead person in law, and therefore out of the case to have privilege for himself, or for his chaplains. *Exposition of Terms of the Law, fol.* 57. *a. b. Tit. Chapleine. Co. lib.* 4. *Acton's Case.*

An earl retaining a chaplain and before advancement, that peer is attainted of treason, the retainer is determined.

3. If a baron have three chaplains, and every one of them have two benefices, and after the baron dies, yet they shall enjoy those benefices with cure, which were lawfully settled in them before; but in this case, though the said chaplain be resident upon one of his benefices, yet now he is become punishable for being non-resident upon the other. *Co. lib.* 4. *fol.* 119. *Acton's Case.*

A baron has three chaplains, each of which has two benefices, and then the baron dies, yet they shall keep those benefices with cure.

4. A baron, or others of degree of honour, retains such number of chaplains as are allowed by the statute, and after, upon request, the said noble person doth retain more chaplains; in this case they who are first retained, shall only have privilege; *Nam qui prior est tempore, potior est jure. Co. lib.* 4. *fol.* 90. *Drury's Case.*

If peers of the realm do retain as many chaplains as are allowed by the statute, and then upon request retain more, they that are first retained shall only have privilege.

A nobleman retaining chaplains above number, whether upon the dying of any of his first chaplains, the next retained shall succeed.

5. If a nobleman do retain chaplains (above the number) at several times, if any of his first chaplains die, the next that was then retained, shall not succeed, for his first retainers is void; and therefore, in this case, it doth behove him, to have a new retaining after the death of the predecessor, and before his advancement. *Co. lib.* 4. *fol.* 90, *Drury's Case.*

A lord, that is to have but three chaplains, retains six, and all six presented to six several pluralities, the three that are first advanced, are only warranted by the statute.

6. If a lord, who is not allowed but three chaplains, retain six by his letters testimonial, and all six are presented to six several pluralities; the three, who are first promoted, are warranted by the statute, and yet the retainer was not according to the statute, but *in æquali jure melior est conditio possidentis. Dyer*, 312.

A nobleman retaining as many chaplains as he ought, afterward upon dislike, dischargeth some of them, he cannot retain others, by it to give privilege to them during the lives of them so retained.

7. If a nobleman retain such a number of chaplains, as is by law allowed him, but afterward, upon some dislike, or other cause, do discharge some of them from their attendance, or service, the lord in this case cannot retain others, thereby to give them privilege, during the life of them so retained and discharged: And the reason thereof is, because the first chaplains were lawfully retained, and by virtue thereof during their lives might purchase dispensations, to have advantage, according to the statute; and therefore if the discharge of their service and attendance might give a liberty to the lord to retain others, by such means the lord might advance chaplains without number, by which the statute should be defrauded, and the said statute must be construed strictly against non-residents and pluralities, as a thing prejudicial to the service of God and the ordinary instruction of God's people. *Co. lib.* 4. *fol.* 90. *Drury's Case.*

If a baroness widow retains one or two chaplains according to the statute, the chaplains, as long as the retainer is in force, and the baroness continueth a baroness, may well take two benefices. There is a difference taken betwixt a noble woman by marriage, and one that is noble by descent, as to the point of retaining chaplains.

8. The wife of a baron, during the coverture, cannot retain a chaplain, yet when a baroness widow retains one or two, according to the *proviso* of the statute of 21 H. VIII. the retainer is the principal matter, and as long as the retainer is in force, and the baroness continueth a baroness, the chaplains may well take two benefices, by the express letter of the statute; for it sufficeth, if at the time of the retainer the baroness were a widow: And herein this rule is to be observed of a woman, that attaineth nobility by marriage, as by mariage of a duke, earl, or baron, &c. For in such case, if she afterward marry under the degree of nobility, by such marriage with one that is not noble, she loseth her dignity, whereunto she had attained by marriage, and after such latter marriage, the power to retain a chaplain is determined: But otherwise it is where a woman is noble by descent; for there her retainer before or after the marriage with one that is not noble, shall be in force, and is not countermanded by the marriage, nor determined by her taking of a husband under the degree of nobility. *Co. lib.* 4. *fol.* 118. *B. Acton's Case.*

Privilege XXXVII.

Title of lord.

The appellation or title of lord, is due, and given to all that are temporal barons and peers of the realm. The bishops have their title of lord as well as the nobility.

Notes on this Privilege.

From whence the word is derived.

1. Mr Camden says, that in the Saxon glossary of Alfricus, among the vocables, or terms of honour, the word *dominus* is translated Laford, which we have contracted short into lord. *His Britannia, fol.* 168. *Tit. Barons.*

Title of lord to what persons given by courtesy.

2. The title of lord is given only of courtesy to all the sons of dukes and marquisses, and to all the eldest sons of earls, and to none under; but they are not so stiled in legal proceedings, or in the king's courts of justice. *Br. Treason*, 2. *Co.* 3. *Inst. f.* 30.

Privilege XXXVIII.

Average, or exemption of carts from the king's carriage.

No demesne, or proper cart, for the necessary use of our greater nobility, as dukes, marquisses, earls, viscounts, and barons, all lords of parliament, for, and about the de-

mesne lands of any of them, ought to be taken for the king's carriage; but they are exempted by the ancient law of England from any such carriage. *Co. 2. Inst. 35.*

The carts of bishops are as well exempted from the king's carriage as those of the nobility lords of parliament are.

Privilege XXXIX.

The baronage of England did affirm, that their sovereign lord the king ought not to marry without their consent. *Buck's History of R. III. pag.* 118. *Edit.* 1647.

Marriage of the king ought to be with the consent of the peers.

Privilege XL.

It is a privilege, appertaining to the temporal peerage of the realm, to have wine custom free, as a tun of wine to every earl, and to the rest proportionably, &c.

Wine custom free.

This exemption belongs as well to the spiritual lords as to the temporal peers of the realm.

Privilege XLI.

In all cases upon non-suits or other judgments, earls and barons shall not be amerced, but by their peers, lords of parliament. And after the manner of their offence. *Magna Charta, c.* 14.

Amerciaments.

Notes upon this Privilege.

1. Although the statute of Magna Charta be in the negative, viz. *Non nisi secundum modum delicti*, yet long usage hath reduced the amerciament of the nobility to a certainty, namely, a duke and marquis, 10l. an earl, viscount, and baron, 5l. *Co. 2. Inst. fol.* 28. *Finch's Law, lib.* 3. *c.* 1. *p.* 184. *Saunders's Reports, f.* 227. *Noel*, v. *Nalson.*

The amerciament of noblemen, how reduced to a certainty.

2. By the same statute it appeareth, that such amerciaments should be afferred *per pares suos.* But for that it were troublesome to assemble barons, or peers of the realm, for so small a matter, such amerciaments in times past hath been afferred by the barons of the Exchequer, *Bracton. lib.* 3. *Tract.* 2. *de Corona, cap.* 1. *fol.* 116. *B. Co. lib.* 8. *fol.* 38. *Griesley's Case.*

Amerciaments of the nobility are now afferred by the barons of the exchequer, and not *per pares*, and why.

3. If a nobleman and a common person join in an action, and become non-suit, they shall be severally amerced, viz. the nobleman at 100s. and the common person according to the statute:[1] Therefore when a nobleman is plaintiff, it is policy rather to discontinue the action than to be non-suited, *Co. 2. Inst.* 28.

A peer of the realm, and a common person joining in an action, if non-suited, they are to be severally amerced.

Privilege XLII.

The peers of the realm, during the time of parliament, are the supreme court of judicature in this nation, not only to judge, whether matters presented to them by the commons be fit or requisite for the king to pass into laws, but also of writs of error, (as has been said before,) and of matters of fact, either not determinable in other courts, or else when, though they are determinable, yet in regard of nicety, or special matter, they cannot well discern, or judge. *Mr Roger Coke, lib.* 3. *cap.* 3.[2] *of the Municipal Laws of England, pag.* 121. *Edit.* 1662. The bishops, being peers of the realm, and lords of parliament, do rightfully claim to be partners in the supreme judicature with the temporal lords.

House of peers the supreme court of judicature.

Privilege XLIII.

The members of the House of Commons are always to stand bare-headed, when they repair to the Lords House, upon the first day of the parliament, upon conferences, up-

The sitting of the lords covered.

[1] A nobleman being plaintiff, it is better to discontinue the action, than meet with a nonsuit.

[2] The title of the book is Justice Vindicated; and this is the title of the third chap. of the 3d book.

Orig. Notes.

on passing bills, upon messages, or upon any other occasion; whereas it is a privilege of the lords, as well spiritual as temporal, always to sit covered. *Mr Prin in his Preface to Cotton's Tower Records.*

Privilege XLIV.

Hunting in the king's forest.

Noblemen, barons of parliament, being sent for by the king's writ, or letter, or by his messenger, to come to court, or to parliament, or to appear before the council board, or to his court of Chancery, may, both coming and returning by the king's forest, or park, kill one or two deer. *Charta de Forestâ, cap.* 11. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 167. *B. Co.* 4. *Inst. fol.* 308. The lords spiritual also have the liberty to hunt in the king's forests or parks going from or coming to the king, upon his order.

Notes upon this Privilege.

Though the title and degree of duke, marquis, and viscount, were not when the statute was made, yet they are within that, and do enjoy the privilege of hunting in forests.

1. The statute of *Charta de Forestâ, c.* 11. doth speak only of earls and barons, but if a duke, marquis, or viscount, which are lords of parliament, be coming towards the king, by his commandment, they also ought to have the benefit of this chapter or article. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 167. *B. Co.* 3. *Inst. fol.* 308.

King of Scots and Prince of Wales are to have privilege of hunting.

2. If the King of Scots, or Prince of Wales, do come to the king, by his commandment, to do their homage, or other such things, which a subject ought to do, he shall have the benefit of this article. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 167. *B.*

The eldest son of a duke, marquis, or earl, cannot claim the privilege.

3. The eldest son of a duke is an earl, and the eldest son of an earl is a baron, and every son of a duke or marquis is a lord: But it seemeth, that they cannot take the benefit of this statute; for they are not peers of the realm, and lords of parliament. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 167. *B.*

A duchess, or a countess, whilst unmarried, may hunt.

4. If a lady, which is married, come through the forest, she shall not take any thing: But a duchess or countess shall have the advantage, during the time that she is unmarried. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 167. *B.*

Earls, or lords, of Ireland, or Scotland, enjoy not this privilege.

5. If an earl, or lord of Ireland, or of Scotland, come to the king, by his commandment, he cannot have the benefit of this statute; for 'tis not understood but to the lords of England or Prince of Wales, &c.

A *Scire Facias* going forth against a lord, &c. to appear before the justices of Common Pleas, or barons of Exchequer, such a peer cannot have the benefit of the statute.

6. If a *Scire facias* go forth against a lord, &c. to appear before the justices of the Common Pleas, or before the barons of the Exchequer, and he comes upon that, he shall not have the benefit of this statute, for he doth not come unto the king, and the words be, *Veniens ad nos:* And all the process made out of the Chancery and King's Bench are, *Quod sit coram Nobis. Manwood's Forest Laws, cap.* 181. *Crompton's Courts,* 167. *B.*

The privilege of hunting belongs to such lords who come to visit the king upon the death of his predecessor.

7. The lords, which come to visit the king, after the death of his predecessor, (though not sent for) shall have the privilege of hunting in the king's forest. *Crompton, fol.* 168. *a.*

To the king's parks, and chaces, the privilege of hunting doth extend.

8. The statute aforesaid doth give licence to kill or hunt in the king's parks and chaces, though the letter of the statute be, *Transientes per Forestem nostram,* passing by our forest. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 168. *a. Co.* 4. *Inst. f.* 308.

Privilege XLV.

Trial *per pares* in criminal cases.

A temporal lord of parliament shall not be tried in criminal causes, viz. treason, felony, or misprision of them, but by those who are noble, and peers of the realm. *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 95. *Countess of Shrewsbury's Case. Br. Trials,* 103, & 142. *Corone,* 153, & *Jurors.* 48. 10. *E. IV.* 6. *Camden's Britannia, fol.* 169. *Stamford's Pleas of Crown, lib.* 3. *c.* 1. *Co. lib.* 9. 30. *B. Case of the Abbot of Strata Marcella. Co.* 2. *Inst. fol.* 48. *Magna Charta, cap.* 29. *Co. lib.* 12. *fol.* 92. *The Lord Vaux's Case, Finch's Laws, lib.* 4. *c.* 36. *pag.* 412. *Co.* 3. *Inst. fol.* 89.

Notes on this Privilege.

1. The antiquity of this kind of trial, by the opinion of several authors, is grounded from the statute of Magna Charta, cap. 29. beginning thus, *Nullus liber homo, &c. nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum:* But other writers take it to be more ancient, than the time of H. III. as brought into the realm with the Conqueror, being answerable to the Norman and French laws, and agreeable to the customs feudal, where almost all the controversies, arising between the sovereign and his vassal, are tried *per judicium parium suorum.*

The antiquity of this kind of trial *per pares.*

If a peer of the realm, upon his arraignment of treason, do stand mute, or will not answer directly, judgment shall be given against him, as a traitor convicted; and he shall not be pressed to death; and thereby save the forfeiture of his lands; for treason is out of the statute of *Westm. 1. c. 12. 15. E. 4. 33. Dyer, 205 & 300. Co. 2. Inst. fol. 177. of W. I. c. 12.* But if he be arraigned upon an indictment of felony, he may be mute.

A peer standing mute on arraignment of treason, judgment is to be given as a traitor convicted: But upon arraignment of felony, he may be mute.

3. Every lord of parliament, who hath voice in parliament, and called thereunto by the king's writ, shall not be tried by his peers, but only such as sit there, *Ratione Nobilitatis,* as dukes, marquisses, earls, viscounts, or barons, and not such as are lords of parliament, by reason of their baronies, which they hold in the right of the church, as archbishops and bishops; but they shall be tried by the country, that is, by freeholders; for that they are not of the degree of nobility. *Co. 3. Inst. fol. 30. Stamford's Pleas of Crown, lib. 3. c. 62. fol. 153. Crompton's Courts, fol 12. B. Br. Trials 142. in fine.*

Temporal lords of parliament shall only be tried by their peers.

4. Though noblemen, lords of parliament, are not to be tried but by their own peers, yet this only takes place in cases of treason, felony, or misprision of them, at the suit of the king, by way of indictment: But otherwise it is in the case of appeals, at the suit of the party: And therefore, when a peer of the realm is arraigned in an appeal of felony, he shall not have the privilege to be tried by his peers, lords of parliament, as he should have in the case of an indictment, but he shall undergo the ordinary trial of twelve men freeholders. *Stamford, lib. 3. c. 1. Br. Trials 142, & Jurors 48. in fine. 10. E. IV. 6. 13. H. VIII. 11, 12. Br. Tit. Treason, 29, 33. Houlbourne's Reading's Lecture, pag. 68. pr. 1681. Br. Corone 153. Co. 3. Inst. 30. & 2. Inst. 49.*

Trial de peer del realm arraign sur indictment & appeal diversity.

5. In case of a *premunire,* though it be at the king's suit, a nobleman shall not be tried by his peers, lords of parliament, but by a common jury of freeholders. *Co. lib. 12. fol. 92. The Lord Vaux's Case. Bulstrod, 1. part. 198, 199. Co. 3. Inst. 30.*

In the case of a *premunire,* a peer shall not be tried by his peers, but by a common jury.

6. If a nobleman be indicted and cannot be found, process of outlawry shall be awarded against him, *per Legem Terræ,* and shall be outlawed, *per Judicium Coronatorum,* but he shall be tried, *per judicium Parium suorum,* when he appears, and pleads not guilty, and puts himself upon his peers. *Co. 2. Inst. 42. & 3. Inst. 31. Stamf. Pl. Cor. 130.*

In criminal matters, a nobleman may be outlawed, if he cannot be found.

7. Albeit a man be noble, and yet no lord of parliament of England (as if he be a nobleman of Scotland, of Ireland, or of France, &c.) he must be tried by knights, esquires, or others of the Commons. *Co. lib. 3. fol. 30. Co. 2. Inst. 48. Co. lib. 9. The Lord Sanchar's Case.*

A nobleman of a foreign country shall not be tried *per pares,* but by a common jury.

8. If the eldest son of a duke, marquis, earl, &c. be arraigned for treason, or felony, he is to be tried by a common jury. *Co. 3. Inst. 30. Crompton's Courts, fol. 19. a. b. 38. H. VIII. Treason, Br. 2.* The Case of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, son and heir of the Duke of Norfolk.

Eldest son of a duke, earl, &c. cannot be tried by peers of a realm.

9. Duchesses, marchionesses, countesses, &c. sole, or married, are to be tried in cases of felony, or treason, as peers of the realm. *Stat. of 20 H. VI. c. 9. Co. lib. 6. Countess of Rutland's Case. Crompton's Courts, fol. 18. B. Stamford, 153. Crompton's Courts, fol. 33. B.*

The trial of the wives of lords of parliament, must be in cases of treason or felony, as peers of the realm.

A lord of parliament of Ireland, committing treason in Ireland, cannot be tried in England.

10. If a peer, a lord of parliament of Ireland, commit treason in Ireland, he cannot be tried in England by the statute of 26 *H. VIII. c.* 2. *&* 5. *&* *E. VI. c.* 11. For he is not a subject of England but of Ireland, and the trial in Ireland is by parliament, and not *per pares*. *Dyer*, 260. *B.*

In treason or felony, the trial of a peer must be by special commission before a lord steward.

11. In treason or felony, a trial of a peer of the kingdom is to be by special commission before the lord high steward; and those that pass upon him, to be none but peers. The proceeding is with great solemnity, the lord steward sitting under a cloth of estate, with a white rod of justice in his hand, and the peers may confer together, but are not any way shut up: And are demanded by the lord steward their voices one by one, and the plurality of voices carries it. *Lord Bacon's Cases of Treason, cap.* 2. *Vide* more of the grand solemnity of the trial of a peer in *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 82. *a.* 13. *H. VIII.* 1 *Stamford*, 152. 1. *H. IV.* 1. and in *Sir Thomas Jones's Reports, f.* 51, *&* 55. *Signior Case.*

A lord of parliament must plead his pardon in the King's Bench.

12. If a nobleman be indicted in the King's Bench, or the indictment removed thither, he may plead his pardon there before the judges of the King's Bench, and they have power to allow it; but he cannot confess the indictment, or plead not guilty before those judges, but before the lord steward. *Rolls*, 1. *part* 297, *Roy, v. Signior Norris. Co.* 2. *Inst. fol.* 49.

Upon a peer's pleading not guilty, he cannot wave his plea, and claim his privilege.

13. If a peer of the realm plead not guilty, to an indictment, he shall not wave his plea, and claim his privilege, to be tried by his peers. *Dalison's Reports, fol.* 16.

A special verdict must not be allowed on a peer's trial.

14. No special verdict can be given in a trial *per pares*. *Hutton's Reports*, 116. *The Lord Audley's Case.*

Upon the arraignment of a peer, the judges are covered.

15. At the arraignment of the Lord Audley, the judges assistant sat with their heads covered, as the ancient use hath been. *Hutton's Reports*, 116, 117. *Lord Audley's Case.*

At a peer's trial in parliament, the lords sit covered, and the commons not so.

16. At the trial of the Earl of Strafford in parliament time, the lords of the upper house sate covered, the members of the lower uncovered. *Nalson's Collection*, 2 *vol. fol.* 37.

The ax not to be carried before the prisoner a peer, but only when put upon his jury.

17. At the entrance of the lieutenant of the Tower, with his prisoner the Lord Strafford, the porter of the hall, whose office it is, enquired of Mr Maxwell, whether the ax should be carried before him, or no? who answered, That the king had expressly forbidden it: Nor was it ever the custom to use that ceremony, but only when the party accused was to be put upon his jury. *Dr Nalson's Collection*, 2. *vol. fol.* 37.

18. Waterhouse, clerk of the crown, said, that upon the arraignment of the Lord Dacres of the north, in the time of Hen. VIII. all the justices of England resolved three points:

No certain number requisite if above twelve.

1. That no certain number of peers is requisite, if they be above twelve, but less than twelve they may not be.

Twelve at least to agree in finding a peer guilty.

2. If the peers are twelve, and they differ in their verdict, there ought to be twelve at least to agree to find the lord guilty, or otherwise he shall not be guilty, although that the greater number of the peers empannelled find him guilty.

Whether the lord steward *hac vice* may adjourn his commission.

3. That the lord steward cannot adjourn his commission, but is to dissolve it; yet a precedent there was, in the time of H. VIII. that he adjourned his commission to the next day only, and then dissolved it. *Moor's Reports*, 622. *m.* 844. *vide Co.* 3. *Inst.* 31.

In all cases of treason or felony, made *de novo*, by statute, a lord is to have his trial *per pares*,

19. In every case of treason or felony newly made by statute law, the lords of parliament shall have their trials by their peers, notwithstanding that the statute provides not for it by express words, so that the *proviso* inserted for their trials in such cases is said by Stamford to be needless. *Stamford*, 153. *and the trial per pares is given by Magna Charta, cap.* 29. *Idem.* 152. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 19. *B.* And Sir Edward

Coke tells us, that if he be a nobleman, and lord of parliament, he shall be tried by his peers, albeit there be no provision for it; for of common right in case of treason, felony, and misprision of treason or felony, he is to be tried by his peers. His comment on 1 Jac. c. 11. against Polygamy. But maugre what the prementioned lawyers have written, the reader may find a *proviso* inserted in many acts of parliament (by our legislators, for the surer preservation and continuance of this privilege) namely; 33 *H. VIII. c.* 12, *et* 23. 35 *H. VIII. c.* 2. 1 *E. VI. c.* 12. 13 *Eliz. c.* 2. 1. *Eliz. c.* 1 *et* 2. 5 *Eliz. c.* 1. 23 *Eliz. c.* 1. 18 *Eliz. c.* 1. 23 *Eliz.* 1. 1 *Jac. I. c.* 1 *et* 12. 3 *Jac. I. c.* 4. 13 *Car. II. c.* 1113 *Car. II. c.* 6. 12 *Car. II. c.* 9. 13 *Car. II. c.* 8. 16 *Car. II. c.* 4.

though no provision be in the statute, Co. 3. Inst. 89.

Notwithstanding *provisos* have been inserted.

20. It was resolved by the judges in the parliament holden the 2 Car. I. upon conference concerning the Lord Digby, that when any peer shall be proceeded against for treason, that ought to be by indictment, and that being done, then the king is to appoint a peer to be steward for the time, and to proceed to arraign him, or otherwise to transmit this indictment by *certiorari*, to the parliament, and there to proceed, or otherwise to prefer a bill in the parliament, which ought to be passed by both houses, and it is an attainder by parliament, and so it was done, 5 R. II. 54. *Hutton's Reports*, 131. *Lord Digby's Case.*

How many ways a peer in criminal matters may be proceeded against.

21. And last note, relating to the privilege of *trial per pares*, shall be borrowed of that most noble peer, and lord of parliament, the late Earl of Clarendon; who, in his Survey of the Leviathan, expresseth himself in these very words: "I am glad (says his lordship) that Mr Hobbes is pleased with any part of the administration of justice in his own country; and he might have observed that great privilege of the lords in England, of being tried in all capital crimes by their peers, by men of their own quality and condition, to be a greater privilege than the nobility of any nation in Europe enjoy. The grandees of Spain, and the dukes and peers, and mareschals of France, in those transgressions undergo the same forms of justice, and are tried by the same judges, as the meanest peasant is, for the like or the same crime. And though he calls it, and says, it hath ever been acknowledged as a privilege of favour, yet they look upon it as a privilege of right, of which they cannot be deprived by the word and authority of the king. And it may be, he would be hardly able to bring this privilege under his original institution of government; since probably men being then all equal, they would never have consented to such a difference, rather than equality in the form of justice that was to be exercised towards them; and he values it too lightly, who thinks it can be taken from them by any arbitrary power."—*His Survey of the Leviathan, cap. 23. pag.* 104 *et* 105. *Edit.* 1676. *Oxon.*

The Earl of Clarendon's words, touching the grand privilege of the lords, of being tried, in capital cases, by their peers.

Privilege XLVI. and last.

In trial of a peer, the lords of parliament shall not swear, but they give their judgment, *super fidem, et ligeantiam domino regi debitam;* so that their faith and allegiance stands in equipage with an oath, and in the case of a common person in trial of life. *Co. lib.* 12. 95. *Countess of Shrewsbury's Case, Camden's Britannia, p.* 169. *Engl. Edit.* 1610. *Co.* 2. *Inst.* 49, *et* 3. *Inst.* 29. *Crompton's Courts, fol.* 13. *a.* 1 *H. IV.* 1. *Stamford*, 152. *Blount verbo Tryal.*

Verdict given upon honour only.

Notes upon this Privilege.

1. The reason, (saith a very learned lawyer) why peers of the realm are to proceed without corporal oath is, because the law supposeth them of such integrity, as they will do for justice, that others are compelled to by their oaths.—*Lord Coventry in his speech to the peers, at the arraignment of Mervin Lord Audley, Earl of Castlehaven.*

The reasons why lords of parliament shall give their verdict not upon oath, but upon honour, H. L. History of Charles I. pag. 120.

What great regard the law has to a peer's word.

2. Concerning this privilege of giving a verdict upon honour, and not upon oath, another lawyer speaks thus: "You see the great regard the law hath to the word of a peer of the realm, when he speaketh upon his honour; even in a case concerning the life of man, and that of a peer; and therefore ought they much more to keep their words and promises in smaller matters, when they engage their honour for a fast cause, or consideration."—*Crompton's Courts, fol.* 13. *a.*

A peer of the realm shall answer in the Star-Chamber upon oath.

3. Though upon the trial of a peer, the lords of parliament shall not swear, yet it hath been adjudged, that they must answer upon oath, and not upon honour only, in all courts as defendants, as it appears in the Earl of Lincoln's case; wherein it was moved, Whereas Sir Henry Fines, Knight, had exhibited his bill in the Star-Chamber, against the Earl of Lincoln, for divers riots and misdemeanours, and the Earl of Lincoln had taken commission forth, to put in his answer upon oath in the country, and he offered before them his answer upon his honour, but would not put it in upon his oath, because he was a peer of the realm; which matter being now reported by the commissioners, it was now moved by the king's solicitor to have the resolution of the judges: And it was held by all the justices of both benches, and all the barons of the Exchequer (in the presence of a very great assembly, of the lords, and divers others of the privy council in the Star-Chamber,) That the lords, in cases criminal, (especially where the king is party) ought to put in their answer upon oath; and in all cases, where they are to be witnesses betwixt party and party, they ought to be sworn: The lord keeper said, *Quod in judicio, non creditur nisi juratis*, and that he caused precedents to be searched, and had found divers, since the first of Queen Eliz. wherein peers of the realm being impleaded in Chancery, or Star-Chamber, or Court of Wards, have been always sworn: And he said, when a peer affirms any thing, which is not true, upon his honour, there is not any remedy; but if he affirms that which is false, upon his oath, there is remedy, by the statute of 5th Eliz. c. 9. against perjury; wherefore they all resolved, that the Earl of Lincoln ought to be sworn; and of the same opinion were all the lords and counsellors, which they delivered *Seriatim*, *nullo contradicente*, because it is *Juramentum Purgationis*, and not *Promissionis*: And princes are sworn to all their leagues and confederacies, which is called *Juramentum Confirmationis*; neither is it any diminution to the said earl's honour, to be sworn about that which he would not should be put upon his honour. *Cro. Car.* 64. *Hutton's Reports*, 87, *and Sir William Jones's Reports*, 152. *The Earl of Lincoln's Case in the Star-Chamber.* Since this resolution of all the justices, which was given, *anno* 2 *Car.* 1626, the lords, *anno* 1628, in their house, did declare, that the nobility of this kingdom, and lords of the house of parliament, are, of antient right, to answer in all causes as defendants, upon protestation of honour only, and not upon the common oath. And in the year 1640, the earl-marshal reports the opinion of the committee, to whom the consideration of the protestation of the peers of this realm upon honour, was referred, upon some doubts that had arisen, in a former debate of the house of peers, upon a former order to that purpose, as follows:

Sir William Jones's Reports, 154. F. of Lincoln his case.

Thursday, Dec. 31, 1640. Order about peers making protestation upon honour, not upon oath.

"Our opinions are clear, and that, upon hearing divers learned men, of both laws, speak, that our answers upon honour only can be no impediment to the common justice of the kingdom, but a just preservation of our ancient liberties; and therefore we offer it as our unanimous opinions, that our former order may stand in full force, which is entered in *hæc verba*."

1. vol. of Dr Nalson's Collection, pag. 703.

"Ordered upon the question, *nemine contradicente*, that the nobility of this kingdom, and lords of the upper house of parliament, are, of antient right, to answer in all courts, as defendants, upon protestation of honour only, and not upon the common oath: And that the said order, and this explanation, doth extend to all answers and examinations upon interrogatories in all causes, as well criminal as civil, and in all courts and commissions whatsoever; and also the persons of the widows dowagers of the temporal peers of this land; and that the lord keeper of the great seal of England, for the time being,

or the speaker of the lords house for the time being, do forthwith give notice of it, together with this explanation, to all the courts of justice, and the judges, clerks, and registers of them, by causing our former order, with this explanation, to be recorded in all courts, and that all orders, constitutions or customs, entered or practised to the contrary wheresoever, be abolished and declared void; and the lord keeper of the great seal, for the time being, or the commissioners for the great seal, out of parliament time, shall see all practices to the contrary hereafter to be punished with exemplary severity, to deter others from the like attempts."

I shall close all, with what Dr Chamberlain has said, touching the lords' protestation of honour, in all judicial proceedings: His words are these:

"Though neither civil law nor common law allow any other testimony to be valid, but what is given upon oath, yet the testimony of a peer of England, given in upon his honour, without any oath, is esteemed valid: And they were wont to be examined upon their allegiance, and the loyalty of their chivalry, and to put in their answer to a bill, *super honorem*,[1] without taking an oath: Though of later times, that privilege, by the negligence of some lords, hath been infringed sometimes." His tract, intitled, *Angliæ Notitia, or The Present State of England*, 1. *part, pag.* 301 *&* 302. *Edit.* 15*th. pr. An.* 1684.

A Postscript, in Defence of the Rights and Privileges of the Spiritual Lords of Parliament.

Master Cambden (in his Britannia, pag. 107. Engl. edit. 1670,) telleth us, That unto the bishops, by right and custom it appertaineth, as to peers of the kingdom, to be with the rest of the peers personally present at all parliaments whatsoever, there to consult, to handle, to ordain, decree, and determine, in regard of the baronies, which they hold of the king; and that ever since the Conquest, they have enjoyed all the immunities that the barons of the kingdom did, save only they were not to be judged by their peers; of which salvo, or exception, hear what another author, Dr Chamberlain, saith in his Present State of England:

"As for the common assertion (says he) that no lords of parliament are to be tried by their peers, but such as sit there, *ratione nobilitatis*, it is not only false, but frivolous in the judgment of very many judicious men; and indeed, how absurd and unreasonable must it needs be, (let all men judge) that an Archbishop of Canterbury, who is acknowledged to be *primus par regni*, should be tried by a common jury of freeholders, when as the meanest lay-baron, though created but yesterday, may not be tried by any under barons."

[1] If this privilege of answering bills, *super honorem tantùm*, doth belong to noblemen, as peers and lords of parliament, why should it not be incident to the bishops, who are both peers of the realm and lords of parliament?—*Orig. Note.*

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

CLASS FOURTH.

MILITARY TRACTS.

MILITARY TRACTS.

CLASS FOURTH.

QUEEN ANNE.

The Comparison; or Accounts on both Sides fairly stated; in a View of the Management of the War in Spain, under the respective Commands of the Earls of Peterborough and Galway, occasioned by some late Enquiries in the House of Peers; with their Lordships' Proceedings thereupon. Printed in the Year 1711.

The Earl of Peterborough, who had done such wonders in Spain with a force wholly inadequate, was at length compelled to give way to circumstances and to return to England. The Earl of Galway, who succeeded him in the command, was totally routed at the battle of Almanza, which gave Spain to the Duke of Anjou. These misfortunes were the subject of parliamentary investigation in 1707. "The queen had refused to admit the Earl of Peterborough into her presence, until he should have vindicated his conduct, of which King Charles had complained in divers letters. He was eagerly desirous of a parliamentary enquiry. His military proceedings, his negociations, his disposal of the remittances, were taken into consideration by both houses; but he produced such a number of witnesses and original papers to justify every transaction, that his character triumphed in the enquiry, which was dropped before it produced any resolution in parliament. Then they took cognizance of the state of affairs in Spain, and found there had been a great deficiency in the English troops at the battle of Almanza. This, however, was explained so much to their satisfaction, that they voted an address to the queen, thanking her for having taken measures to restore the affairs in Spain, and provide foreign troops for that service."—SMOLLETT's *History of England, vol. II. p.* 131.

THE debates of the House of Lords upon the affairs of Spain, occasioned by a want of conduct in those parts that seem almost irretrievable, having given being to various opinions and conjectures, and to several pamphlets on that head, amongst which one entituled, An Account of the Earl of Galway's Conduct in Spain and Portugal, seemed to call in question their lordships decision, it may not be improper to undeceive such people as run away with false appearances for matter of fact, by setting things in a true light, and presenting them to the view of the publick with a freedom that is altogether impartial and disinterested. In order to this, the fairest method I can think of, is to leave the detail of the account on both sides to the judgement of the reader; and, since I confine myself to the transactions in Spain during the several commands of the Earls of Peterborough and Galway, (there being no room for a dispute concerning the behaviour of their successor, General Stanhope) I shall proceed by way of comparison; that is, by laying down the particulars of each of their actions, that he may make an estimate from hence, which has been most deserving of the thanks of parliament,

the noble person that has been honoured with them, or he that in all probability will go without them.

To begin with the Earl of Peterborough, his lordship having been constituted and appointed captain general of her majesty's forces, and admiral and commander in chief of the fleet bound for the Mediterranean, sailed on board the Ranelaugh, with King Charles III. on the 28th of July, 1705, from Lisbon, and appeared off Barcelona August the 16th following; when, at a council of war called in the presence of his catholic majesty, it having been offered to the consideration of the general officers, whether the siege of Barcelona ought to be undertaken? they came to this unanimous resolution, that the said siege could not be undertaken with any probability of success. However at another council held August the 26th, seeing his lordship, their chief commander, had declared in favour of the aforesaid siege, it was agreed to form it; though soon after, on the 28th of the same month, to sail with all the troops to Savoy; which indeed was the first design of his lordship's expedition. But the King of Spain taking a resolution to stay by his faithful subjects of Catalonia, his lordship saw himself reduced to a necessity of either going home *re infectâ*, or taking this attempt upon himself: Wherefore, not caring for being a general without doing something, he chose rather to trust to the good-nature of his country, which he hoped would pardon his succeeding in so considerable an action, though not strictly undertaken by a formal order. My lord, therefore, now made use only of his own thoughts, and by an uncommon artifice made the never-to-be-forgotten attack upon Fort Montjuic; which has been ungenerously attributed to the Prince of Hesse who was only a volunteer in the action, and never so much as apprized of its being to be made till the execution; and which, by its surrender, occasioned that of the town, which was garrisoned by as many troops as the army was composed of that laid siege to it.

The reduction of this important place was followed by those of Gironne, Lerida, Tortosa, Tarragona, &c., and by the expulsion of the whole French army (that sate down before Barcelona in order to retake it, to the number of 24,000 men, commanded by King Philip in person, and the Mareschal de Thesse) out of Spain into the province of Rousillon, by the means of his lordship, who so distressed them in their camp by a flying army, not more than 2500 strong, which he brought with him from Valencia, that they were forced to abandon it and their artillery, with all their baggage; and had never set footing in Spain again, had his lordship's advice for the king's immediate march to Madrid taken place with that court. For he plainly foresaw what designs the common enemy had to put in execution for the recovery of Spain, and therefore made all the pressing instances imaginable to his majesty to hasten his departure, because it was beyond contradiction that the king's presence in his capital at that juncture would have made all the chief places in his dominions declare for him; and an ordinary force upon the frontiers of Navarre would have secured the passage there against any second entrance of the French into Spain. These motives and arguments urged by my Lord Peterborough, had their proper weight with the court and the army; and accordingly it was twice unanimously resolved in a general council of war, by all the ministers and officers, that the king should with all diligence march towards Valencia, and that his lordship with 6000 men should go before, and prepare every thing to carry on his majesty to Madrid.

Yet were these resolutions so far from being put in practice, that, though his lordship had brought the whole kingdom of Valencia before this, under his majesty's obedience, they were wholly neglected; though the day was settled for his majesty's departure from Barcelona; nay, what is more, the very rout of his journey adjusted, and his lordship having sent all the cavalry before, went on board the fleet with the foot, who were in no condition to march for want of baggage-necessaries, and landed at Valencia in a few days after. His lordship thought he could make no better use of his short stay here, than to recruit his shattered cavalry; which he not only did, but mounted a new regiment of

dragoons, draughted out of the companies of foot; there being always in this country, especially in his circumstances, which required dispatch, a necessity for a good body of horse; in which single regiment his lordship saved the queen (which may seem a paradox to some) 20,000 pounds; the horses, one with another, costing not above ten pounds apiece, which, if they had been transported from England or Ireland, would have stood her majesty at least in sixty pounds, as those were actually found to do which first went upon the descent into Catalonia; and this regiment, to shew his lordship's earnest desire to march into Castile, had its rout given it the very same day it was mounted.

To facilitate this entrance into Castile, his lordship immediately sent Lieutenant-General Wyndham with a body of 1500 horse to besiege Requena; a strong and troublesome garrison, and indeed the only one in the road to Madrid, and the first frontier-town of the enemy. The enterprize succeeded to his wishes, and the way lay open for his majesty's march; for his lordship proved to the king by the constant passing of deserters, as well as expresses, that there was nothing now to hinder his majesty from reaching Madrid with a small party of horse only; and he thought a king needed not much persuasion to take possession of a crown, when 'twould be rather a journey of pleasure than a march, and this to be easily performed in a fortnight's time.

Yet, notwithstanding all these preparations for carrying on the king and his troops, and though by frequent messengers and letters he had urged the necessity of the king's immediate departure from Barcelona, his majesty did not think fit to set out from that place till near a month after the time agreed on. 'Twas yet a greater surprise to his lordship, that the king, upon his arrival at Tarragona, had quite altered the scheme of his march, and taken a resolution of going round by Saragossa; whereupon he remonstrated to his majesty, with all the earnestness imaginable, the danger of the least delay in such a critical conjuncture. But neither the hazards nor inconveniences of so dangerous a march, wherein his majesty might run the risque of being intercepted by the enemy, nor the more than ordinary zeal his lordship shewed in persuading the king from it, by dispatching letters after letters, a deputation from the Valencian nobility, and the opinion of several councils of war for that purpose, were of any force or weight. Some particular persons about the king had more authority with him, and he persisted in his measures; always giving it as a reason of his going by Saragossa, that the generals of the Portuguese would move that way, and had promised to secure his march to their camp. Wherefore his lordship still flattered him with hopes, since he perceived there was a correspondence between his majesty and the Portuguese army, who were now (as he was told) masters of Madrid, those who had the command there would make all the advantages of so happy a conjuncture, and not only secure that capital till they had safely conducted the king thither, but take care to seize and fortify the passes in Navarre, the only and obvious expedient left, since the king was resolved on these new methods, to keep him in the quiet possession of his kingdom.

What motives his majesty had for this extraordinary change of his sentiments, is best known to his majesty: That they could not arise from any want of respect or observance in his lordship is very manifest, since though some of his ill-wishers attribute the cause of his journey through Arragon to his lordship's peremptory denying the king money for his necessary charges, though he had received 103,000l. at that time remitted from England for his majesty's service; his lordship was so far from refusing the king upon this account any money which he had in his power to give him, that his lordship not having received any part of the pretended 103,000l. was forced to order for that purpose 40,000l. appropriated to other uses. And 'tis well known to all those that are well acquainted with what passed in Spain, that his lordship, to clear himself from these calumnies, brought Mr Mead, the queen's paymaster, before the king and Mr Stanhope, who, in regard to these points, gave this account to the king,

"That all his troops had been paid ten days advance, for which he produced their receipts; that no part of the 103,000l. was come to his hands; but that, however, 40,000l. had been advanced for his majesty's service, at the earnest solicitations of the Earl of Peterborough, which was designed and appointed for other services."

Nay, when, upon his arrival at Saragossa, his majesty was in want of a supply, and wrote to my lord of Peterborough for it, his lordship immediately sent all the money he had of his own, and what he could get upon credit, and had his majesty's thanks returned for it in a very obliging letter: So far was he from refusing the king's money towards supporting the march that was at first designed and so much wished for by his lordship, that he took care his majesty should not want it, even in a journey which his lordship could by no means approve of.

What remained for his lordship to do, now there were no hopes of the king's coming through Valencia, which he was obliged to wait for, by the fundamental council of war at Barcelona, was to order all the forces to advance into Castile, except about 1000 men, which were left for the necessary security of the kingdom of Valencia: And in this he was forced to have the opinion of a council of war, of both Spaniards and English, to release him from the obligation he lay under of staying for the king; his lordship having been always so cautious as to act by a council of war, ever since that action of taking Barcelona without one.

Thus though his majesty did not think fit at that time to be conducted to his capital by the Earl of Peterborough (the king having sent him word just before the above-mentioned march, that the Portuguese army would be sufficient to protect him from any attempts the enemy could make against him,) the earl thought it his duty to be near at hand to succour him upon any emergency, and therefore made it his choice rather to neglect sending the forces under his command to the relief of the Duke of Savoy pursuant to his majesty's orders, than preventing the return of the French into Spain, and securing the country round Madrid: Wherefore he desired to be excused from complying with his majesty's directions, and continued on his march through Castile. So far was his lordship from shewing any unwillingness to carry his troops thither, or refusing to advance when he had orders for it, that when he did march 'twas contrary to the king's desires, who urged him immediately to pursue the orders he had received from the queen, and embark the succours for Italy.

And indeed his majesty was quickly convinced that his lordship had judged right; for instead of being able to go on triumphantly from Saragossa to Madrid, his majesty saw a necessity of writing pressingly to that lord, to come up to him with all the dispatch imaginable, to secure his march to the army at Guadalaxara. This his lordship instantly complied with, by joining his majesty near Prastana, and had at last the honour of conducting him to the confederate forces; and this within a fortnight after he had received the advices mentioned above, that his majesty had no further occasion for the presence of him or his troops.

So that his lordship, contrary to the intentions of the Earl of Galway and those who commanded the Portuguese army, came up with them to be an eye-witness of their retreat from that capital, which he persuaded them (to no purpose) to repossess themselves of, now they had the king among them, and, in despight of their keeping no manner of correspondence with him by letter or otherwise, as appears by the testimonies of several couriers that went to the Portuguese army through Valencia to his majesty, came to assist them with his forces and advice.

Here his lordship expected to have met a flourishing army ready to carry the king in through to Madrid; not questioning but in those forty days, wherein he not only made preparations to march into Castile, but took Carthagena, Cuenha, Alicant, and Requena, (places of great strength and consequence) that the Portuguese general had with the like caution and activity secured the country round Madrid; his lordship being confident with good reason, that such opportunities as those in his hands would

have enabled him to drive the Duke of Berwick beyond the Ebro; or at least not to have been so destitute of information, as to have suffered an army of 20,000 men to come within two hours march of him, without the least intelligence of their approach; or to have given them the opportunity of retaking Madrid without a blow.

Yet this was the state in which affairs were at his lordship's arrival in the Portuguese camp; and he found the confederates, not only not prepared (as he had hoped) for a glorious entrance into Madrid, but retreating before the enemy, and every body did that justice to the Lord Tyrawly, as to own 'twas in a great measure owing to his conduct, that upon such a surprise they were capable of making any retreat.

To recover the disgrace of this almost fatal miscarriage, the general opinion inclined to fighting; but the Earl of Peterborough, knowing too well the irretrievable consequences of a lost battle, opposed this motion, our circumstances at that time being the most improper for such expedients, that would hazard the entire loss of what they were possessed of in Spain. Yet at the same time his lordship made an offer to attempt, with 5000 men, the recovery of Madrid; and the methods he designed to take were allowed so likely to succeed, that they were approved of more than once by the king and all the generals. But at this time all consultations were tedious, and executions slow; so that, after two or three days debate, the design was laid aside merely for want of bread, there being as little preparation there, as there had been for pursuing the Duke of Berwick.

Wherefore since the camp at Guadalaxara was no place for a man of enterprising genius to abide in, and the resolutions of the other generals were so fluctuating and uncertain as not to be any ways depended upon, his lordship, after a few days continuance there, resolved to put in execution the queen's orders that commanded him to Italy; which being shewn to the king and the generals at a council of war, had their approbation in writing according to form. To which powers that authorised him to leave Spain, his lordship had very strong and prevailing reasons to be added from the posture of affairs. For the condition of the army was extremely miserable for want of money, and the prospect still worse, unless effectual means were used for a speedy supply. In this necessity, the ministers and generals very pressingly recommended that affair to the Marquis das Minas, and the Portuguese ambassador gave him bills to transact for them at Genoa; and the king, to shew both his want of money, and the great confidence he had in his lordship's fidelity, gave him full powers, signed and sealed by his royal hand, to mortgage any part of his dominions, rather than he should fail in his negociations; which is a sufficient confutation to all groundless reports, such as his leaving the army under discontent on account of his not having the sole command of it, and making it a voyage of pleasure rather than of business, or by any orders.

What still confirmed his lordship in this resolution of going to Italy was, that he found at that juncture no occasion for his presence in Spain: For the campaign to all appearance was then at an end, and the generals seemed to propose nothing else than going into winter quarters, and maintaining themselves there till the season would give them leave to take the field; and that this was the design when his lordship left them, will appear by the loud remonstrances of all the Spaniards against the retreat into Valencia: And how much possessed the king and all his officers were with this opinion of keeping their ground in Castile, the Count Noyailles, velt-mareschal of the emperor, and general of the King of Spain, has in the fullest and most sensible manner explained in a letter to the Earl of Peterborough while they were retreating; which, amongst other material points, has these passages: "With all the Spaniards of my opinion, I could not procure our march from Chincon, or retard the passage over the Tagus, in a season so little advanced and so proper for action. We were flattered that winter quarters should be established in Castile, between the Xucar and Gabriel, where we

are now encamped, but it is plainly seen that we shall march into the kingdom of Valencia, so contrary to the king's desires," &c.

His lordship, through the means of a deep penetration into affairs, as it were foreseeing what would happen to the army in Castile, was for providing against the consequences of it before he left Valencia for Italy, and took care before his embarking to fortify and secure the country and coast against the insults of the Bishop of Murcia; and therefore, though pressed by the king and the Lord Galway to send up the forces there into Castile, his lordship had the unanimous opinion, not only of all the gentlemen of the country, but of a council of war held September 6, 1706, at the general's quarters in Alicant, That, considering the ill circumstances of our affairs in those inland parts, and the necessity of keeping a sure footing towards the sea, it was of the highest consequence that the little number we had then in Alicant should continue there, the whole being not more than 900 men, as well for securing the kingdom of Valencia, as preserving the communication with Castile, which, if cut off to the sea, might expose the king's person and the army to the utmost hazard. And had not this prudent foresight of his lordship, backed by the consent of the commanding officers in Valencia, kept open this communication between the sea and the castle, whither could they themselves that desired these forces have made their retreat? or where could their army have subsisted till the battle?

'Twas for the same reasons that his lordship resolved not to carry any of those troops with him to Italy, and that he designed upon any emergent occasion from that quarter to have drawn supplies out of the garrisons in Catalonia: But having been some days at sea, he had the good fortune to hear of the decisive battle of Turin, which had put it in the Duke of Savoy's power to be much superior to the enemy in the forces he already had, and to stand in need of no auxiliaries from a kingdom that could so very ill spare them.

How serviceable this voyage to Genoa, and how all the views of it were answered, cannot be more evidently manifested than they were by the universal applause of the Spanish nation, and the esteem and respect paid by all the princes abroad; and in particular, how sensible his catholic majesty was of the advantages gained by it, appears fully by an instrument under his own hand, lately produced before the House of Lords, which makes mention of that very expedition put in execution with his approbation, and the opinion of all the ministers and generals; and of his lordship's obtaining in that voyage most known advantages to his majesty's service; and particularly commends that vigour which is always found to distinguish his actions, and which recommends those measures which his zeal and ability hath adjusted with the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, to whom he would notify upon the first occasion his entire satisfaction in all that he had transacted, &c.

This royal testimony not only shews his majesty's entire approbation of this voyage, but is a sufficient reply to those malicious insinuations that have been made of the king's displeasure to the earl. In his absence, indeed, false suggestions, and the contrivances and cabals of others, have too often prevailed: And during the correspondence of the Portugal army, not only unfortunate methods took place, but, as his lordship found at his return from Italy, the king had been by some artifices wrought upon to signify to the court of England some kind of dissatisfaction with his conduct.

Others likewise charge this noble peer with giving too large premio's for the money that was advanced for his majesty's use, and taking it at an extravagant interest of 20 per cent. for procuring the money at Genoa, (which would have amounted to 20,000l.) whereas not above 1000l. was allowed by his lordship above the current exchange; and such a sum obtained in such difficult circumstances, as 100,000l. in so little time, and at so little loss, is as extraordinary as any of those many services he did in the Spanish war.

'Tis pity his enemies did not say he over-rated his baggage that was suffered to be taken after he had taken leave of the army at Guadalaxara, that was offered to be made good to him at the rate of 10,000 pistoles, which it was actually worth, and which he generously refused; rather making it his choice to have the army supplied with two months provision of corn, though it was under another general's command, than have any misfortune happen to the confederate arms, through his having the least regard to his own interest,—an action as unprecedented, and for some time as indifferently spoke of, as his taking Barcelona with as few troops as the garrison of the town, and relieving it after, when the troops within and without were but a handful of men in respect to the numbers of the besiegers.

To come to a period: His lordship after his return from Spain acted in no publick post; yet upon all occasions shewed the same concern and zeal for the publick good, and the prosperity of her majesty's arms. And though he was dismissed from the command of the army, yet he did not think himself exempt from using his utmost endeavours to promote the interest of the common cause: Wherefore having brought them monies to carry on the war with, he could not but think it advisable to leave behind him rules to conduct it with, which his experience and knowledge of the country made him highly capable of giving, and in a council of war held at Valencia, February 4, 170$\frac{6}{7}$, gave in writing his opinion concerning the management of the campaign, which he would have had to be on the defensive, and which, if carried on after that manner, would have hindered the dismal effects of a contrary judgment in a very few months after, at the fatal battle of Almanza, which was the prelude to all our misfortunes in that country that have happened since.

His lordship being sensible how things would go after his departure, but zealous to turn them another way, that the advantages he gained with so much prudence might not be lost through the want of it in others, wrote from Turin the 21st of April following, where, having urged the necessity of a defensive war to the Portuguese ambassador, and said, "I know my reasons, though good, will have little force with the generals; they have the last campaign in their thoughts, and have not perhaps the same tranquillity of mind and quiet which, I thank God, I enjoy. I am well assured that the interest of your country needs precaution; since your best troops are in Spain, and that a defeat must expose Portugal before succours can arrive; since England has left herself almost unprovided with troops, and the forces in Italy being designed for other services, it will be difficult to obtain any of them, though the circumstances pressingly require it. I therefore entreat your excellency to think again of the consequence of a lost battle. God be praised you are not under a necessity of a victory; that is the circumstance of France," &c. Whether the Portuguese followed this advice or not, and voted against coming to a general action, it is not in my power to determine; but this letter from my lord plainly shews how well the author of it could judge of the posture of their affairs, and how reasonable it was to think of nothing but a defensive war. My lord, without all peradventure, wishes he had been mistaken in his judgment; but in a few days after the writing of it, those who had no regard to what he foretold, took care most punctually to fulfil it.

As their not listening to his lordship's advice in Spain was the occasion of irretrievable losses in that kingdom, so it likewise proved of very pernicious consequence to the affairs in Italy, which had been so well concerted between the Duke of Savoy, Prince Eugene, and the Earl of Peterborough; for by the means of the defeat at Almanza, the French were able to make large detachments from thence to Provence, which rendered the siege of Thoulon, that afterwards was so gloriously undertaken, of no effect.

His lordship's stay in Italy was very short after the foregoing melancholy accident; and though he lost no time at the several courts he visited, after his dismission from the command of the army, in consultations for the good of his country in particular,

and the whole confederacy, he was earnestly recalled home by the ministry then in being, who were none of his best friends; and was forced to leave a very worthy son dangerously ill of his wounds, and the court of his royal highness of Savoy, where he was received with all possible marks of distinction, for nothing like a reception at that of Great-Britain; so much was the interest of his enemies superior to his own.

But though he could have the favour of no other means to justify himself, than by the press, and neither the court nor the House of Peers thought fit to set his great and unparalleled services in a true light, till the present session of parliament, his lordship has had the honour, at last and very lately, to the no small disappointment of the faction, not only to be publickly acquitted from having any share in the mismanagements of the war in Spain or elsewhere, but very honourably thanked for discharging the trusts reposed in him with zeal, courage, and fidelity; a reward, though not answerable to the great things he has done for us and our allies, yet nothing short of the manors of Woodstock and Wooten, if we consider the dignity of that great assembly that gave it. On which occasion Sir Simon Harcourt, the lord keeper of the great seal, addressed his lordship as follows:

"My Lord Peterborough,

"I am commanded by my lords to return their thanks to your lordship, for your many eminent and faithful services to your queen and country, during your command in Spain.

"My Lord,

"The thanks of this illustrious assembly is an honour, which has been rarely paid to any subject, but never, after a strict enquiry into the nature of any service, upon a more mature deliberation, or with greater justice, than at this time to your lordship. Such is your lordship's known generosity, and truly noble temper, that I assure myself the present I am now offering to your lordship, is the more acceptable as it comes pure and unmixed, and is unattended with any other reward which your lordship might justly think would be an allay to it.

"My Lord,

"Had more days been allowed me, than I had minutes, to have called to mind the wonderful and amazing success which perpetually attended your lordship in Spain (the effect of your lordship's personal bravery and conduct) I would not attempt the enumerating your particular services, since I should offend your lordship, by the mentioning of such as I could recollect, and give a just occasion to this honourable House, by my involuntary omission of the far greater part of them.

"Had your lordship's wise counsels, particularly your advice at the council of war in Valencia, been pursued the following campaign, the fatal battle of Almanza, and our greatest misfortune which has since happened in Spain, had been prevented, and the design upon Thoulon might have happily succeeded.

"I shall detain your lordship no longer, than in obedience to the order I have received to return your lordship, as I do, the thanks of this House, for your eminent and remarkable services to your queen and country, during your command in Spain."

His Lordship's Answer.

"My Lords,

"For the great honour I have received from your lordships, I return my most humble thanks, with a heart full of the truest respect and gratitude: No service can deserve such a reward. It is more than a sufficient recompence for any past hardships, and

to which nothing can give an addition. I shall endeavour in all my future actions, not to appear unworthy of the unmerited favours I have this day received from this great assembly."

Thus the reader may see, that notwithstanding all the efforts of his enemies, to render his lordship's services of less importance and significance than they were, they appeared in their true lustre; and that this noble peer has this to comfort him under the ungrateful returns he before met with from a thankless and ungenerous party, those who denied him the just rewards of his unwearied application and diligence for the common good, would have denied his royal mistress herself the exercise of her just rights, and that he has no other enemies to his extraordinary merits, but such as are for lessening and impairing the queen's; since through vindicating the prerogatives of her majesty, their lordships have at last asserted the privileges of a very deserving subject.

What remains for me to do in the next place, is to account for my title, by looking into the merits of his lordship the Earl of Galway, that those who are not acquainted with his actions may from hence be at liberty to judge how much he falls short of the other peer, or how near he comes up to him, for none can draw such a conclusion as can make him excel him.

And here as we went through the Earl of Peterborough's conduct from his very first landing in Spain, till after his leaving it, so it is but necessary we should do the same by his lordship, especially since the transactions in Spain have such a dependence on those in Portugal, and are so closely interwoven with them. Wherefore, omitting the dialogue between him and the great man of Windsor, which you'll find in the annals of Queen Anne for 1704, I shall take him from his first arrival in Portugal, where having waited on the king, and been graciously received, he took a review of the Portuguese and auxiliary forces, which were upwards of 18,000 men, and caused them to pass the little river Coa, and so encamp at Almeida on the 23d of September, 1704. It is observable the two kings of Spain and Portugal encouraged his royal army with their presence with design to invade Castile, but things were so carried (no doubt by the prudence of the generals) that when they came to the river Agueda, which they intended to pass near Ciudad Rodrigo, they found the opposite bank so well guarded by the Spaniards under the Duke of Berwick, (whose army was near 9000 effective men) that it was thought fit not to hazard the loss of double the number; and so retiring further into the territories of Portugal, the troops were sent into quarters, without any such thing, beyond all question, as the Earl of Galway's consent for their so doing. As for the Spaniards, they were so weakened by the battalions sent under the command of the Marquis de Villadaris, to form the siege of Gibraltar, that they held themselves to have business enough on their hands to defend their own country, and had no thoughts of invading Portugal; so that all things were wonderfully quiet on those frontiers till the 24th of April, 1705, N. S.

The Conde das Calveas, a grandee of Portugal, acted as generalissimo, and under him the Conde de la Cursona, the Earl of Galway, and Baron Fagel, who commanded each other as captain generals in their respective turns for the space of a week; the Conde de Villaverde being general of the horse, and the Viscount Barhacena general of artillery. The first day the army made but a small march of a league and a half; on the 25th they marched two whole leagues; on the 26th and 27th they kept the same sort of pace; and on the 28th were mustered, and found to consist of more than 24,000 men; the train of artillery being found to consist of 20 heavy cannon, 24 field-pieces, 7 great mortars, and 10 small mortars. The 29th the army marched a league and a half, and the next day advanced a league, and encamped in sight of Albuquerque. The 1st of May they marched a league and a half, and encamped near

Vincento, which having submitted the day before upon terms, was plundered by the foreigners. The 2d the army having advanced two leagues, arrived before Valencia d'Alcantara, which surrendered after a stout resistance on the 9th following, the garrison being made prisoners of war. Note, General Fagel commanded this week, so that the taking of this town cannot, without manifest injury to that gentleman, be imputed to the Earl of Galway.

The army decamped from Alcantara the 14th of May, N. S. and encamped the same evening at St Vincent, and the 17th came before Albuquerque; but the march being very long, they could not invest it till the 19th. On the 22d the garrison was allowed to march out upon very honourable terms, by the Earl of Galway, who, instead of making them prisoners of war by force, endeavoured to win their affections by treats, and allowed them a piece of cannon not included in the articles, as a particular and much-applauded act of generosity. This is looked upon by his lordship's Vindicator as a master-piece in politicks, to encourage other towns to surrender as cheaply as this did, which cost so much powder and ball against it, that he himself says the besiegers had but 200 cannon-ball left; though other people think it the only way to put arms in their hand to make a defence with.

The remaining part of the season for this summer's campaign was spent in marches and countermarches, consults about the siege of Badajox, but no resolutions taken thereupon; wherefore the army went into quarters of refreshment; though I should have told the reader another remarkable action that his lordship had a share in, which was to send out 600 English and Dutch horse to secure a convoy of provisions coming from Campo Major, that otherwise might have been in danger; and that the Mareschal de Tesse, though he hovered about this camp with more than 2500 horse at a time, did not dare to attack them, because they were so very much upon their guard, through the wise precautions of their generals.

On the 30th of October following, after the Earl of Galway had prevailed with the Marquis das Minas and the other general to form the siege of Badajox, all the forces decamped, and rendezvoused on the Caya, and on the 3d of the following month encamped before Badajox; the trenches were opened on the 4th, and daily relieved by the troops of the several nations which the army was composed of, till the 7th, when his lordship thought fit to change the disposition of the army, by sending one half of the forces over the Guadiana, to hinder the enemy from throwing any succours into the place. The 8th general Fagel arrived in the camp. The 9th and 10th were spent by the besiegers in making their approaches, throwing bombs into the town, and firing upon it from three batteries of cannon. On the 11th a bomb from the town blew up the powder at one of their batteries, and several of the gunners, whereupon the rest ran away. The Earl of Galway and the Baron de Fagel repairing thither to remedy the disorder, found the platform spoiled; and as they were upon the battery to encourage the soldiers, and had both their arms lifted up, so that they touched one another, a cannon ball from the old castle came between them, and struck off the right-hand of my Lord Galway a little below the elbow; whereupon General Fagel took upon him the command of the army as camp-master general under the Marquis das Minas, and on the 12th the besiegers continued to fire with such success, as they hoped to be masters of the town by the 15th. The 13th a French dragoon came over to them, and gave them to understand that the enemy were marching to relieve the town; and in the night between the 13th and 14th two other dragoons deserted, and made their report that the army was in motion, though two Spanish troopers that were taken soon after contradicted it, and affirmed that they were in their old camp. Though they were within sight of the confederate army, soon after, and before the latter could come up with them, they passed the Chevora over a stone-bridge, (which ought to have been broken down at the forming of the siege) and drawing up their army behind that river, with Badajox in their rear, flung a thousand

grenadiers into the place, leaving the confederates to retire to their camp without being able to hinder the relief of the town, by a body of troops that was scarce a third part of their number, it consisting only of 3000 horse and 5000 foot, when theirs was upwards of 24,000 effective men.

Badajox being thus relieved, the besiegers withdrew their artillery from the batteries, and on the 17th decamped for Elvas, where they arrived the 19th following, and separated, and went into winter quarters. Various were the opinions about this disgrace; the Earl of Galway's friends imputed it wholly to General Fagel; and on the contrary, those that were well-wishers to the general charged his lordship with it, in the first place, because General Fagel was not at the council of war, but on his way homeward when the siege was undertaken, and in the second, because his lordship had so disposed of the troops, as to invest only part of the town instead of the whole. 'Tis true, the King of Portugal did his lordship the honour of a letter of condolence on the loss of his arm, and the queen his mistress made him a present upon that disaster; but as neither of these were of force enough to justify his conduct with his enemies, so many as were impartial in their sentiments to the two generals, had very favourable sentiments of the Baron Fagel's vindication, which he caused to be printed, and which it will not be improper to insert on this occasion.

"Sir,—I hope your majesty will pardon the boldness I take to prostrate myself at your royal feet, and give you, by these lines, a relation of what passed the 14th instant, when the enemy threw succours into Badajox.

"Having obtained leave of their High Mightinesses to return to Holland, I thought to obtain the same permission of your majesty, when you ordered me to repair to the army, which I found before Badajox. I arrived there four days after the opening of the trenches, which was done without having ruined, or possessed the magazine the enemy had at Talavera, two leagues from the front of your majesty's army, where was then 3 or 4000 of their troops, but they were considerably reinforced when I arrived at the army. I confess I was of opinion, that it was advisable to quit the siege for a time, in order to march to the enemy, and drive them from a place which was so near us; but, contrary to my advice, the siege was carried on. In the mean time the enemy, who were but two leagues from your majesty's army, having their right towards the river Guadiana, were daily reinforced, and your majesty's army, so far from being able to surround and invest the town on all sides, that they did only cover the trenches. The generals of your majesty's horse were ordered to have constantly parties abroad, to observe the enemy's motions; being so near them, we feared to be surprised. The Earl of Galway having had the misfortune to have his hand shot off, the function of *Mestre de Camp* fell to me. The 12th, I gave the most exact orders possible, that the generals should have notice of any thing that might occasion an alarm. I was willing also, by way of precaution, to have made works to hinder the execution of the enemy's design, but it was too late. The night between the 13th and 14th, at two in the morning, we had notice given us by two deserters, that the enemy were in motion since the evening before, but they could not tell us on what side of the river they marched. I advised immediately the assembling all the generals, but came to no resolution; and it being feared the enemy might march to our left, I proposed to the generals who were on duty, that we should all repair to the left, in order to take there the necessary measures. No notice being taken of what I said, I resolved to go thither in person, and being arrived there, the generals gave me so many assurances that the enemy was not moving, that I returned in hopes of meeting the Marquis das Minas. I was no sooner gone, than intelligence was brought to me, that the enemy appeared before our posts. I dispatched immediately Manuel d'Asevedo Fortes Tenente, general under the Marquis das Minas, to give him notice that the enemy were before our flank, and

desired him to join us forthwith. The Sieur Manuel d'Asevedo Fortes has since reported to me, that he found the marquis in his quarters, that he mounted on horseback immediately, and repaired to the left, without loss of time. I went myself immediately to Count St Juan's post on the other side of the river, but did not arrive there till the van of the enemy's army had gained the bridge on the Chevra, and was already drawn up against us. I asked all the generals and experienced officers, viz. Lieutenant-General Windham, Major-Generals Harvey and Teghnagel, Colonel Baron of Winterfield, Count St Juan, and Count St Vincent, of your majesty's troops, if they thought it was still possible for me to pass the army, and draw them up; but, by reason four soldiers only could pass over a bridge, and that the two fords were likewise very narrow, and the channel over the river large, all the generals and other officers unanimously concluded it was not to be done, and that I ought to draw up the army on the other side. Had the generals thought it possible, I would have ventured to pass some troops, in order to draw them up before the enemy's front, and attack them; but it is highly probable they would not have suffered a body strong enough to fight them, to pass, and the generals being of a contrary opinion, I could not undertake to pass the army without their consent, and without the approbation of the general in chief. In the mean time I ordered Count St Juan to withdraw his troops, lest he should be driven into the river: I went to the other side of the river to draw up the troops that were already in motion to pass it, and waited on the banks of the same, for the arrival of the Marquis das Minas, that I might follow his directions. No time was lost; for the troops that were still before the camp moved on in order to pass the sooner. Hereupon the Marquis das Minas arrived, and the troops were likewise in motion, in order to pass the river and sustain one another: But the artillery I had sent for was not yet arrived: The Marquis das Minas having heard my report, did not only approve what I had done, but also staid above an hour before he let the army pass, in order to fall upon the enemy's rear.

"Sir, I hope your majesty will pardon me, if I leave it to the general in chief to give your majesty an account of the rest that passed that day: Yet, nevertheless, I have dispatched with the present, the Baron of Winterfield, colonel in my master's armies, who is a skilful and experienced officer, and was present in all that happened, in case your majesty will be informed of some particulars."

Signed

THE BARON DE FAGEL.

News being brought to Portugal of the great preparations made by the court of Madrid against that of Barcelona, and their resolutions to besiege that city, it was proposed in a council held at Lisbon, the king and the chief generals present, to make a diversion in Spain, and hinder King Philip from streightening the affairs of King Charles. In order to this, it was resolved to open the campaign with the siege of Alcantara. Accordingly the troops left their garrisons to form the army. The greatest body, which was encamped near Elvas, between the Caya and Cayala, marched on the last day of March (N. S.) to Salvador, the 2d of April to Mayorga, and the 3d to St Vincent, where the several bodies joined, to the number of 26 Portuguese battalions, 5 English, 4 Dutch; 36 Portuguese squadrons, 2 English, and 4 Dutch; being provided with 24 pieces of heavy cannon for battery, 12 field-pieces, provisions for 24 days, and waggons and carriages in proportion. The 4th of April the army advanced to Membrillas, and encamped near th iver Selor. The 5th and 6th were taken up in levelling the roads and passing the river. The 7th it was resolved to attack the Duke of Berwick, who was encamped at Brocas, and might have been entirely defeated, but for the confederates being unacquainted with the ground in those parts: So

that the rear was only put to flight, and ten of its squadrons overthrown. The army rested themselves the 8th at Brocas, and marched on the 9th towards Alcantara, into which the Duke of Berwick had, three days before, thrown seven battalions, and which was formally besieged on the 10th, the trenches being opened on the same night. The garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war on the 16th, and marched out at the breach, headed by Don Miquel de Guasco, Mareschal de Camp, and Don Diego d'Avila brigadier, in all 3282 men. The 19th the Marquis de Frontire made the garrison of Moraleja, another fortified town, likewise surrender at discretion, after a siege of three days: It consisted of 400 regular troops, under the command of a French governor; and on the 23d Don Juan d' Atayda did the same by Coria, and secured the magazines just at the time that Mr Jefforeville was advancing that way with twelve squadrons to burn the ovens and stores the enemy had in the place. The army broke up from Coria the 26th, and on the 27th reached Gallistro, a little town with pretty good walls and a castle, belonging to the conde of that name. The 28th they encamped at Placentia, where a council of war was held about the farther operation of the campaign, and the Earl of Galway insisted to march directly to Madrid, to which the Portuguese would by no means consent, as believing Barcelona to be lost, by reason of its being besieged by the French; and being of opinion, that they ought to improve the time, and possess themselves of the places upon the frontiers before the Duke of Berwick was joined by the reinforcements he expected from France. However, they marched as far as Almaras, and destroyed the bridge there, that the enemy might have no passage over that river from Alcantara to Ponte de Arcobispo.

Here another council of war was held, the result of which was to march into Old Castile, and attack Ciudad Rodrigo, from whence they might advance towards Madrid through Salamanca, in case they had news of the raising the siege of Barcelona. On the 10th of May Don Joseph Belvis, a gentleman of one of the best families in Valencia, arrived in the camp from the Earl of Peterborough, with advice, "That the siege would draw out into length, from the difficulties the enemy met with, and would be raised at the approach of the confederate fleet, which would make it impossible for them to retreat through Arragon, and oblige them to fetch a great compass through France; wherefore he desired my Lord Galway to march directly to Madrid, where he should be joined as soon as possible by the forces that were on that side." But this message, which shews that there was no want of correspondence on the side of the Earl of Peterborough, made no impression on the Portuguese; they would march backward to Ciudad Rodrigo, which they invested the 21st of May, and possessed themselves of by articles on the 26th, that obliged the garrison not to bear arms for the space of a year. On the 27th the generals received the news of the raising the siege of Barcelona, whereupon it was unanimously resolved to march towards Madrid. They decamped from Ciudad Rodrigo the 2d of June, and arrived the 7th at Salamanca, from whence the Duke of Berwick retired towards the pass of Guadarama. From thence they sent a detachment to possess themselves of Alva de Tormes, and put a garrison in the castle; and on the 12th left Salamanca, taking Peneranda in their way, where they received deputies from Segovia. The 7th the army encamped at Villacarseri, where they erected ovens and a magazine under a guard of one battalion. The 18th they came to Espinal, where deputies from the Escurial came to offer their submission, and on the 23d passed the mountain at the Puerta de Guadarama, and encamped near a village of that name, within a league and a half of the Escurial. The 24th the army encamped at the Nuestra Signora de Ratamal, where they received deputies from Madrid, sent from the nobility, corrigidor, and all persons of note, and where likewise the Earl of Galway received letters from King Charles and the Count Noyelles, importing, "That my Lord Peterborough had embarked the infantry for Valencia, where the king was to join him with all the cavalry, and then march towards Madrid."

On the 27th the allies encamped near Madrid on the banks of the Mansanares, where most of the persons of distinction in that city came to see them, and caused King Charles to be proclaimed in that city three days after; which had effect upon several towns, amongst which Toledo was the first, and Cardinal Portacarero, the archbishop of it, wrote to the Marquis das Minas, and the Conde de la Corsona, assuring them in express terms of his obedience to that prince. On the 7th of July my Lord Galway sent the captain of the hussars and 30 troopers to the king by the way of Valencia, to press his majesty to join the army at Madrid; which commander, though he lost most of his men by the peasants in his march, reached the king, without any letters for the Earl of Peterborough, because it was reasonable to suppose that his lordship was with the king; and, upon that supposition, according to the rules of war and decency, he thought that, out of respect to his majesty, he ought to send him all the intelligence, and to him only. The 8th brought the confederates news of the revolt of the greatest part of those places in Old Castile that had declared for them, which retarded the coming up of the convoy of provisions the allies expected, cut off their communication with Portugal (an unpardonable neglect) and hindered them from receiving any more corn from the conquered country. The inhabitants of Mancha soon after took up arms in favour of the Duke of Anjou, and the city of Toledo declared for, and proclaimed him again. These considerations, backed with their want of provisions at Madrid, where those they had contracted with to furnish them with bread, failed in the performance, and the murmurs of the inhabitants, who seemed one and all in another interest, induced the confederates to decamp from thence and march for Alcala, that they might be nearer their own provisions, which they did on the 11th of the month, at the same time sent some detachments toward the Mancha, in order to reduce the rebels; one of which, consisting of 200 horse and 300 foot, was obliged to fight a body of foot at Quintanar, and they defeated them; did it with the loss of a colonel of horse, who commanded the party, five captains, and fifty private men.

The 15th of July the confederate generals marched with the horse and foot of the first line to Guadalaxara, upon account (as they gave out) of the goodness of the air and water, the conveniency of forage, and the advantageousness of that post; from whence they sent the Quarter-Master General du Bourget to the king at Saragossa, to hasten his march to the army; and having received an answer to their message, that the king was to be at Molina in Arragon on the 28th, and desired them to cover his march, that was to be within thirteen leagues of the enemy, they laid the project which had been concerted to fortify Toledo aside, and resolved to march towards the enemy at Xadraque, which they did; and having recalled their second line from Alcola, and being arrived near it, found the van of the enemy's army marching towards them, who repassed the defiles as soon as they perceived the allies; but the country was so difficult, that it was not possible to come to a general engagement, and therefore the armies did only cannonade each other, and skirmish for two days.

The enemy's camp being daily reinforced from France, the confederates thought of returning to Guadalaxara, and encamped the 1st at Junquiera, and were followed by the enemy, who encamped within two leagues of them. On the 1st of August they marched from thence towards Guadalaxara, but lost their communication with Portugal, by not posting themselves behind the Caruma; and marching from thence to Guadalaxara, and observing that the enemy designed to force them to a general engagement, and put the river Henares between the enemy and themselves. The 2d of August the Duke of Berwick came, and encamped before the allies, and on the 3d repossessed themselves of Madrid, making some Miquelets, that were left to garrison the castle, prisoners of war.

To proceed: On the 6th, King Charles, attended by the Earl of Peterborough and the other generals, joined the army at Guadalaxara with his regiment of yellow dragoons,

which made four squadrons; another of horse of Don Pedro Moras, making also four squadrons in a very good condition; and three complete battalions more, one Italian in his majesty's pay, and two Dutch; which were followed two days after by three battalions more, one of Castilians, the other Germans, and the royal regiment of Raby's dragoons, making three squadrons, and that of Pierce one; which could not put them in a condition to go in quest of the enemy, who were superior in number to them (but by whose fault?) both in horse and foot.

The Earl of Peterborough stayed but a very little time with the army, but left it (as my Lord Galway's vindicator gives out) on account of the Marquis das Minas his refusal to share the command according to his proposal; which, if true, adds very much to the praise of the former, who would not submit to let the Portuguese take the post of honour of the English, out of their own country, as that lord did. To proceed, the confederates having consumed the provisions and forage gathered at Guadalaxara in six days after his majesty's arrival, (a great token of their preparations for the reception of him and his troops) thought fit to march for Chincon, where they arrived the 14th of August, and continued a whole month, nothing of moment happening but some skirmishes with the enemy; which often happened to the disadvantage of the former, since the peasants always gave them wrong intelligence, on account of their willingness to get rid of them, which is an argument likewise of the strict discipline they are said to have kept.

At length the confederate generals saw there were no hopes of receiving any more reinforcements either from Portugal, or from the Earl of Peterborough (who is falsely said, in the Lord Galway's account, to have had 13 battalions of Valencia, when the whole body of forces, English and other, amounted to no more than nine hundred men) they resolved to pass the Tagus, which they did the 14th of September, and were joined by General Wyndham with three battalions and a regiment of horse, all of my Lord Peterborough's raising, as likewise seasonably supplied with bread, biscuit, and other provisions for the army, which his lordship had generously accepted of in lieu of 10,000l. the town of Hueta would have presented him with for the loss of his equipage and baggage.

The enemy passed the Tagus at the same time at Aranjeuz, with all their forces; and with a strong body of horse observed, and endeavoured to disturb the march of the allies; but they never found an opportunity to attack them with advantage: So that at last the latter passed the Xucar near Vilverdo, from whence they marched to Montila, and thence to Peral, where they stayed till the 25th, when the Duke of Berwick being informed that they were to march through a plain to Yniesta, in order to draw near the Xabriel, drew all his forces together, and advanced with so great diligence in the night, that his van appeared in the plain just as they began their march, the confederate army took their quarters from Requena to Denia, having posted themselves at Cofrentes, and put a garrison into Cuenca (which had not been done but for Count Noyelles's advice) they preserved an entrance into Castile, and at the same time were able to protect those countries that had before submitted to King Charles, who for the same purpose sent most of his own troops into Arragon.

The Earl of Peterborough being returned from Italy, and having performed his commissions of money with success, gave his opinion in a council of war held at Valencia the 15th of January, 170$\frac{8}{9}$, for the confederates to be upon the defensive, (as has been already said in that part of this narrative that more particularly belongs to him) but by the majority of the generals, contrary to the sentiments of his catholic majesty, the Portuguese ambassador, and the Count Noyelles, it was resolved to act offensively; which the Earl of Rivers perceiving at his arrival with the forces from England, declined making any stay with them, and in a few days after landing, sailed homewards, accompanied by the Earl of Essex and Brigadier-General Gorges.

What effect those unpremeditated resolutions had, may be seen by the fatal battle of Almanza, that was fought on the 25th of April following, and which might have been avoided, had the Earl of Galway not sided with the Portuguese; first, in the attack of the castle of Villena, which was of little or no significance; and afterwards, falling upon an enemy that was superior to them, not only in number but the goodness of troops, after they had been joined by 10,000 of the best soldiers in France: But as the successful march that was made in sight of the French and Spanish army before was wholly to be imputed to the Earl of Galway, so now his lordship's vindicator is so dexterous as to shift off the misfortunes of this battle upon the Marquis das Minas.

After this defeat, from which his lordship did not bring off 2500 effective men, he retreated with the remains of the English and Dutch horse to Alegra, and having left a garrison in that place, and in Xativa, Denia, and Alicant, marched with the Portuguese cavalry, that saved themselves by flight, to the other side of the Ebro, near Tortosa, in order to join the rest of King Charles' forces, and defend the province of Catalonia. The result of this unfortunate campaign was the loss of the kingdom of Valencia, the strong town of Lerida, and the raising the siege of Toulon, which was done by forces from Rousillion, which could not have been spared, had the confederates only acted upon the defensive.

Whom the loss of the battle may be imputed to may be seen by the following letters.

Letter of the Count of Cardona's from Valencia, May 2, 1707.

"We find ourselves at this time full of regret by reason of the loss of the battle of Almanza, which might have been easily avoided, could the eagerness of the Earl of Galway have been diverted; but the matter was carried so far, that neither the several advices of the officers the day before, nor those of the country people, which confirmed the former, were of any effect towards making him alter his design. However, the greatest fault consisted not in rejecting the several informations given him, but in not falling upon the enemy's flank, which might have been done easily. This oversight, together with the great interval in the middle of the main body, gave the enemy an opportunity to improve it to their own advantage, and wholly to cut off our right wing, the consequence of which was, that all the cavalry fell upon the infantry, now totally abandoned, and cut them all in pieces.

"This unhappy accident may justly make us fear more fatal consequences than at present we can well imagine."

The Letter of Brigadier Drinbern to Count de Noyelles.

"My Lord,

"I doubt not but the Baron Friesheim hath already transmitted unto your excellency a relation of the unfortunate battle of Almanza; which was such, that it's impossible for me to give your excellency an exact account of it. We quitted the siege of the castle of Villena on the 23d, having received intelligence that the enemy's army was come to Almanza; and on the same day, after we had withdrawn our men and cannon, we marched the 24th as far as Candette; and after a resolution had been taken to attack the enemy, notwithstanding their superiority, who encampedfour leagues from us, we began our march the 25th, early in the morning, with such expedition, that by noon we entered the plain, by a place called the Tower of Don Henry, and found the enemy had not decamped, as we flattered ourselves they would. We also found that their army was joined, and much stronger than ours: However, we presisted in

the resolution to fight them; and our army advancing on the plain towards Almanza, my Lord Galway, with a detachment, possessed himself of some rising ground, less han a mile and a half distant from the enemy's front, from whence he could see their army drawn up in order of battle, having the town of Almanza in the rear of their main body; which was so posted, that the second line was near the walls, extending its right wing on a rising ground, and the left into a great plain, having three lines to the wings, which were very close. We were commanded to extend ourselves more and more towards ths left; and seeing we were too weak to equal their front, this wng was reinforced with Das Minas's horse, that were drawn from the second line, which yet would not do: And as my Lord Galway's design was, he being then on our left, to hem in the enemy's right, by keeping us to extend ourselves as we marched towards the left, with so much precipitancy, without taking notice, that we did thereby make large intervals between our main body and the wing; yet we still prest on; and about three the fight began towards the left: The enemy soon broke the English and Portuguese dragoons, but they rallied again. The main body came to engage at the same time, so far as the Portuguese, who continued in the rear, and our infantry penetrated through the enemy's body who were destitute of horse to support them. I sustained the left wing with the first squardon of my own regiment; we broke in upon them, and all that battalion were made prisoners, and their colours taken by my troopers: At the same time two other of the enemy's battalions, that they might succour their main body, which was taken on the rout, took my squadron in flank, whose fire we bore, and then were obliged to succour the battalion of Walderen, who fought with their wonted courage. The Portuguese did not come on all the while, but we saw their horse on the right, who fell upon two or three squadrons. There was, at that time, on the left, no more then De Neudes's, and one or two battalians more, the two squadrons of Harvey, and my second squadron, with the Dutch dragoons, who being attacked by a treble line of foot and horse, yet stood their ground: But the infantry, after they had rallied three times, were broke in upon by the enemy, and almost all cut to pieces; so that our troops being now routed on all sides by the flight of the left wing, we found it very difficult to save the remainder of my regiment, that of the dragoons, and that of Harvey's, after we had charged several times. In the mean time the Count de Dona had rallied the remains of fourteen regiments, and we were informed next day that he was retired to the hills of Don Henry, and entrenched himself there. I went out with a small detachment beyond Catina, because they flattered my Lord Galway that he would defend himself still if he had but provisions. The intention was to endeavour the relief of those troops; but I soon learned, that upon summons they had surrendered, though upon a formal capitulation, which was confirmed yesterday by Count Dona and several other officers. It is strange, that so small a body should, for so long a time, resist the great number of the enemy; and some have assured me, that the prisoners taken in this place did not exceed 1500 men. As for the rest of our infantry, we have no more here than those who guarded the baggage, and the sick and wounded in the action at Catina. I have found 147 recovered of their wounds; this is the sad condition of our army. We shall leave some men in garrison here, and for the rest I cannot tell what they will do, or how they will save themselves. There is still above 100 good horse in my regiment, and several wounded. Certainly there was never such a piece of work as we have made of it. I was not of the council of war, as not having received my commission for a general officer; but I cannot understand how those who have been the cause of this misfortune can answer it. However, I shall not enlarge upon this head, but wish I could speak in person to your excellency; there is an absolute necessity for it, and to that end I endeavour to go towards Catalonia; but the Baron de Friesheim refusing me that liberty, this has put me upon writing in this manner, being very sorry I could not do it sooner. The

evil is irretrievable, and I look upon our affairs to be ruined; and I am afraid, when I consider the state and management of our affairs, that they will be attnded with fatal consequences. The recruits are sent towards Tortosa, and Monsieur Friesheim told me, that he would have them incorporated with our Arragon battalions. Your excellency knows much better than I, after what manner, if it be possible, this misfortune may be redressed. My Lord Galway has a broken pate, Das Minas is sick, and Friesheim knows not what to do in this exigency. I wish I could have sent better news to your excellency, but God has ordered it otherwise, and the blindness of our people was the occasion of it."

Alcira, April the 30th, 1707.

A secret Letter to the States of M. Schonenberg, June 1, 1707.

"My Lords,

"Though I don't doubt but their High Mightinesses shall have ere this time received a very exact and particular account of what happened in the disgraceful battle of Almanza, yet I am of opinion, they will by no means find the circumstances and particulars herein mentioned to be superfluous. That under the letter A. is an original of the Count de Noyelles's writ to me, accompanied with a full relation of the action under B. transmitted to his excellency by Brigadier Drinborn, and the other under C. is an extract and translation of the remarks made by the Count Cordona, governor of the kingdom of Valencia, on my Lord Galway's conduct, in a letter to King Charles's minister residing here. From all which it plainly appears with what little coherence, and how indiscreet counsel, a resolution so unnecessary, and yet of the highest importance, was undertaken; with what blind zeal and confusion they carried it on, and with what fatal success it was attended. It is also very remarkable, that we have not yet received at this place, either one scrip of paper from the Marquis das Minas, the Earl of Galway, or the Baron de Friesheim; which makes us imagine, that the two last, at least my Lord Galway, has sent directly an ample relation of the fight, by a frigate into England. To this give me leave only to subjoin, that by the several advices we have received from divers good hands out of divers quarters, the confusion among the respective generals was so great, that they were almost all cut to pieces, and the unbroken Portuguese cavalry left the kingdom of Valencia, and retired towards Tortosa without disputing the passage of the river Joncar with the enemy, who have already penetrated as far as Valencia; and in all appearance the garrison left in the castle of Alicant cannot long hold out against them. In the mean time his majesty has dispatched the Marquis l' Fuencalada, a Spanish gentleman, into Italy, to solicit for a speedy and strong reinforcement of foot and dragoons; with which the imperial court, notwithstanding the pressing necessity of it, and conveniency arising from the nearness of the expedient, perhaps has no inclination to comply with, will presume it to be against their own particular interests in Italy, unless their High Mightinesses and the Queen of Great-Britain go roundly to work to hasten such a reinforcement so greatly wanted in Spain. The same marquis is also ordered, after he has concluded his business with the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, to set forwards for the Hague and London, to represent the urgent necessity of quick supplies. As for this court, they have been so far from employing what forces they have on this side, to make a speedy and vigorous diversion in order to stop the enemy, that they have on the contrary countermanded and sent back those troops that were on the march from the province of Alantaja to reinforce the body of the army about Ciudad Rodrigo, in order to cover, as much as possible, the frontiers of Algarve, where the enemy's little flying camp under the Duke d'. Ossuna have taken the town of Serna. Moreover, since the aforementioned little army is augmented to about 5000 men, horse and foot, though chief-

ly militia, and make a shew of penetrating farther, I do my utmost by continual representations to the court to let them see, that by the junction of these troops, and the operations of such a body of men, the frontiers on this side may not only be sufficiently secured, but also that this only succour which is yet at hand, may seasonably contribute to retrieve our affairs, against the progress of the enemy in Valencia, and elsewhere, and oblige them to divide their force for the defence of their own country; but that, on the contrary, by separating this army, they would be so far from covering the frontiers of Portugal, that the enemy would with more facility attack and master the remote quarters one after another, and even penetrate into the heart of Portugal, without the least stop or diversion given to the operations of their grand army against King Charles. All these, and several other convincing arguments, make no impression on the timorous and obstinate counsels of the ministers, who content themselves with protesting, that if England and the States do not send speedy and large succours, they shall not only be incapable here of making a diversion in favour of the common cause, but likewise be unable to defend and secure themselves. I have so evidently set forth the cool temper of this council every post, that it would be superfluous to trouble their High Mightinesses any more about it. Wherefore I recommend myself to their favour, and leave it to their great prudence, their knowledge in matters of state, and exemplary zeal, to find out expedients proper for the good of the common cause, and the service of our country."

Count de Noyelles's Letter to M. Schonenberg.

"My Lord,

"The letter you did me the honour to write to me on the 29th March, came to my hands; and I have communicated to the king your thoughts in relation to what we may expect on the side of Portugal. You will be surprised with the bad news contained in the papers I do herewith send you.

"It's matter of amazement, to find people, without any reason or necessity, march four leagues to find out an enemy much stronger than themselves, very advantageously posted, and eager to engage; to alter the scheme that had been laid and approved of by the king, that the army should march into Arragon, where there are magazines already provided; where his majesty was to act in person; and where being joined with 2000 horse under the command of Count de les Poebla, and 3 Dutch battalions, they should have been at least equal to the enemy.

"But what will surprise you the more is, that from the [1] 25th of the last month, on which the battle of Almanza was fought, to this very day (May 6,) there has no account been transmitted to the king from the general, which makes me believe they do not know what turn to give it.

"In short, my lord, they have played the fool with themselves, and we suffer here for it.

"You may well imagine, how they have exposed the army and the king there; never did this prince shew more constancy than now, making a virtue of necessity; he has sent for a reinforcement of foot from Italy.

"The frontiers of Valencia and Arragon are in great danger; and if, with the remains of their army, they do not not defend the passage of the Ceucar, the first is lost, and the other kingdom is lost, and the other kingdom, wherein there is no tenable post, will be much exposed: We have not been wanting to make necessary remonstrances to them, the result of which we do not yet know.

[1] There is scarce such an instance of neglect to be met with in history; and it is the more so, because the distance between Almanza and Barcelona is not above 250 miles.—*Orig. Note.*

"It has been proposed to send the Dutch and Portuguese recruits, which were not in the battle, to Valencia and Tortosa.

"It is absolutely necessary, that a diversion should be made on the side of Portugal, by which means the enemy will be obliged to recall the troops which they drew from thence to this frontier.

"Finally, my lord, we will do what we can; though, after all, our best will be bad enough.

"I'll let you know the consequences of such extravagant management, and what reason my Lord Galway can give for such extraordinary conduct.

I am

Barcelona, May 6, 1707. C. DE NOYELLE."

In the year 1708, the Earl of Galway being recalled from Spain to his embassy in Portugal, did not go into the field on account of the ill state of his health: But next spring (1709) the confederate army under the Marquis de Fronteira's and his lordship's command, having taken the field about the end of April, came to an engagement with the forces under the Marquis de Bay on the 7th of May, where the latter, with 5000 horse, took three English regiments prisoners, with their commanding officers, five pieces of cannon, and great part of the army's baggage, after putting the Portuguese to flight, and making his lordship, and his secretary, Colonel Bladen, who both narrowly escaped, ride four leagues about, till at last they joined the runaway army near Elvas.

Upon this uninterrupted course of misfortunes, his vindicator says, his lordship desired to be recalled, and the queen having at last granted his request, and appointed the Earl of Portmore to succeed him in the command of the British forces in Portugal, my Lord Galway sailed for England, as soon as he heard his successor was ready to embark; and arriving in London, had the honour to kiss the queen's hand at St James's, and met with a very gracious reception.

Though that he has not had the same honour from the House of Peers, may be seen from their lordships' representation to her majesty, where, that his lordship is not faultless, appears in his being charged jointly with the Lord Tyrawley and General Stanhope, "for insisting in a conference held at Valencia some time in January, 1706-7, in the presence of the King of Spain, and her majesty's name being used in maintenance of their opinion for an offensive war, contrary to the King of Spain's opinion, and that of all the general officers, and publick ministers there (except the Marquis das Minas,) and the opinion of the Earl of Galway, Lord Tyrawley, and General Stanhope, being pursued in the operations of the following campaign, was the unhappy occasion of the battle of Alamanza, and one great cause of our misfortunes in Spain, and of the disappointments of the Duke of Savoy's expedition before Toulon, concerted with her majesty."

It is likewise represented by their lordships to her majesty, "That as the Earl of Galway has, in yielding the post of her majesty's troops to the Portuguese in Spain, acted contrary to the honour of the imperial crown of Great-Britain, so they find the Earl of Peterborough, during the time he had the honour of commanding the army in Spain, did perform many great and eminent services, and if the opinion he gave in the council of war at Valencia, had been followed, it might very probably have prevented the misfortunes that have since happened in Spain, &c.

Yet, though their lordships have not thought fit to give this noble person thanks or the same acknowledgements as they have done to the illustrious Earl of Peterborough; since a very abe pen has congratulated him upon his ill successes, after a very artful manner; and it is not in my power to present the reader with any thing in prose, like what has been said by the present lord keeper, in favour of his antagonist, I think it

not foreign to the purpose to conclude with the following most excellent poem, which will shew how ready I am to make use of any materials that are conducive to his lordship's praise, though I cannot allow them for his justification.

To the Lord Galway, occasioned by the unfortunate Battle of Almanza.

Repine not, sir, at fortune's partial laws,
Who often frowns upon the juster cause:
The laurel wreath, with like deserved renown,
May both the victor and the vanquish'd crown;
Nor mourn the swift vicissitudes of fate,
That name should teach you what attends the great.
Successful acts depend not on the will,
And virtue, though 'tis crost, is virtue still.
Think on Rome's eagles by Marcellus led,
Think on the Fabii and Emilius dead,
Who to their country sacrificing all,
Rose by defeat, and triumph'd in their fall.
Will not Great William's fame outlast the sun?
And has not Luxemburgh a battle won?
Churchill, 'tis own'd, ne'er yielded to a foe;
But Pompey was o'ercome, and Cæsar too.
Apply, great sir, these just examples home,
Britain can ne'er be more ingrate than Rome.
Fate's dark decrees did that black day ordain,
That wrong should triumph, and oppression reign;
Yet Galway long 'gainst numbers kept the field,
Numbers by Mars led on, by Jove upheld,
With fury so heroically great,
Repell'd the torrent and disputed fate,
So well the chief and soldier did maintain,
That victory was partial long in vain:
The gods suspected much their own decree,
And fate grew doubtful of her destiny.
Thy honest wounds will testify thy fame,
And show, though fortune waves, that thou'rt the same.
Wounds deck the hero with distinguish'd grace,
And write the best encomium in his face.
From those red monuments of fame we're taught,
To think of nothing but how Galway fought.
We view no more Almanza with regret,
But in his deeds our country's loss forget.
The painter's pencil may with artful care
Nicely describe the prelude of a war,
Or set the hero in a glorious light,
Eager of fame, and burning for the fight:
But who can tell the vigilance and pain
That fill'd thy breast, and work'd thy labouring brain;
Busy to act the general's better part,
And to supply the want of force with art?
What hand can paint those unexampled toils,
That mock'd the victor's arms, and shamed his spoils;

That could retrieve that gallant slaughter'd host,
Which British arms unaided had not lost?
Berwick could now more humble thoughts endure,
In victory itself but ill secure.
The warrior's wreath he dropp'd, and blush'd to own
The fruitless trophies he so late had won.
Is this the harvest which my laurels bear,
And do my boasted triumphs vanish here?
Are these the effects of slaughter'd foes? He said,
Thus Pyrrhus vanquished, and thus Pyrrhus fled.
What means this riddle in the conquering cause?
Or sure my fancy gives my judgment laws,
And never such a scene of triumph rose,
Or Hydras are renewed in British foes,
Or some nocturnal phantom France deceives,
And decks my brow with visionary wreaths.
Not so: Unerring Galway's prudent aim
Retards the progress of my growing fame,
He still determines all events in one,
To cross my measures, and advance his own;
And as to nutriment men poisons turn,
Makes ev'n malignant planets kindly burn.
Such praise I must (however so severe
The sound may prove in Royal Philip's ear)
On my great adversary's worth bestow,
And love the warrior, though I hate the foe.
He spoke, and did the adverse chief behold,
With valour cautious, and with caution bold
Busy his shatter'd legions to repair,
And give a different prospect to the war:
Industrious each commodious ground to gain,
And watchful to redeem Almanza's plain.
So when fierce Hannibal (his foes o'ercome)
Insulted Italy, and threaten'd Rome,
The wary Fabius, with delusive wiles,
And cunning feints, the conqueror beguiles;
Watchful and wise diverts impending fate,
And, by delaying well, preserves the state.
Homer, who best of poets understood
To temper heroes, or to form a God,
Makes bold rash heat to cooler conduct yield,
And Hotspur Mars to Pallas quits the field.

The Translation of several Letters to her Majesty from the King of Spain, the Junta of the Military army in Catalonia, and the City of Vich, in the said Province; together with an Extract of a Letter written to her Majesty by the Right Honourable the Earl of Peterborough, General and Commander in Chief of her Majesty's Land Forces there and joint Admiral of her Fleet. Published by Authority. 1705.

The documents published in this Tract fit it to be an appendix to the more general account of the Spanish campaigns which precedes it. Of the Earl of Peterborough's conduct in that country, Captain Carleton, who served under him, and has given in his Memoirs the best account of that remarkable war, speaks thus with natural and generous indignation.

"And yet, after all, was this noble general not only recalled, the command of the fleet taken from him, and that of the army given to my Lord Galway, without assignment of cause, but all manner of falsities were industriously spread abroad, not only to diminish, if they could, his reputation, but to bring him under accusations of a malevolent nature. I can hardly imagine it necessary here to take notice, that afterwards he disproved all those idle calumnies and ill invented rumours, or to mention what compliments he received, in the most solemn manner, from his country, upon a full examination and thorough canvassing of his actions in the House of Lords. But this is too notorious to be omitted, that all officers coming from Spain were purposely intercepted in their way to London, and craftily examined upon all the idle stories which had passed tending to lessen his character: And when any officers had asserted the falsity of those inventions (as they all did, except a military sweetner or two) and that there was no possibility of laying any thing amiss to the charge of that general, they were told, that they ought to be careful, however, not to speak advantageously of that lord's conduct, unless they were willing to fall martyrs in his cause;—a thing scarce to be credited in a popish country. But Scipio was accused——though (as my author finely observes) by wretches only known to posterity by that stupid accusation."—CARLETON's *Memoirs, page,* 201, 2.

Madam, my Sister,

I had not delayed to remind your majesty of my sincere respects, had I not waited for a good occasion of doing it, which I have now met with, in having the honour to let you know, that the town of Barcelona has surrendered to me by capitulation. I make no doubt but you will receive this great news with an entire satisfaction, as well because this happy success is but an effect of your ever-glorious arms, as by reason of those kind and tender sentiments of a parent with which you consider me, and all that may contribute to the advancement of my interest.

I must do this justice to all your officers and common soldiers, and in particular to my Lord Peterborough, that he has shewn throughout this expedition a constancy, valour, and conduct, worthy the choice which your majesty has made of him; and that he could not give me greater satisfaction than he has done, of the great zeal and application which he has equally shewn for my interest and service. I owe the same justice to your Brigadier-General Stanhope, upon account of his great zeal, attention, and most prudent conduct, of which he has given me proofs in all manner of occasions; as also to all your officers of the fleet, and principally to your worthy Admiral Shovel; assuring your majesty, that he has seconded me in this expedition with an inconceiv-

able readiness and application; and that no admiral can ever make me more content than he has done. During the siege of Barcelona, some of your majesty's ships, together with the troops of the country, have reduced the town of Tarragona, and the officers remained prisoners of war. Other troops of the country at the same time made themselves masters of the town of Girona by a stratagem. The tonw of Lerida has submitted to me, as has also the town of Tortosa on the river Ebro; so that all the places in Catalonia are taken except the town of Roses. Some places in Arragon, not far from Saragosso, have declared for me; and the castle of Denia in Valencia still holds out, and has repulsed the enemy. Four hundred of their horse have entered into my service; and a great number of their foot have deserted. This, madam, is the condition in which your arms, and the inclination of the people, have placed my affairs. I need not tell you what puts a stop to the course of these conquests; it is neither the season, nor the enemy, those are no obstacles to your troops, who desire nothing more than to be in action, under the conduct they now are. The taking of Barcelona with so small a number of troops is remarkable enough; but few examples will be found of what has happened in this siege. Seven or eight thousand men of your troops, and two thousand miquelets, have surrounded and invested a place which 30,000 French were not able to do.

After a march of thirteen hours, they climbed up rocks and precipices, to attack a fortification stronger than the town, of which the Earl of Peterborough sends you the plan; and two generals entered with the grenadiers on this attack with sword in hand, where the Prince of Hesse met with a glorious death, after so many noble actions; and I hope that his brother and his family will always have your majesty's protection. With eight hundred men they forced the covered way, and all the intrenchments and works one after another, to the last retreat, against five hundred men of the troops that guarded the place, besides the reinforcement they had received; and in three days after they were masters of the place. The town was attacked under the castle, and the cannon and artillery were again landed with inconceivable pains and labour. Two camps were maintained, and a communication preserved between them, though near three leagues distant from each other, against a garrison almost as numerous as our army, and who in horse were twice as strong as ourselves. The first camp was so well intrenched, that it was defended with two thousand men, besides the dragoons, while the attack was carried on with the rest; and as soon as a breach was made the disposition was formed for giving the assault with the whole army. These, madam, are circumstances that perhaps distinguished this action from any other.

There happened another accident which was never known before: The cruelties of the pretended viceroy, and the report that he intended to carry away several prisoners, contrary to the capitulation, had stirred up the burghers, and some of the country, to take arms: The garrison being employed in loading their baggage, in order to march out the next day, found themselves in a very great confusion, and all things tending to a slaughter, when your majesty's troops entered the town, with the Earl of Peterborough; and instead of busying themselves with plundering, as is usual in such occasions, they appeased the disorder, and saved the town, and even the lives of their enemies, with a discipline and generosity without example. Nothing remains, but that I return you my most respectful thanks for having sent me so great a fleet, and so good and valiant troops to assist me. After such happy beginnings, I thought it proper, according to the opinion of your generals and admirals, to maintain in person the conquests we have made, and to shew my subjects, who are so affectionate to my person, that I cannot abandon them. I receive so great an assistance from your majesty, and your generous nation, that I am overcome with your goodness; and in the greatest confusion, that I should be the occasion of so great an expence for the supporting of my interest. But, madam, I give up my own person, and my subjects in Catalonia, who expose their

lives and fortunes upon the assurances they have of your generous protection. Your majesty and your council know better than we what is necessary for our preservation. We shall wait for your majesty's succours, with an entire confidence in your goodness and wisdom. It may be seen what forces are necessary: It may also be seen how great a diversion we shall give to France: It cannot be doubted but they will make their utmost efforts against me as soon as possible; and I doubt not but the same efforts will be used by my allies to defend me. What can be said to you, madam? Your goodness gives you the inclination, and your power furnishes you with the means, to support those whom the tyranny of France would oppress. All I can suggest to your wisdom, and that of your allies, is, that the forces employed in this country will not remain useless to the publick good, but will be under an obligation and a necessity to act with the utmost vigour against the enemy. I am ever, with the most sincere affection, respect, and gratitude,

Madam, my sister,

From the camp at Senia, before Barcelona, Oct. 22, 1705.

Your most affectionate brother,
CHARLES.

A Letter to her Majesty from the Junta of the Military Army of Catalonia.

Sacred Royal Majesty,

The principality of Catalonia being free from the heavy yoke suffered by the violent oppression of France, and restored to the centre of its felicity under the easy and desired dominion of our adored monarch Charles the Third (whom God protect) whereunto your majesty has been pleased to contribute so powerfully by the forces of your crown, is indispensably obliged, prostrate at the royal feet of your majesty, to an eternal acknowledgment of so sovereign a favour, with repeated thanks to your majesty for the quality, number, and goodness of the troops, which have acted with singular regularity, punctual obedience, and inimitable valour; as also for the choice of the general, my Lord the Earl of Peterborough, who commands them, since there is none that can exceed him in valour, and few who can equal him in understanding the art of war. His discretion, affability, and gentleness, are the attractive loadstone of the hearts of the Catalonians, who love and value him as the instrument of their felicity, respect him for his person, and for his character of your majesty's general; and hope, from your majesty's goodness, and the generous strength of the English nation, a continuation, with the greatest efficacy, of effectual succours, for maintaining the principality under the gentle dominion of our king and lord, and for promoting the great work of restoring him to the throne of his ancestors.

Thus all our felicity, and the quiet of Europe, will be owing to the glorious conduct and sovereign direction of your majesty. God protect the sacred royal person of your majesty as we desire, and is necessary for us.

At your majesty's feet,

From the camp of Sarria, near Barcelona, October 23, 1705.

The Junta named by the King our Lord of the Military Army of Catalonia.

A Letter to her Majesty from the City of Vich.

Madam,

We should be wanting to the law of good vassals of our king and natural lord Don Carlos the Third (whom God protect) if we did not return your royal majesty the thanks due to you (as we do hereby give the same) for having favoured him in the conquest of this principality with the powerful fleet, governed by the most excellent the

Earl of Peterborough, general by sea and land; who, by his great zeal, direction, constancy, and valour, mastering all difficulties, and overcoming impossibilities, which presented themselves in the enterprise, has obtained a glorious triumph over the castle and fort of Montjutch, and over the city of Barcelona, and with it, over the rest of the principality: We do therefore repeat to your majesty our just acknowledgments, assuring your majesty, that as this good fortune fills us with joy and acclamations so it does however much afflict us, that the distance between your court and this city deprives us of the accomplishment of our desires, which is personally to throw ourselves at the royal feet of your majesty, as we do by this letter execute it with cordial affection, there being none so much concerned in this singular enterprise as the city and ourselves. May your majesty enjoy repeated congratulations, since it has been your arms that have placed our catholick monarch on the throne of this principality. And we hope, that in what he has further to do, for conquering the monarchy, your majesty's royal protection will not be wanting to him, whereon we rely for success. We beseech God to protect your majesty's person, as is necessary.

Madam,

Your royal majesty's,

Most obliged humble servants,

Vich, October 25, 1705. The Counsellors of the City of Vich.

Extract of the Earl of Peterborough's Letter to her Majesty, dated at Barcelona, October, 13, 1705.

The King of Spain has very obligingly eased me of the necessity of giving your majesty an account of particulars. Upon the whole, I believe your majesty's great goodness will make you graciously accept of my endeavours. I shall only say, madam, my thoughts and actions shall never have any other view but your majesty's glory, and the good of my country.

I would say more to your majesty of your officers and troops, of the great assistance of the English fleet, of the courage, chearfulness, and exact obedience of your soldiers, if I did not think their actions did sufficiently recommend them to your majesty's good opinion, and to the world: But I must not omit to let your majesty know how happy we have been in a perfect agreement with the officers of the States-General, of sea and land: Nothing has been desired from the Dutch admirals, or offered to the Dutch generals, which has not been complied with, even beyond what could be hoped or reasonably desired.

I do not solicit your majesty for the necessary supports of all kinds for this happy beginning; your majesty, your allies, and your parliament, can never abandon a king beginning his reign with an action of such resolution and courage; nor a whole province, and your own troops entirely depending upon your wisdom and goodness. We all rest assured of the care and protection of the best of princes; and have nothing to desire so earnestly of heaven, as the preservation of your sacred person, and the long continuance of a life of such consequence to the whole world.

An Account of the late Scotch Invasion, as it was opened by my Lord Haversham in the House of Lords, on Friday the 25th of February, 1708-9. *With some Observations that were made in the House of Commons; and true Copies of authentick Papers.*

In a Letter from a Gentleman in South-Britain to his Friend in North-Britain. 1709.

The succession of the house of Hanover was never in greater danger than upon the expedition of the Chevalier St George in 1707.

"Certain it is, the Pretender could not have chosen a more favourable opportunity for making a descent upon Scotland. The people in general were disaffected to the government on account of the Union; the regular troops under Leven did not exceed five-and-twenty hundred men, and even great part of these would in all probability have joined the invader: The castle of Edinburgh was destitute of ammunition, and would in all appearance have surrendered at the first summons; in which case the Jacobites must gave been masters of the equivalent money lodged in that fortress; a good number of Dutch ships loaded with cannon, small arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money, had been driven on shore in the shire of Angus, where they would have been seized by the friends of the Pretender, had the French troops been landed; and all the adherents of that house were ready to appear in arms."—SMOLLETT's *England, vol. II. p.* 136, 7.

Under these circumstances the French squadron commanded by the Compte de Fourbin sailed from Dunkirk, having on board the Chevalier de St George, and a body of land-forces under the command of Monsieur de Guci, afterwards Marischal de Matignon. Sir George Byng immediately sailed in pursuit of him with a superior English fleet. In the meanwhile measures were taken to strengthen the government forces in Scotland.

"Several regiments of foot, with some squadrons of cavalry, began their march for Scotland: The Earl of Leven, the commander-in-chief of the forces in that country, and governor of the castle of Edinburgh, hastened thither to put that fortress in a posture of defence, and to make the proper dispositions to oppose the Pretender at his landing. But the vigilance of Sir George Byng rendered all these precautions unnecessary. He sailed directly to the frith of Edinburgh, where he arrived almost as soon as the enemy, who immediately took the advantage of a land-breeze, and bore away with all the sail they could carry. The English admiral gave chace, and the Salisbury, one of their ships, was boarded and taken. At night Monsieur de Fourbin altered his course, so that the next day they were out of reach of the English squadron. The Pretender desired they would proceed to the northward, and land him at Inverness, and Fourbin seemed willing to gratify his request; But the wind changing, and blowing in their teeth with great violence, he represented the danger of attempting to prosecute the voyage; and with the consent of the Chevalier de St George and his general, returned to Dunkirk after having been tossed about a whole month in very tempestuous weather."—*Ibid. vol. II. p.* 135, 6.

ISAIAH, chap. xix. verse 13. "The Princes of Zoan are become fools, the Princes of Noph are deceived; they have also reduced Egypt, even they that were the stay of the tribes thereof."

I WAS not, sir, till now, able to give you the account you desired, whether the intended invasion would have any further notice taken of it than what I sent you an account of, with the address of the House of Lords, for the papers to be laid before them; but can now tell you, with good assurance, that one of the chief reasons why those lords who first moved that matter, let it sleep so long, was out of the just apprehension they had, that should they awaken that enquiry sooner, it might prove a disturbance to the necessary preparations of the next campaign, by hindering subscriptions,

or weakening the credit of the bank: And 'twas for this reason, as I have been told, that the lord who opened this matter, would not take notice of a very remarkable particular, which he had good vouchers in his hand to prove; but, to let the world see though those lords had been so long silent, they had not forgot that matter, they took the first opportunity that offered, after the subscriptions were finished, and the bank books made up, to put the House in mind of it, and, if possible, to get this invasion looked into. They thought themselves obliged to do so, in duty to her majesty, that she might see in how much greater danger she then was, than they had reason to believe she thought herself, and in duty to the nation too, that the publick might be convinced how little care the ministry took of them in such a dangerous conjuncture of affairs; and, lastly, in justice to themselves, to demonstrate it beyond exception, that they were not only willing, but desirous too, to have this matter searched to the bottom, and those concerned in it have the just reward of their crimes; and accordingly my Lord Haversham did again put the House in mind of what seemed to have been so long forgot, and spoke, as I am told, to this effect:

"My Lords,

"The temper of this House, with relation to your enquiry into the late intended invasion, since your address to her majesty to have the papers laid before you, and since they have been upon your table, is so very visible, I need not take notice of it, but ought rather to ask forgiveness for myself that I should dare so much as to mention that matter once more to your lordships; nor should I do it, were it not from an absolute necessity and justice which I think is due to myself and those lords who did me the honour to second the motion I made, for addressing her majesty for those papers; for to me it seems too much like fear or guilt, to sit down tamely under a reflection a man has in his power to wipe off, and there are some which we perhaps may hereafter be reproached with; one is, that these lords, who made you this motion, never so much as looked into the papers they called for, or have thought on, or mentioned that matter since; perhaps they will say too, that they never intended it should come to any thing, that it was only a cover to hide some design they had under it; nay, I do not know but they may go so far as to say, that under hand they were trying how an act of grace would relish: Should such a thing be offered, I know myself so innocent, as, in our present circumstances, I should not give my consent to it; for I shall always think, that when horses are skittish, vicious, and headstrong, let who so will be upon their backs, it is fit they never should be without a good strong curb in their mouths: And as to these papers, my lords, I have looked into them, and those who have done so, cannot, in my opinion, but think of them; but that your lordships may not have my word only for this, I will, with your lordships' leave, take notice of some particulars that are in them; and that you may be certain of the truth of what I observe, I beg your clerk may read for vouchers the papers themselves, as they shall be called for.

It will not, I presume, be denied me, that upon the 23d of February, Mr Boyle received certain intelligence, that the intended armament at Dunkirk was designed for Scotland; there had been several advices before of great preparations making, and by great quantity of fire-arms it was judged to be for some land design. The States were apprehensive, and acquainted her majesty by their minister with it; and Scotland had been in several intelligences named, but I do not find there was a certain account till that of the 23d of February to Mr Boyle.

The queen, in her letter of the 25th of February to the council of Scotland, thinks it necessary to acquaint them with it, and that she does expect they should do their utmost for the protection of her subjects and preservation of the publick peace; that no-

thing on her part should be wanting; that she has given orders that some of her troops in Flanders should be ready to embark, in case the embarkation at Dunkirk should go on; and that her troops in England and Ireland are so disposed as to give what assistance may be necessary; and, in the mean time, authorises and impowers them, the privy-council, to give such orders as were proper, to put her forces, forts, and garrisons there, in the best order.

This then being allowed, the first question is, what number of forces, effective regular troops I mean, were in Scotland at this time, that is, the 26d or 25th of February, 1708? I can't but observe to your lordships, that there has been a great deal of care taken to conceal this from us, although this very account was particularly asked for by your address; yet in all that great bundle there is not one paper from whence we can learn the number: I was therefore forced to get the best light and intelligence I could elsewhere, and have very good authority for what I am going to say, and do affirm to your lordships, that the regular forces in Scotland, upon the 25th of February, 1708, were not above 1500 men. If I am mistaken, I hope some lord here will set me right; and take upon him to say what the real number was at that time.

And since there was but 1500 men, it is certain that was not a number or strength that could be thought by any man sufficient to secure and protect the kingdom against the invasion that threatened it; and the ferment that was then in the nation was such, that I do not find they durst so much as trust their militia with their own defence. We are therefore, in the next place, to consider what additional strength or augmentation these handful of men had, or what assistance, either from the forces from Ostend, or those from Ireland, or English troops from hence.

As to augmentations or additions, I find there was little or nothing done as to that part; the parliament indeed had, on the 20th of December, 1707, raised the establishment of the forces in Scotland from 2834 to 5932; but it appears by a letter from the Earl of Leven to the Farl of Marr, of the 7th of March, that little notice had as yet been taken of what the parliament had done; for in that letter to the Earl of Marr, he entreats him again to mind the establishment, and let him know if he shall give encouragement to any who should be willing to take arms to join them; and says further, he hopes at least, that so much of the levy-money as is due since the 24th of December will be given now; for that would buy some horses, and levy some men: So that by this letter it appears there was no money given to levy men, or increase the forces in Scotland, though there was 3600 men wanting at that time, and had been so ever since the parliament had voted the establishment in December, and though our danger at that time from the want of them was so very great and evident, which seems very astonishing. Nor does it appear that any directions, or money for this or any other service, till the invasion was over, was ordered here till the 12th of March; and then indeed on the 13th the Earl of Marr writes from hence to the Farl of Leven, that my lord treasurer had ordered the people of the customs and excise to answer the Earl of Leven with money for provisions and other necessary charges; and further says, that my Lord Marlborough told him that very morning, which was the 13th, that the Scotch establishment would be ended that day; he knows not how they have made it, or if they have altered any thing that we had concerted with St Johns, or if any thing be omitted; but he hoped they have not.

'Tis very true, her majesty, in her second letter of the 8th of March to the council of Scotland, recommends to them to give present directions to put her forts, garrisons, and magazines there in a good posture of defence, and says, that what shall be expended towards these ends by their warrants shall be repaid, for which she has already given orders: What those orders were, or to whom given, are not to be found among the papers; but it is very evident, that there was no order for one farthing of money, to answer either the orders of the council, or the Earl of Leven's necessary charges, out

of any branch of the revenue, or otherwise; for in a letter of the Earl of Leven to the Earl of Marr, of the 13th of March, he has these words, which will likewise shew the condition of the nation at that time: "My lord," says he, "I leave it to your lordship to consider my circumstances; here I am, not one farthing of money to provide provision, or for contingencies, or intelligence, none of the commissions yet sent down, few troops, and those almost naked; it vexes me sadly to think I must retire towards Berwick, if the French land on this side the firth; and, that you may not have his lordship's single word for it, the lord advocate confirms very much the truth of this, in his letter of the 11th of March to the Earl of Marr; for after he had said, that he was ordered to lay before her majesty the inclosed information for the castle of Edinburgh, and a particular account of what it wants to put it in a case of defence; and also the castles of Stirling, Dumbarton, and Blackness, to shew their present condition, and what great disorder and want they are in, and that he had formerly sent a memorial of Mr Slezer's for a train of artillery; all which he hopes will be considered, he adds: "I believe," says he, "there was never a country more destitute and defenceless than we are, nor have so much as a treasury, or any money for incident charges; so that I must again, by the council's order, lay these things before your lordship, and that at least some order may be given whereby necessary expences may be defrayed;" and the Earl of Marr's letter of the 13th from hence is the first account we have of any money that was ordered for Scotland: By all which it plainly appears, that, notwithstanding the orders the queen mentions in her letter of the 8th of March, the council had not a shilling for necessary expences on the 11th, nay not so much as one penny ordered till the 13th; and as to the establishment, notwithstanding all the pressing instances, that was not settled till after the invasion, as appears by the Earl of Marr's letters of the 12th and 13th of March.

This, my lord, is the true state, as appears from the papers themselves given in relating to the force of that I had almost said deserted, but I may say defenceless nation; few men, and those almost naked, 3600 men wanting of the establishment voted by parliament for the year 1707-8, near three months before; no levy-money, no establishment settled, no commissions sent down, not a shilling ordered by the ministry out of any branch of the revenue, or otherwise, to the privy council or Earl of Leven for necessary expences, or to buy provision, or for contingencies, or intelligence, and all this in a time of the utmost danger.

In the next place I shall shew your lordships when Scotland was in this defenceless condition, what assistance they had from Ostend, England, and Ireland. As to the transports that were to come from Ostend, though all the dispatch was made that could be made, they did not arrive at Tinmouth bar till ten days after the enemy were seen upon the Scotch coast, so that the dispute, if there had been any, would have been over, and the enemy, in all human probability, would have been masters both of Edinburgh, the castle, and all that was in it, before they could come up to their assistance. And the very order to Baker is so extraordinary, a man cannot but take notice of it, for after that he is required and directed to make the best of his way to Tinmouth bar with her majesty's ships under his command; and the transport ships with troops which he brought with him from Ostend, &c. there is a further order in these words: "But in regard there are several dismounted troopers on board the transports, you are to send a vessel with them to Harwich, if you can conveniently," their horses being now in Essex, so that instead of taking the horses to Tinmouth, the dismounted troopers are first to be sent to Harwich to their horses, and from thence to proceed to Scotland, which, one would think, were a very roundabout way.

And as to our troops from hence which were to assist them, the several regiments of horse dragoons and foot, had not their orders to hold themselves in readiness to march till the 11th of March. The next day orders were given for them to augment, and on

the 14th they were ordered to march northward, which was certainly too long a delay, considering what a march it is from hence to Edinburgh; yet this was all the readiness they were in to assist them.

But there is one thing which is most amazing, and I must again desire, if I am wrong in fact, that some lord here, who I am sure can, will set me right.

The queen, as I shewed to your lordships in her letter of the 8th of March, which your clerk just now read, told the council of Scotland, our troops from Ireland, which we mentioned in our last, are ready to embark in transport ships, provided in those places with all necessaries for that service; and yet it does appear plainly that there was no transports provided at that time here; nor was any transport ships ordered in Ireland; nay the very orders to provide transports were not given by my Lord Sunderland till the 12th of March here; nor by the lord lieutenant for Ireland, for the troops to be in a readiness to be transported till the 13th, and then my Lord Sunderland sends an order to the commissioners of transports, telling them, that it is her majesty's pleasure that they forthwith take up shipping, for the transportation of 600 horse, that are to embark at the White-House between Carrickfergus and Belfast, and 'tis left, says he, to your discretion to hire these ships either at Whitehaven, Liverpool, or Chester, as you can do it, with most expedition and conveniency; and upon the 13th his lordship sends another letter, acquainting them, that they are to provide aboard those ships, hay and oats sufficient to serve six hundred horse for a fortnight, and as many water casks as may be necessary to carry water; particulars that were, it seems, forgot in the first orders; and in an extract of the Earl of Pembroke's letter to the lords justices of Ireland of the 13th, he tells them, "I did not in the least doubt but that your lordships will issue proper orders for one regiment of horse, and two of dragoons, to be provided with necessaries ready to embark whenever there shall be occasion for them; and it is her majesty's opinion, that the regiments under the command of Lieutenant General Langston, Major-General Ecelyn, and Lord Tunbridge, should be on this service; and I am of opinion that it will be for the service of the queen to have these three regiments move with all convenient speed, and take their quarters in and about Belfast and Carrickfergus, that they may be in a readiness to embark; I desire your lordships to give directions to the proper officers to provide and get ready, hay, oats, and water, for at least a fortnight."

And here, if we consider that these letters were dated the 12th and 13th of March from hence, that they were to go to the commissioners of transports here, and to the lords justices in Ireland, that after these transports were to be agreed for, and hay, oats, and water to be provided, and the three regiments to be ordered to march, what time all this would take up, it seems very evident, that her majesty was not truly acquainted of the danger she was in, that she thought these things were in a readiness that were not, that the orders she had given had not been observed, as she concluded they were; and in the last place, that these three regiments must arrive in Scotland very late.

But there's one thing more so very new, and without precedent, that it cannot but be very astonishing, which is, that in the Earl of Leven's instructions of the 4th of March, in that part where he is ordered to Ireland for assistance, there is a blank left as to the person to whom he is to write; the words are these, "You are, upon the first appearance of any squadron of French ships upon the coast to send to Ireland to to advise him thereof, who has orders to send troops to your assistance;" and yet, as was just now proved both from Lord Sunderland's letter to the commissioners of transports, and from my lord lieutenants to the lords justices, there was not so much as orders given for any transports here till the 12th, nor any ever in Ireland, nor were the three regiments directed to move, in order to embarking, till the 13th.

I confess when I read this, I thought it was a mistake of the transcriber, till I saw these words in the Earl of Leven's own letter of the 7th of March to the Earl of Marr,

"I desire you," says the Earl of Leven, "to send down the name of the person I am to write to in Ireland, if there be occasion; and must still entreat your lordship that orders be sent for some horse and dragoons to embark." And again, in his letter of the 13th, where he has these words to the Earl of Marr, he repeats the same thing: "Pray endeavour to get orders sent straight to Ireland for the officers there to embark, for you know I have no person's name to whom I should write." This convinces me beyond what any man can say that his lordship did not know to whom to write, for sure his lordship would not repeatedly affirm what was not fact, and whoever considers that there were no orders lodged any where or any person from Ireland, upon advice from the Earl of Leven, of the appearance of the enemy to follow his direction, and hasten to his assistance; nor any orders at all for transports there; nor any direction here for transports till the 12th, must, I think, be convinced that this blank in the instructions did not happen by chance, but was a premeditated and designed omission.

I would not forget any care that was taken, and therefore must take notice, that on the 27th of February there were a hundred barrels of powder ordered to be sent from Berwick to Edinburgh; but the Earl of Leven was not writ to about it till the 2d of March, which was four days delay; and the order itself was so very perposterous, I had almost said ridiculous (much like that of Baker's) that it had full as well been omitted; for instead of ordering the store-keeper of Berwick immediately to carry a hundred barrels of powder to Edinburgh, they send an order to one Mr James Robb, deputy store-keeper of Edinburgh, to get carts and go with them to Berwick, and take three hundred barrels of powder and bring it to Edinburgh; and Mr Grieve, store-keeper of Berwick to the board of ordnance, writes a letter, dated March 10, 1707-8, hither, that Robb was come to Berwick, and the carts would be there that night. And I appeal to a lord who cannot but know whether the powder came to Edinburgh before the danger was past, and the French off our coast. And whoever will reflect, that the Earl of Leven's letter, dated here the 2d of March, was to go to Edinburgh; that then at Edinburgh carriages are to be taken up for the powder, then they are to go to Berwick, and from Berwick they are to return again to Edinburgh, will find it could hardly be there sooner.

The next thing I shall take notice of to your lordships, is the state of the garrisons. The parliament had given the 20th of December the sum of 13,098l. 17s. 2d. for the garrisons of North Britain for the year 1708. But I cannot but think your lordships will be greatly surprised when you find in what a wretched condition they were. I'll give your lordships but an instance or two, the rest are much in the same state.

Stirling Castle.

This is a very considerable post, a place of great importance; and yet what an account is there of the arms and ammunition in that place?

One Barrel of powder.

550 Firelocks, of which about a hundred for service, and some of that hundred want ram-rods, and some nails, all the rest unserviceable.

780 Muskets, which may be for service when furnished with ram-rods; some nails, and some shattered in the stocks.

380 Muskets, with broken stocks and locks, and many wanting locks, and all unserviceable.

150 Bundles of match, all damnified with lying in rain.

300 Bayonets, most of them broken and spoiled, altogether unserviceable.

300 Cartridge-boxes, all broken and unserviceable.

200 Pikes, damnified by long lying.
40 Cannon ball, eighteen-pounders.
70 Cannon ball, twelve- o unders
1200 Balls, nine-pounders.
3400 Four-pounders.
20 Small bomb-shells without mortars.
1200 Hand grenado-shells.
50 Stands, back and breast.

Ordnance Stores in Blackness Castle.

Two barrels of corn powder, one hundred each.
A hunderd yards of match.
Four hand spikes.
59 Musket barrels repairable.
7 Scymitar blades useless.
100 Pound musket bullets.
3 Ladles, one serviceable, the other useless.
2 Cannon, three-pounders.
1 Train carriage unserviceable.
2 Minions.
3 Falcons on ship carriages, unserviceable.
7 Balls for minion.
25 Balls for three-pounders.
149 Hand grenado shells.

Dumbarton Castle, as per Memorial.

There is several breaches in the wall; there is 12 brass guns, none of them mounted, all of them want carriages; there is no powder in the garrison and few flints, all the lodgings in a ruinous condition; no coals in the garrison, nor any other provision; The fire-locks being long since they were gotten, are very ill fixed.

Edinburgh, March 9, 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

The above-mentioned is the true condition of the castle of Dumbarton at present.

I need not, my lords, I think, make any observations upon the castles, after your lordships have seen the wretched state of them; and therefore, in the last place, shall only take notice to your lordships, that after the invasion was over, there were estimates made what it would cost to put the fortifications of Scotland in good repair. The total, as appears by your schedule, amounts to 23,156l. of which there could be but 3000l. laid out this year; and yet there has been but poor 1500l. expended upon that service this year, as appears by your paper.

I will not trouble you further; I think this matter is now very plain before your lordships; I could wish I had not said one word of truth in what I have said to you; but the vouchers shew it to be so; and if all this be true, 'tis a very strange, a very surprising, and a very astonishing truth.

I shall not move any thing to your lordships further in this matter; I believe there has been enough now said, to justify those lords for moving this enquiry, and shall add but this word, that if there be no greater care taken for the future, than there was at this time of such imminent danger, it will be the greatest miracle in the world, if, without a miracle, the Pretender be not placed upon that throne.

This is the substance of what was observed by that noble lord, as exactly as I can

get it put into a thread, though there happened some interlocutories between him and another lord, and the observations were made upon the papers as they were read."

I cannot say, as you do in your letter, that the ministry (if you are not very ill informed) have altered some of the papers and letters laid before the parliament, lest their negligence or somewhat that is worse, should appear; but I have it immediately from those who have very exactly looked over the papers laid before the House of Lords, that though there are a great many more in that mighty heap which was laid on the table, than ever were asked for by the address, perhaps to discourage the looking into them, yet several material papers that were desired have carefully been left out, and several that are in that bundle are very imperfect; being such extracts as they thought fit to give; and in some, where it was material to know the point of time, the dates are omitted; but as imperfect as they are, and notwithstanding the want of many which should have been there, you will find enough to convince you whether the observations out of them were well grounded, and whether the conduct of our ministry in such a critical juncture of affairs is to be paralleled; that you yourself may the better judge of the whole, I send you the true copies of so many authentick papers

To this account of what passed in the House of Lords, relating to the invasion, I shall only add, that the I hear the same papers being laid before the House of Commons, pursuant to their address, produced the like observations there, and that the Scotch gentlemen concurred with the English, in blaming the conduct of the ministry; affirming it was such as gave great encouragement to the enemies of the government: *While its* friends look on their country to be perfectly given up. This, they said, was their general sense. In the House of Commons some observations were also made upon the imprisoning many persons in Scotland at that time; several lords and gentlemen of the best quality and estates, were apprehended and seized, by virtue of warrants sent from hence for suspicion of treason and treasonable practices, though it does not appear from the papers there was any cause to suspect them, nor that any of their countrymen (who were the properest persons to be advised with on this occasion) were consulted in it. For the Earl of Marr, in his letter to the Earl of Leven, March 9, writes, that he, with the Dukes of Queensberry and Montrose, the Earls of Loudoun and Seafield, were summoned to the cabinet, and were told there, that since both Houses had, for securing suspected persons, suspended the Habeas Corpus act, it was fit persons in Scotland should be apprehended; and a list was read to them, which they took down in writing, and warrants were ready drawn. This was certainly a very extraordinary way of proceeding, and the more extraordinary, because the greatest part of the lords and gentlemen taken up by these warrants, had given undoubted testimonies ever since the Revolution, (in which some of them had been very active and instrumental) of their fidelity and good affection to the government: They had taken all oaths that have been enjoined for its security, they had sat in parliament, and some of them had been in offices and employments of great trust, in the reign of King William and of her majesty. Others, under the like circumstances, were taken up by warrants, bearing date the 29th of March, when the danger was over, which made the Scotch gentlemen very free in declaring, that the taking them up could be for no other reason than to influence the approaching elections to parliament; and for their disaffection to the interests some courtiers then promoted, rather than for their disaffection to her majesty's person and government; in which they were the more confirmed, because they saw there was no evidence in the papers against any of them. There was indeed some evidence of high-treason pretended against five gentlemen, taken up by warrants from the privy council of Scotland; but that was such as the lord advocate writes, neither he nor the other advocates employed for her majesty did think would convict them, and therefore he humbly offered it as their opinion, that it would be more for the honour and service of hr majesty and of her government that they should not be prosecuted. The Earl of

Sunderland in his answer acquainted him, he had laid his memorial before her majesty, who was well satisfied with what he had done, in procuring evidence against the prisoners, and though possibly upon their trial the evidence might not be sufficient to convict them by the law of Scotland, yet, considering all the circumstances of that affair, and the noise it has made in the world, her majesty thought it absolutely necessary for her service, that it be carried as far as 'twill bear, accordingly they were brought upon their trials, and acquitted.

After all the observations made upon the papers, the considerations of them ended in the House of Commons, in the resolution which you have seen in their votes, viz.

"That it appears to this House, that timely and effectual care was taken by those employed under her majesty, at the time of the intended invasion of Scotland, to disappoint the designs of her majesty's enemies both at home and abroad, by fitting out a sufficient number of men of war, ordering a competent number of troops from Flanders, giving directions for the forces in Ireland to be ready for the assistance of the nation, and by making the necessary and proper dispositions of the forces in England."

The gentlemen that were against this resolution, desired that all the papers laid before the House, relating to the intended invasion of Scotland, might be printed, that the world might see and judge how well grounded it was: But those who had justified the ministry in their debates, and voted for the resolution, would not suffer the papers to be printed: So tha the question was carried in the negative.

The true Account of the Castle of Dumbarton.

Imprimis, There is several breaches in the wall.
There is 12 brass guns,
There is none of the guns mounted; all of them want carriages.
There is no powder in the garrison, and few flints.
All the lodgings in a ruinous condition.
There is no coals in the garrison; nor any other provisions.
The firelocks, being long since they were gotten, are very ill fixed.

Edinburgh, March 9, 1707-8. The above is the true condition of the castle of Dumbarton at present.

An Account of Remains of Ordnance Stores, in her Majesty's Castle of Blackness, in the North of Britain.

Brass Guns.

Two cannon, 3-pounders, on train carriages, unserviceable.

Iron Guns.

1 Minion long, 5 foot 2¼ inches.
1 Minion —— 3 —— 9¼ ——
3 Falcons —— 4 —— 2⅜ ——
1 Ditto —— 3 —— 8¼ ——
} On ship carriages, unerviceable

Round Shot.

77 Balls for minion.
25 Balls for 3-pounders.
2 Barrels of corn-powder, 100 lb. weight each
149 Hand grenado shells.

100 Yards of match.
4 Hand-spikes.
100 lb. of musket bullets,
59 Musket barrels, repairable.
3 Ladles, one serviceable. and the other 2 useless.
7 Scymitar blades, useless.

The contents above is the present state of the stores of ordnance in her majesty's castle of Blackness, the 16th of November, 1708.

T. Drury.

An Account of Arms and Ammunition, in the Castle of Sterling, Marh 6, 170⅞.

One barrel of powder.
550 Firelocks, of which about 100 for service, and some of that 100 do want ram-rods, and some nails; all the rest are unserviceable.
70 Chests of musket balls.
780 Muskets, which may be for service when furnished with ram-rods; some nails, and some shattered in the stocks.
380 Muskets, with broken stocks and locks, many wanting locks, all unserviceable.
150 Bundles of match, all damnified with long lying and rain.
200 Pikes, dozened by long lying.
40 Cannon-ball, 18-pounders.
70 Cannon-ball, 12-pounders.
1200 Ball, 9-pounders.
3400 Four-pounders.
20 Small bomb shells, without mortar.
1200 Hand grenado shells.
50 Stands, back and breast.
300 Bayonets, most of them broken and spoiled, all wanting scabbards, altogether nuserviceable.
300 Cartridge-boxes, all broken and unserviceable.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Sunderland to the Commissioners for Transports, March 13, 170⅞.

I have lately writ to you, to take up shipping, for 600 horse, to be brought over from Ireland. I am now to acquaint you, that you are to provide and put on board the ships employed in that service, hay and oats sufficient to serve them a fortnight, and as many water casks as may be necessary to carry water for them for that time.

Mr Burchett.

Sir, *Whitehall, March* 13, 170⅞.

I return you, by the Earl of Sunderland's command, the draught of instructions for Rear-Admiral Baker, or the commander in chief of her majesy's ships, coming from Ostend with the transports, with some alterations, as you will find in the inclosed.

I am, &c.

Thos. Hopkins.

His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, &c. Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. and of all her Majesty's Plantations, &c. and Generalissimo of all her Majesty's Forces, &c.

Instructions for Rear-Admiral Baker.

You are hereby required and directed forthwith, upon your receipt hereof, to make the best of your way to Tinmouth bar, with her majesty's ships under your command, and the transport ships with troops, which you brought with you from Ostend, and when you come off the said bar, you are (if you do not find orders there) to continue there, with the aforesaid transport ships, till further orders. But if you should be there credibly informed, that the French have landed their forces in the north of Scotland, you are then to make the best of your way to the frith, in order to land the forces at Leith, or as near Edinburgh as may be. But in regard there are several dismounted troopers on board the transports, you are to send a vessel with them to Harwich, if you can conveniently, their horses being now in Essex. And in case Rear-Admiral Baker shall himself proceed with the transport ships, and that the enemy's ships, said to be in Flemish Road, were there when he sailed from Ostend, he is forthwith to return with her majesty's ships off Dunkirk; but if the enemy's ships shall be gone from Dunkirk when he sails from Ostend, he is then to make the best of his way to the Downs.

But if he has detached any of her majesty's ships to be convoy to the transports, and continues himself off Dunkirk, then the commander-in-chief of the said ships is hereby required (after having landed the troops) to make the best of his way to a proper station off Dunkirk, and join the said Rear-Admiral Baker; and in case the Lenox, Ipswich, and Nottingham, shall be in your company, you are to bring them back with you.

Given under my hand the 13th of March, 170⅞.

To John Baker, Esq. Rear-Admiral of the White, or the Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's Ships coming from Ostend with the Transports.

By command of his royal highness.

J. Burchett.

Extract of the Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland's Letter of the 13th of March, 1707, to the Lords Justices of that Kingdom, concerning some Horse and Dragoons designed to be transported from thence to Scotland.

My Lords,

I herewith transmit your lordships her majesty's letter of the 11th instant, and must desire your lordships to direct an account of the horse and dragoons to be sent over, in order to my laying the same before her majesty.

I shall now acquaint your lordships, That the officers are all under orders, and moving to their posts in Ireland, pursuant to her majesty's commands; and do not in the

least doubt, but your lordships will issue proper orders for one regiment of horse, and two of dragoons, to be provided with necessaries ready to embark, whenever there shall be occasion for them: And it is her majesty's opinion, the regiments under the commands of Lieutenant-General Langstone, Major General Echlin, and the Lord Tunbridge, should be sent on this service: And since they are to go as they now stand on the Irish establishment, I hope care will be taken that they be complete.

And her majesty having ordered the commissioners of transports to take up at Chester, Liverpool, and Whitehaven, tonnage for 600 horse, I am of opinion it will be for the service, to have those three regiments move with all convenient speed, and take quarters in and about Belfast and Carrickfergus, that they may be in a readiness to embark at the White House, (which lies between those two places) as soon as the transport ships shall arrive.

And though the passage from the White House to the place to which they may be ordered, may not be above twelve hours, yet I desire your lordships to give directions to the proper officers, to provide and get ready hay, oats, and water, for at least a fortnight, &c.

PEMBROKE.

A true Extract, per
GEO. DODINGTON.

The Earl of Marr's Letter to the Lord Leven.

MY LORD, *Whitehall, March* 13, 170$\frac{5}{6}$.

I writ to your lordship two letters yesterday by a flying packet, which I hope you'll get safe: In one of them I told you, that if Major General Cadogan got intelligence that the French landed at Aberdeen, it was probable he would land his troops at Leith; since that time, the queen thinks it so reasonable that he should do so, that I believe there were orders dispatched to him last night to that purpose; and her majesty thought it worth while to give you notice of it by this flying packet, that, in the mean time, you may be looking for provisions and forage about Edinburgh for these forces, against they arrive, which will surely be ere long: They are about 7000; so that your lordship will know what to be providing for them. If the French, either by design, or be obliged by this wind, to put into the frith, and land near Edinburgh, then Major-General Cadogan will land his forces at Tinmouth, and there will be no occasion for your providing these provisions. My lord treasurer has ordered the people of the customs and excise to answer your lordship with money for provisions and other necessary charges.

I am glad the presbyterian ministers have shewn themselves so hearty for the queen on this occasion, and so zealous against the invasion; every body is pleased with their declaring themselves as they have done for the queen, and againstthe invasion; and I hope they will continue themselves more and more so.

My Lord Marlborough told me this morning, "That the Scots establishment would be ended to day." I asked to meet with Mr Walpole about it, but his grace desired me to tell his grace of any thing I had to say about it. Now this I can hardly do, until I see the establishment; for I know not how they have made it, or if they have altered any thing that we had concerted with St Johns; or if any thing be omitted, I hope they have not, but I shall see it soon, and then I shall lose no time to represent any thing in it, which chances not to be as your lordship expects; though I hope there will be no occasion for this. There is no intelligence to day either of the fleet or otherways, but we expect it every minute.

I am, &c.

The Duke of Marlborough desired me to write to your lordship, to send him an exact and particular account of your train of artillery.

The Earl of Leven's Letter to the Earl of Marr, shewing the sad Circumstances he is in, and desiring to know to whom he must write to in Ireland.

My Lord, *Edinburgh, March,* 13, 170⅞.

You have here a copy of letters I received this morning, which I thought of so great importance as to acquaint your lordship and his Grace the Duke of Marlborough of 'em by a flying packet: I think the fleets mentioned in these letters are two different ones; the wind is south-west, so it is not possible for them to enter the Firth: Some five or six ships were seen this morning near the May from the castle, but it has been foggy ever since, so we can have no further account of them; I believe it is the Dunkirk squadron, and therefore am still expecting some good news of our fleets appearing. My lord, I leave it to your lordship to consider my circumstances; here I am, not one farthing of money to provide provisions, or for contingencies, or intelligence, none of the commissions yet sent down, few troops, and those almost naked. I beg to hear from you very frequently, and allow me to write freely: I hope you will only read such parts of them to others as you judge proper: Pray cause always to advertise my son when any flying packet is sent to me, and let Weems know too. It vexes me sadly to think I must retire towards Berwick, if the French land on this side the Firth. Adieu, my lord.

Pray endeavour to get orders sent strait to Ireland, to the forces there to embark, for you know I have no person's name to whom I should write.

A Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Sunderland to the Commissioners for Transports, March the 12th, 170⅞.

It is her majesty's pleasure, that you forthwith take up shipping sufficient for the transportation of six hundred horse, that are to embark at the White-House between Carrickfergus and Belfast in Ireland, but it being not yet determined where they are to land, you are to make your contract by the week or such other time as you shall think proper. It is also left to your discretion to hire the ships for this service either at Whitehaven, Liverpool, or Chester, as you shall find you can do it with most expedition and conveniency.

The queen's letter of March the 8th, to the council of Scotland, takes notice that she had sent one of the 25th of February before, and adds, "We do again recommend to you to get intelligence, &c.; and to give present directions for putting our forts, garrisons, and magazines in a good posture of defence, and what shall be expended herein by your warrants shall be repaid, for which we have already given orders. Our troops from Ireland and Flanders, which were mentioned in our last, are ready to embark in transport ships, provided in those places with all necessaries for that service." So that the orders of the Lord Sunderland were not given till four or five days after, and the lord lieutenant's letter to Ireland was dated five days after.

Which shews to me evidently either that the queen was not rightly informed of facts, or, let her majesty say what she will, the ministry will do what they please.

The Earl of Marr's Letter to the Earl of Leven, March the 12th, 170⅞.

My Lord,

I writ to your lordship yesterday morning by a messenger, and sent you the copy of General Cadogan's letters, giving an account of the French sailing on Tuesday morning by three o'clock; we have since got intelligence that Sir George Byng sailed after them that same day at six o'clock at night; the queen came to the House yesterday, and after passing several accounts, gave an account in a short speech of the news of the French sailing: There was a cabinet council at night in the cockpit, where I and the other four I formerly writ of were: The first thing that was talked of was the troops to be sent from Ireland; my lord lieutenant said that one regiment of horse and two of dragoons was all that could possibly be spared from thence; these three regiments will make about six hundred men: Next, transport ships for these forces were spoke of, and resolved on as the best way to get them from Whitehaven, Liverpool, and Chester; and the troops to be shipped off at the White-House, between Carrickfergus and Belfast. If the French land in the north about Aberdeen, it s thought your lordship will write to these troops to land at Portpatrick; but if the French land in the Firth, or any where else, whereby you think the troops from Ireland can be of no use to you, or whereby these troops would run a risk, then 'tis expected that your lordship will advertise them to land at Whitehaven; this was left to me to tell your lordship; and the Duke of Marlborough said he would write to you himself, and order copies of the orders given to the troops here to be sent you; we talked also how your lordship would dispose of the few troops you have, but I have nothing of this in charge to write to you, only for your own use I tell it you, that I thought that the men you had were such an handful that you would not think of taking the field, but that you would divide your foot, and put good garrisons in Edinburgh and Stirling castles, and some in Dumbarton; to defend these, the best you could, till succour come from hence, Flanders and Ireland, Edinburgh and Stirling, particularly the first (besides other reasons) for the money there, and the other for a pass, and the fitness of it for a garrison; and that with the horses and dragoons, you endeavour to keep the country quiet, and from joining with the enemy.

I believe there are ordered from this seventh or eighth regiment of foot, amounting to about 5000 men, Northumberland's regiment of horse, two troops of the horse guards, the horse grenadiers, and the half of two regiments of dragoons, but you'll know the particulars of this from the Duke of Marlborough; this with those from Ireland and Flanders will make such a force, that the French and all who will join them, will not be able for; so there is no fear of the main chance, but I am afraid our country, and particular persons will suffer extremely.

All the officers here were ordered away yesterday, and they will be gone to-day; Colonel Erskine sets out this afternoon; I wish he were at Stirling, to which place he'll make all the dispatch he can; I believe the troops from Flanders were designed to land at Tinmouth if the French go to the Firth, but if they go to the north I believe they will land at Leith, which I think most probable. My lord treasurer has promised that money shall be ordered for every thing that's necessary; the Commons have voted, that whatever the queen expends on this affair shall be made good; they are also come to a resolution, and are bringing in a bill upon it, that if any Highland chieftain join the Pretender, then his estate shall belong to his vassal, and they to hold of the crown; if they do not join, and if any vassal join, that his estate shall belong to the landlord if he do not: The bill for every body in publick trust taking the abjuration past yesterday, and also the bill suspending the Habeas Corpus acts till the 13th of October next.

I hope the powder from Berwick is in the castles in Scotland before this. I ordered Holbourn to send your lordship the cannon-ball, which I hope he did: We long very much to hear from your lordship, and what is doing in Scotland.

I had almost forgot to tell your lordship, that yesterday the queen gave the negative for the new militia of Scotland; the establishment for the Scots troops will be adjusted to-day, I believe, or to-morrow. This is all I have to say now, but if any thing else occur before the express goes off, I shall add it. I am, &c.

Whitehall, Friday, Twelve o'Clock,
March 12, 170¾.

I conclude your lordship is at Edinburgh, so I thought it not needful to write to any other of the queen's servants.

My lord treasurer has ordered three months' subsistence to be advanced to your lordship's troops, until other things be adjusted: The Duke of Argyle spoke to the Duke of Marlborough for Finah's independent company going into Argyleshire, which his grace thinks reasonable, and the Duke of Argyle desired me to shew this to your lordship.

The Lord Advocate's Letter to the Earl of Marr, showing the destitute Condition of Scotland at that Time: Never a Country more destitute and defenceless, and that at least some Order may be given whereby the necessary Expence may be defrayed. March 11th, 170¾.

May it please your Lordship,

The council met again yesterday, and dispatched their orders for calling in suspected persons, to appear before them, with the proclamation for the fast, of all which your lordship had a full account; there was presented to the council the memorial here inclosed for the castle of Edinburgh, a large and particular account of what it wants to put it into a case of defence, and memorials also for the castles of Stirling, Dumbarton, and Blackness, to shew their present condition, and in what great disorder and want they are, and all these memorials I am ordered to lay before your lordship, for her majesty's information: I sent Mr Slezer's[1] memorial formerly for a train of artillery, and I hope all will be considered, for I believe there was never a country more destitute and defenceless than we are, nor have we so much as a treasury, or any money for incident charges, so that I must again, by the council's order, lay these things before your lordship, and that at least some orders may be given, whereby necessary expences may be defrayed. I am, &c.

The Earl of Marr's Letter to the Earl of Leven, to secure the Bank.

My Lord, *Whitehall, March* 9, 170¾.

The queen called a cabinet council last night, where she was pleased to call the Dukes of Queensberry and Montrose, the Earls of Loudon, Seafield, and me; we gave an account there of what orders the queen had sent to Scotland, since the news of the invasion; and the letter now to the council was read, of which you have a copy: It is expected that the council of Scotland will secure the horses and arms of those they think disaffected, and also will be assisting to give their advice and directions for se-

[1] Author of a collection of views of castles, palaces, &c. in Scotland, entitled Theatrum Scotiæ, well known to collectors. He was surveyor of the stores and magazines in Scotland and a captain of artillery.

curing the money, in the mint and bank; in case of a landing, or any apparent danger, certainly the enemies will have a design of seizing that. It was told us, that since both houses had addressed the queen to apprehend and secure such persons as she had cause to suspect, and are now upon a bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus act, it was fit that suspected people, in Scotland, should be apprehended and secured. There was a list of them read to us, which we took down in writing; there were warrants ready drawn, conform to the style here, which was thought inconvenient to be altered, but as to the way they are ordered to be put in execution, &c.

ANNE R.

The Queen's Letter to the Council of Scotland, March 8, 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

Right trusty, &c. We did by our letter of the 25th of February last, acquaint you with the intended invasion on some part of our kingdom of Great Britain; and with our royal pleasure on that occasion, we doubt not but you have used the utmost care, pursuant to our command: We have since further confirmation of our enemies designs: The pretended Prince of Wales is at Dunkirk, with some battalions of French and Irish papists, ready to embark for Scotland; and our enemies give out, that they have invitations from some of our subjects there: We are hopeful, that this desperate attempt will, by the blessing of God on our arms and councils, be disappointed, and turned to the confusion of all concerned in it. But that nothing be omitted on our part, for preventing the least danger which threatens our people, we have emitted a proclamation, by advice of our privy council of Great Britain, which we herewith send to you, and we do require you to cause the same to be published at all places needful, as proclamations of our privy council in Scotland have been published.

We think it necessary, that the landlords in the Highlands and chieftains of clans be called to Edinburgh, to give the security appointed by law for preserving the peace and order; and we do require you forthwith to do the same.

We do again recommend to you, to get intelligence of the designs of our enemies, and evil-affected people there, and to give present directions, for putting our forts, garrisons, and magazines in a great posture of defence, and what shall be expended towards these ends, by your warrant, shall be repaid, for which we have already given orders.

We take this occasion to let you know, that our fleet is now at sea, and much increased since our last: The Dutch fleet is in great forwardness, and both are so disposed, that our enemies cannot reasonably hope to escape an engagement; our troops from Ireland and Flanders, which we mentioned in our last, are ready to embark in transport ships, provided in those places with all necessaries for that service: The troops from England are also posted in the best way for the relief of our people in Scotland, if our enemies shall have the boldness to pursue their design.

We have dispatched the Earl of Leven from hence, to command our forces there, and given him such instructions as we judged necessary on this occasion; to whom you will give your advice, assistance, and due encouragement.

We expect that you will assemble frequently in council, and use such vigour in your proceedings as has been done on like occasions formerly; which will be acceptable to us, and may prevent the misleading of our people, and their conjunction with French and Irish papists, the irreconcilable enemies of their religion and liberties.

We do also require you to transmit to us, full and constant accounts of the state of affairs there; and not doubting of your zeal and diligence, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our court at Kensington, the eighth day of March, 170$\frac{7}{8}$, and of our reign the seventh year.

By her majesty's command.

Countersigned,

MARR.

The Earl of Leven's Letter to the Earl of Marr, to press for Orders to Ireland for the Troops; and that he may know to whom he must write.

Stamford, March the 7th, 170$\frac{7}{8}$. Sunday, ten o'clock.

MY LORD,

You will have a memoir by the Earl Weems, which I sent from Stilton. I must, again entreat you to mind the establishment, and all my concernments, both personal and what relates to the garrisons: I desire the three commissions for the three adjutants to the grenadiers and dragoons, as I gave in the list: I desire you to send down the name of the person I am to write to in Ireland, if there be occasion, although I must still entreat your lordship to press that orders be sent to some horse and dragoons to embark. By my letters from Scotland I understand that there is a great ferment there, and particularly in the west country; and that the Jacobites are very uppish: My letter also says, that the officers can hardly get money for the bills sent from London; therefore I pray you represent it so, that some method may be taken to send money down, for you may be sure if the invasion be, there can none be got there; and how inconvenient the want of it will be is obvious. My Lord, adieu.

Pray write by every occasion, and let me know, if I shall give any encouragement to any who shall be willing to take arms to join us. I hope at least so much of the levy-money as is due since the 24th of December will be given now, for that will buy some horses, and levy some men.

ANNE R.

Instructions to our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin and Councellor, David Earl of Leven, Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief of our Militia, and of all our Forces in that Part of our Kingdom of Great Britain called Scotland.

You are to repair to Scotland with all convenient diligence, and to take the advice of our privy council in all things you shall judge necessary, for preserving the peace of that part of our united kingdom.

And whereas we have intelligence, that there are preparations at Dunkirk for invading that part of our kingdom of Great Britain, you are to oppose their landing as much as you can; and in case they shall land, you are to hinder as much as possible our subjects from joining them, and to fall upon and disperse any who shall tumultuously rise in arms and endeavour to join them.

You are to make such a disposition of the troops as you shall judge most for our service in this present juncture.

You are to take care to put Edinburgh castle in such a posture of defence as your time will allow; and provide provision for the garrison for three months; and to advise with the other governors of garrisons, that they be in like manner provided, and put in an order of defence.

You are to dispose of the ammunition you are to receive to the garrisons and troops as you shall judge most for our service.

You are to apply to our privy council in Scotland, for giving the necessary orders for providing of horses both for the baggage and for the train of artillery, in case you shall be obliged to take the field.

You are impowered to call councils of war as oft as you shall think fit, and to take their advice in any matter of difficulty.

You are to advertise us from time to time, either by express, or the ordinary packet, of the posture of affairs there, and of what intelligence you shall receive of the designs and condition of the enemy, and obey such further instructions as we shall think fit to give therein.

You are upon the first appearance of any squadron of French ships upon the coasts, to send to Ireland to —— to advertise him thereof, who has orders to send troops to your assistance.

Given at our court at Kensington the fourth day of March, 170$\frac{7}{8}$, and of our reign the sixth year.

By her majesty's command.

Countersigned,

MARR.

ANNE R.

The Queen's Letter to the Council concerning an Invasion.

Right trusty, &c. Whereas we have intelligence that there are preparations at Dunkirk for fitting out a squadron of ships. And that these intelligences do likewise give an account of embarking some troops, arms, and ammunition, which may be designed for invading and making disturbance within that part of our kingdom of Great-Britain called Scotland. We have therefore thought it necessary to acquaint you of this, and we do expect that you will use your utmost care and diligence for the protection of our subjects, and the preservation of the publick peace there.

We are unwilling to believe that any of our subjects will give assistance or encouragement to any such invasion, which would prove of such dangerous consequence to their religion and liberties, and make their native country a scene of blood and confusion; however, we doubt not but that you will take all the necessary measures to discover and disappoint any such bad practices and contrivances, and to secure such as you shall find concerned herein.

We are hopeful, with the assistance of God, to prevent and defeat this design of our enemies, and for this end nothing shall be wanting in our part; we have fitted out a fleet superior to any they can have in those parts: We have also given orders that some of our troops in Flanders be ready to embark, in case the embarkation at Dunkirk shall go on, and our troops in England and Ireland are so disposed as to give you what assistance may be necessary.

We shall continue to inform you from time to time of what further intelligence we may receive, and therefore we may think it necessary, that you appoint all our privy councellors there to attend at Edinburgh, for receiving and obeying our orders, except such as you judge more useful for the publick service to be in the country, and having an entire trust and confidence in your loyalty and conduct in this juncture, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our court at Kensington the 25th day of February, 170$\frac{7}{8}$, and of our reign the 6th year.

By her majesty's command.

Countersigned,

LOUDON.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.

CLASS FIRST.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

CLASS FIRST.

GEORGE FIRST.

Tabula Chronologica Archiepiscopatuum et Episcopatuum in Anglia et Wallia Ortus, Divisiones, &c. breviter exhibens; una cum Indice Alphabetico Nominum quibus apud Authores insigniuntur, concinnata per Sam. Carte Vic. S. Martini Leycestr.

Samuel Carte was brother to Thomas Carte the historian. He was admitted a scholar of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in 1704, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Having been bred to the law, he became distinguished in practice as a solicitor in Symonds' Inn. Many of his papers were sold by his widow to Sir Thomas Cave. Some of them afterwards fell into the hands of the late Dr Ducarrell. Samuel Carte was eminent as an antiquary, and assisted Dr Jackson, schoolmaster of Coventry, in his account of the benefactions and charities belonging to that city. He was also the editor of Brewster's Collectanea Ecclesiastica. Mr Carte died about 1760.

Ante 512 CAERLEON, Landav. & Bangor.
519 Menev.
543 Elguens.
Ante 546 Paternens. cc.
597 Cantuar.
604 Londini & Roffens.
625 Northumbrorum Eboraci
630 Anglorum Orient.
633 Eborac. cessat An. 30.
635 Lindisfarn. Saxo. Occident.
656 Merciorum.
662 Winton.
664 Lindisfarn. cessat Ebor. reviv.
669 Lichfeld.
673 Elmham. cc.
676 Hereford.
678 Lindisfarn. Hagulstad. Lindisi.
679 Wigorn. Legecestr.
681 Saxonum Austral.
691 Legecestr. iterum.

703 s. 705 Legecestr. cessat. Scireburn.
735 Ebor. denuo fit Archiep.
737 Legecestr. iterum
785 Lichfeld. Pallio donatur
799 Pallium aufertur Lichfeldensi
821 Hagulstad. cessat.
870 Dunwic. cum Elham coaluit
874 Dorcestr.
875 Lindisfarn. recta
883 Cunecacestr.
904 s. 909 Devon. Cornub. Wellens.
920 Wilton
968 Lindisiens. cum Dorcestr. coaluit
995 Dunelm.
1035 Cornub. cum Devon. coaluit
1050 Exon.
1058 Scireburn. cum Wilton. coaluit
1075 Cestr. Sarum. Cicestr. Thetford.
1088 Lincoln. Bath.
1094 Norwic.

1095 s. 1102 Coventr.
1109 Eli.
1115 Menev. subjicitur Archiep. Cant.
1133 Carleol.
1136 Bath & Well.
1143 Asaph. reviviscit
1188 Covent. & Lichf.
1192 Bath & Glaston.
1218 Bath & Well. iterum.
1540 Westmonastr.
1541 Cestr. Glocestr. Oxon. Petroburg.
1542 Bristol.
1550 Westmon. cum Londor. coaluit

Notulæ quædam explicatæ.
cc. = circa seu circiter.
s. = sive.
⁝ = Series seu Successio obscura, dubia vel incerta.
= Archiepiscopatus.

625 Northumbrorum.
Ebor.
633
635 Lindisfarn.
664
664 Eborac.
678 Lindisfarn.
Hagulstad.
735
821
875
883
Cuneca-cestr.
995 Dunelm.
1133 Carleol.
1541 -Cestr.

656 Merciorum.
669 Lichfield.
676 Hereford.
678
679
Wigorn.
Lindisiens.
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874 Dorcestr.
968
1075 Cestr.
1088 Lincoln.
1095 s. 1102 Convent.
1109 Eli.
1188 Cov. & Lich.
1541 Glocestr.
1541 Petrobur. Oxon.

635 Saxon. Occident. Dorcestriæ.
662 Winton.
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703 s. 705 Scireburn.
904 s. 909
Corn-Dev.
Well.
cc. 1035
1050 Exon.
cc. 920 Wilton.
1058
1075 Sarum.
1088 s. 1091 Bath.
1136 Bath. & Well.
1192 B. & Glaston.
1218 Bath. & Well.
1542 Bristol

630 Anglorum Orient.
Dunwic.
673 Elmham.
Saxon. Austral.
870
1075 Cicestr.
Thetf.
1094 Norwic.
1540 Westmon.
1550

604 Roffens.
Londini.
597 Archiep. Cantaur.
Elguensis.
543 Ante 519
546 Paternensis.
Menevensis
Caerleon.
Landav.
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cc. 1090 reviviscit.
1115
1143 S. Asaph.

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Orientalium Anglorum 630
Saxonum, i. e. Londini
Oxoniensis 1541
Pangor, i. e. Bangor
Paternensis 546
Petroburgensis 1541
S. Petroci, i. e. Cornub.
Ramsburien. i. e. Wilton.
Rippon. Rhipensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus unicus Eadhedus An. 679
Roffensis, s. Rovensis 604
Rosinæ Vallis, i. e. Menev.
Sarum, s. Sarisburiæ 1075
Saxonum Australium 681
Saxonum Occidentalium 635
Orientalium 604
Scireburn. 703 s. 705

Seliens. s. Seolseiæ, i. e. Saxon. Austral.
Sicestr. i. e. Cicestr.
Sidensis, s. Sideneiæ } Lindisiensis
Sidnacestr. i. e. }
Somersetensis, i. e. Well. s. Bath
Sunningiæ, i. e. Wilton
Suthmerciorum, i. e. Dorcestr.
Suthsexiæ, i. e. Saxon. Austral.
Tautonensis, i. e. Devoniens.
Theoford. s. Thetford. 1075
Villanensis, i. e. Wellens.
Wegorarensis, i. e. Wigorn.
Wellensis 904, 909
Westmonaster. 1540
Juxta Westwudam, i. e. Scireburn
Wicciorum, i. e. Wigorn. 679
Wiltoniens. cc. 920
Wintanstrensis, i. e. Winton.
Wintoniensis 662, 677
Wyllensis, i. e. Wellens.
Wyrensis, i. e. Wigorn.

Tabula Chronologia Archiepiscopatuum et Episcopatuum in Anglia et Wallia, &c. Explicata.

Notanda quædam generalia.

Sedes archiepiscoporum in Britanniâ tres fuerunt tempore Lucii regis Britonum Christiani primi, viz. apud Londonium, apud Eborum, apud Caerust urbem legionum in Glamorganciâ, quibus tunc subjecti fuerunt 28. episcopi. Ra. Higden in Polychron. l. 1. v. Usser. primord. c. v. p. 57. Inter antiquos Anglos ab Augustino usque ad Theodorum Archiepiscopum limites Episcopatuum limitibus Regnorum definiri solebant; et unicuique Regno ad fidem converso suus Episcopus ordinabatur. Hinc fit quod hodiernum una eademque provincia, seu comitatus, pluribus Episcopis conterminis in ditionem cedat, inter plures scilicet Reges olim distributa, sed crescente indies Fidelium numero, consultum videbatur Theodoro et Episcopis in Synodo Herudfordensi anno 673. coactis, ut plures Episcopi instituerentur. Wharton, in Anglia sacra. vol. p. 423, 424.

In primitivâ Anglorum Ecclesiâ præsules in locis humilibus, tanquam contemplationi et devotioni aptis, sedes suas statuerunt, sed tempore Willielmi conquestoris, ex canonum decreto edictum est ut Episcopi de villulis, ad urbes transirent. Polychron l. 1. *scil. in concilio Londini sub Lanfranco A. D.* 1075.

Sed translatâ ab uno loco in alium Episcopi sæpe retinebant denominationem à priori loco.

Authores sæpe tribuunt Episcopis nomen loci in quo, non illi ipsi Episcopi, sed eorum successores sedebant.

De Northumbrorum Episcopat.

Paulinus missus à Gregorio Papa in Britanniam unà cum Justo anno 601. Archiepiscopus Eboracensis ordinatus est anno 625. Eboraco fugatus á Cedwallâ Britonum Reg. anno 633. Cantuariam rediit. Wh. Angl. *Sacra. part.* 1. p. 329. Eborac. 625.

Abhinc Aquilonaris Anglia pastore biennio caruit. *Deinde* Northanimbriam Aidanus *à Scotis missus* anno 635 intravit, et in Insulâ Lindisfarnensi sedem ab Oswaldo accepit. Insula ea perquam exigua est in Aquilonari Angliæ littore, ab insulâ majori æstuantis solummodo maris fluctibus divisa; quæ incolarum sanctitate exinde insignita Insula sacra, Anglice Halieland, dici cæpit. *Huic successerunt Finanus, Colmannus,* Lindisfarn. 635

Ebor. 664. *et Tuda Episcopi, qui toti Northumbrorum Regno præfuerunt usque ad annum 664. id. p. 691. Toti etiam Northanimbriæ præfuerunt Ceadda et Wilfridus ab anno 664. ad 678.* In Deirorum autem regione moram præcipué facientes, ab Eboraco urbe titulum ducere maluerunt. Anno demum 678. Theodorus Archiep. Cant. qui Wilfridum de pluribus Episcopis in Northanimbrorum provinciâ constituendis sæpius incassum interpellaverat, assentiente Ecgfrido Rege tres Episcopos auctoritate propriâ ordinavit, Bosam, scil. Eboraci, Eatam Hagustaldi, et Eadhedum in provinciâ Lindisiensi, quæ ad Northanimbros eo tempore jure belli spectabat; relictâ Wilfrido Lindisfarnâ, antiquâ Episcoporum Northanimbriæ sede. id. p. 693.

Ebor.

Lindisfarn. Hagustald. Lindisi. 678.

Ebor. Archiep. 735. Hagustald. cessat. 821. *Ecglertus, frater Eadborti Regis Northumb.* post Paulinum primus ab Apostolicâ sede accepit pallium 7 anno R. Ceolvulfi, 103tio anno post discessum Paulini, hoc est *A. D.* 735. Sim. Dunelm. epist de Archiep. Ebor. v. Sax. Chron. anno 735.

Tidferthi *ultimi Episcopi Hagustaldensis* obitus anno 821 reponendus est. Post mortem ejus Hagustaldensis Diocesis cum Lindisfarnensi coaluit. *Sed non statim: quòd Heathuredus, Eggredus, Eanbertus Lindisfarnenses,* quamvis nulli ipsorum tempore fuerint Episcopi Hagustaldenses, ipsi tamen ditione suâ contenti Hagustaldensem Diocesin (barbaricis invasionibus frequentibus attritam) non attigerent. Primus omnium Eardulfus, *Sede apud Cuncacestram positâ,* post extinctos Hagustaldenses Episcopos Diocesis utriusque, curam gessit. Wh. Angl. *Sacr. part.* 1. p. 698, 699.

Lindisfarn. relicta. 875 Danos Northumbriam advenientes Eardulphus timens, sublato secum S. Cuthberti corpore, aliorumque sanctorum Præsulum reliquiis, è Lindisfarnâ anno 875. fugit, et locis subinde mutatis integro septennio delituit, donec anno 883. pace per Guthredum

Cuncacestr. 883. ad Northumbriæ regnum recenter evectum donatâ, in Cuncacestrâ villâ (hodie Chester dictâ) resideret. Vicus is est exiguus super Vedram fluvium 5to. circiter lapide á Dunelmo versus Boream positus. In eo sedes hujus provinciæ Episcoporum (qui tamen Lindisfarnenses ad hue dicti sunt) ab Eardulpho anno 883. collocata annis 113. continuis permansit. Ibid.

Dunelm. 995. Aldunus s. Aldwinus anno 995. piratarum invasionem fugiens, corpus S. Cuthberti, &c. ad Ripon à Cuncacestrâ transtulit. Rebus post 4 ferè menses pacatis in reditu Dunelmum transeunti loci situs apprimè placuit. Inibi igitur sacrum corpus deposuit, et sedem episcopalem primus constituit. id. p. 701.

Anno 1113. Henricus Rex Ranulpho Dunelmensi Episcopo infensus, villam et Ecclesiam Hagustaldensem ab Ecclesiâ Dunelmensi abripuit, et Thomæ Archiep. Eboracensi contulit, unà cum jurisdictione integri Cumbriæ comitatûs, qui ad sedem Hagustaldensem olim pertinuit. Pars tamen Diocesis Hagustaldensis, eà scil. quæ intra Northumbriæ comitatum sita erat, penès Dunelmensem remansit, et adhuc manet. Reliqua, partim Archiep. Eboracensi, partim Episcopo Glascuensi ab an. 1113. ad 1135. (l. 1133.) subdita, Episcopatui Carleolensi anno 1135. (l. 1133.) fundato assignata est. id. 699.

Carleol. 1133.

Anno 1133. mense Augusto apud Eboracum consecratus est Aldulphus prior de Nostliâ ad urbem Carleol, quam Rex Henricus initiavit ad sedem Episcopalem, datis sibi Ecclesiis de Cumberland et Westmariland, quæ adjacuerunt Archidiaconatui Eboracensi. Jo. Hagustald. et Bromton. 33. H. 1.

Henricus octavus honorem Episcopalem Cestriæ restituit. Episcopo constituto, cujus jurisdictioni parerent comitatus Cestrensis, Lancastrensis atque Richmondiæ, et

Cest. 1541. Eboracensis provinciæ pars censeretur. Godwin de præsul. part. 2. p. 155. Novæ hujus fundationis Episcopus primus fuit Joannes Bird, S. T. D. qui à sede Bangorensi huc translatus est, (A. D. 1541.) ibid p. 156. et pars. 1. p. 650.

Merciorum Episc. 656.

Pendâ tyranno ab Oswio Rege 655. 15. Nov. interfecto, victori simul ac Peadæ Regi *Merciorum* placuit, ut Episcopus Mediterraneis Anglis et Merciis daretur. Ordinatus est igitur Diuma medio tempore inter Oswii victoriam et Peadæ necem, quæ anno 656. tempore paschali contigit. *Diumæ successerunt Cellach, Trumhere, et Jarumannus* nullam tamen Cathedram sive certam sedem sibi positam habuerunt, in Monasteriis vitam agere contenti. Anno 669. Cedda Merciorum Episcopus post Jarumannum renunciatus, sedem in Lichfeldiâ Wilsheri Regis Beneficio primus obtinuit, quam et successoribus suis transmisit. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 423, 424. Lichfeld, 669.

Decreto Theodori de augendo Episcoporum numero, anno 673. facto. Winfridus Ceddæ successor refragatus, depositus est anno 675. Sexulphus igitur, qui Winfridum excepit, Episcopalem sedem apud Herefordiam instituit anno 676. ibid. Hereford, 676.

Anno 678. Theodorus ordinavit Eathedum, cui provinciam Lindisiensem subjecit, et in Siddeniâ seu Sidnacestriâ urbe sedem dedit. [*N. B. Certus hujus urbis situs adhuc ignotus est, sed Dr Gibson in Cambd. Brit. Col.* 480. *existimat eam esse Stow in com. Linc.*] Anno sequenti receptâ, à Merciis post acre certamen Lindisiensi Provinciâ, Eathedus fugatus est; provinciàque in Lichfeldensis Episcopi ditionem rediit. Anno nondum elapso, Theodorus coactâ apud Hethfeldum synodo prius memoratum decretum renovavit. Eodem igitur anno scil. 679. Diocesis Lichfeld. in 4 Parochias est divisa. scil. in Lichfeld. Legecestrensem, Lindisiensem et Wigorniensem. ibid. Lindisi. 678. Legecestr. Lindisi. Wigorn. 679.

Anno 679 primus sedi Wicciorum Episcopus designatus est Tatfrith; qui priusquam consecrari posset, morte immaturâ abreptus obiit. Defuncti loco electus est Bosel, et consecratus anno 680. id. p. 469, 542.

Glocestrensis Episcopus primus Joannes Wakemannus perhibetur, Abbas Teuxburiensis, qui consecratus est Sept. 20, 1541. Godwin de præsul. Gloscestr. 1541.

A. D. 785. In Synodo Celcuthensi Higbertus in Episcopum Lichfeld. electus est, cui Provinciæ suæ partem jure Archiepiscopali regendum concedere Jambertum Archiep. Cant. Offa Rex in eodem conventu coegit. Higbertus verò ante rem ab Adriano Papâ confirmatam anno 786. decessit; cui Adulphus eodem anno subrogatus pallium ab Adriano donatum accepit. Athelardus Archiep. Cant. iter Romam iniit anno 799. Ubi literis et muneribus Kenulfi Regis adjutus à Leone Papâ impetravit, ut dignitate Archiepiscopali præsulibus Lichfeld. abrogatâ universæ Merciorum Dioceses sedi suæ postliminio subjicerentur. id. p. 429, 430. Lichfeld. Archiep. 785. 997.

Petrus Lichfeld. Episcopus consecratus est A. D. 1067. qui sedem transtulit in Cestriam, A. D. 1075. Tho. Chesterfeld de Epis. Cov. et Lich. Cestr. 1075.

Petri Successor Robertus de Lymesy, Mortuo Leowino Abbate Coventriæ, Abbatiam Coventriensem anno 1095. comparavit, non tamen Coventriam ante 1102. migravit, Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 433. Cov 1095. 1102.

Hugo de Nonant. electus est anno 1185. sed consecratus 1188. 3. (s. 2.) cal. feb. id. p. 435. Is sedem Episcopalem ad Lichfeldiam postliminio retulit. id. p. 463. ita tamen ut tituli episcopalis partem Coventria occuparet. Godwin de præsul. pt. 2. p. 155. Cov. et Lich. 1188.

A. D. 679. *Diocesi Lichfeld. in 4 divisa, sc. Lichfeld. Legecestr. Lindisiens. et Wigorn. ut supra dictum est,* Cuthwinus Legecestrensem, Ethelwinus Lindisiensem acceperunt. Sedem autem Legecestr. Cuthwinus, seu morti, seu levitati suæ, seu aliorum injuriæ cedens, brevi dereliquit. Exin Sexulphus utriusque Diocesis [*Scil. Lichfeld. et Legecestr.*] curam gessit usque ad obitum, qui anno circiter 691, contigit. Illo tempore Wilfridus Eboraco pulsus, à Rege Ethelredo Episcopatum Legecestrensem regendum tulit. Wilfrido autem Synodi Nestrefeldensis sententia ejecto anno 703, utraque Dio- Lindisi. Legecestr. 679. 691.

703. cesis iterum coaluit, Heddæ soli subjecta, [*itemque Aldwinò ejus successore*] quo defuncto, utraque Diocesis suum accepit Episcopum, Lichfeldensis Huictam, Legecestrensis Tottam. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 424. Aldwinum autem anno 737. defunctum esse concordi Hovedeni, Florilegi, Mailrosensis et Dunelmensis voce prolatum est. id. p. 428.

737. Dorcestr. 968. *Ab hoc tempore (scil. an. 737.) Legecestrensis à Lichfeldensi separata permansit, sed Lindisiensis illi tandem unita est, sedesque Dorcestriam translata. De tempore verò non constat. Ait quidem Rad. de Diceto quòd A. D. 968. Leofwinus conjunxit Episcopatus Lindisfarorum et Legecestrensium. At (si mihi conjectare liceat) rem multo antè factam existimo. Nam Brightredus Lindis. Episcopus ultimus pactioni cuidam testis interfuit anno 852.* Sax. Chron. *Quando obiit non comperi. Sed cùm Dani Pagani in Lindscyâ, A. D. 873. hyemaverint, et A. D.* 874. *Burhedo Rege pulso totam ferè Merciam subegerint, prout testantur Sim. Dun. Asser. Annal. aliique. Hoc tempore, ni fallar, Episcopi Lindisienses desierunt, et Legecestrensis Dorcestriæ apud Mercios Australes sedem posuit, nec postea redire ausus est, quod Dani, quamvis reliquam Merciam Ceolulfo regi concesserint, sibi tamen 5 Civitates. Scil. Leycestriam, Derbi. Nottingham. Lincoln. et Stamford.* Fif-burgas *dictas, retinuerint A. D.* 877. *quas Edmundus Rex A. D.* 942. *denuo subegit. Sax. Chron.* &c.

874.

Lincoln. 1088. A. D. 1088. Molestum visum est Remigio Episcopo quòd in ipso termino Episcopatus sui, scil. apud Dorcestriam, quæ urbs propter parvitatem sibi displicebat, sedes esset Episcopalis, cùm in eodem Episcopatu civitatis clarissima Lincolniæ Episcopali sede dignior videretur; unde in ipsius urbis vertice juxta castellum prædia mercatus, perpulcram virgini virginum construxit Ecclesiam, &c. et tunc de Dorcestriâ usque ibi sedem suam Episcopalem, prout tempore Regis Will. conquestoris in concilio sub Lanfranco Archiepiscopo Londoniis celebrato ordinatum fuerat, transtulit et locavit. Jo. Bromton.

Eli. 1109. Hervæus cognomento Cruste Bangornensis Episcopus dono Regis Henrici Abbatiam Eliensem anno 1107. accepit jure commendatorio tenendam, eidemque in Episcopatum conversæ Episcopi titulo præesse capit medio anno 1109. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 615.

Oxon. 1541. Robertus King, S. T. D. Cœnobii Osneiensis Abbas postremus et Oxoniensis Episcopus primus anno 1541. installatus est Osneiæ, quam Rex H. 8. in Ecclesiam Cathedralem erexerat, indito nomine B. Mariæ de Osney, unde post quinquennium (anno nimirum 1546) ad Ecclesiam Christi Oxon. sedes translata est. Godwin. de præsul.

Petroburg. 1541. Episcopus primus, Abbatum Petroburgensium postremus, Joannes Chambers, M. D. consecratus est, Oct. 23, 1541. idem.

De Saxonum Occidentalium Episcop.

635. Anno Domini 635. Beatus Birinus, missus ab Honorio *Papa*, venit in Terram Gewyseorum, et Regem illius Provinciæ Kynegilsum cum omni populo ad Christi fidem convertit. Kynegilsus et S. Oswaldus Rex Northanhumbrorum donaverunt ei villam de

Dorcestr. Darkestre, [villam humilem, ad austrum Oxoniæ juxta Wallingford, inter collapsus duorum fluminum Thamæ et Ysa sitam. Polychron. l. 1.] ad faciendum inibi sedem Episcopalem. Tho. Rudborn Hist. major Winton. l. 2. c. 2. Saxon. Chron.

Winton. 662. *Defuncto Birino*, Agilbertus natione Gallus multis annis eidem genti sacerdotali jure præfuit. Tandem Rex *Cenwalch* qui Saxonum linguam tantum noverat, pertæsus barbaræ loquelæ, subintroduxit alium suæ linguæ Episcopum Wini dividensque in duas parochias provinciam, huic in civitate Venta sedem Episcopalem tribuit. Unde offensus graviter Agilbertus, quòd hoc, ipso inconsulto, ageret Rex, rediit Galliam. Bed. hist. l. 3. c. 7. In id propendet animus, rationibus non contemnendis ductus, ut Agil-

berti recessionem in annum 662. à Rudburno positum, vel potius in annum sequentem, referam. Wini, enim triennio episcopatum tenuisse Chronologia Saxonica perhibet, pulsum autem fuisse anno 666 et Florentius et Rad. de Diceto (Abbrev. Chron. p. 439.) produnt. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 191.

Post Expulsionem Wyni vacavit sedis 4 annis, et tunc Eleutherius in pontificatum assumitur; et sedit annis 7 et in Dorkcestrensi Ecclesiâ sepultus est. Defuncto Eleutherio A. D. 674. successit Hedda, qui Birinum à Dorkecestrâ simul cum sede transtulit in Wyntoniam. Celebrataque est ista translatio anno tertio sui pontificatus, anno gratiæ 677. Rudborn. Hist. Maj. Winton. l. 2. c. 3. *Ita*, Sedes Episcoporum West Saxonum in Ecclesiâ de Dorcestriâ mansit per spatium 42 annorum. Annales breves Winton. 677.

Theodorus Archiepiscopus decrevit Regnum Occidentalium Saxonum in plures Dioceses dividendum. Sed Decreto secundo, Nolumus (inquit) Fratre nostro S. Hedda superstite parochiam suam in aliquo lædere diminuendo. Tho. Rudborne Hist. Maj. Winton. l. 2 c. 3. Scireburn. 703.

Hedda obiit A. D. 703. Sax. Chron. Quo defuncto Theodorus duos præsules ad provinciam West Saxoniæ ordinavit, Danielem apud Wentam, cui subjecti fuerant duo pagi Southreriæ et Southampteshiriæ: Aldelmum quoque ad sedem Shirburnensem ordinavit, cui tunc subjacuerunt sex Pagi, Barrocensis, Wiltonensis, Somersetensis, Dorsetensis, Devoniensis, et Cornubiensis. Polychron. l. 1.

Aldhelmus vero obiit vix 4 annis episcopatu functus. A D. 709. 8. cal. Junii. Gul. Malmesb. lib. de gestis Regum Angl. fol. 7. Angl. Sacr. part. 2. p. 24. *ideoque episcopatum adeptus est* A. D. 705. vid. Polychron. in an. 709. s. 705. Devon. Cornub. Well. 904, 909.

Constans est traditio de 7 Episcopis uno die à Plegmundo ordinatis. Hoc modo rem conciliari posse arbitror. Edwardus Rex et Plegmundus Archiepiscopus Synodum anno 904. Vel sequenti coegerunt, et decreverunt, ut tres novi Episcopatus in West Saxoniâ instituerentur. Anno 909. accidit, quod uterque Episcopus tam Wintoniensis quam Scireburnensis obierunt. Mercia itidem Australis in Edwardi ditionem anno 906. redacta Episcopo carebat; quinetiam Sudsaxonia eodem tempore pastore suo viduata est. Tribus igitur novis Episcopatibus in West Saxoniâ institutis et Episcopis ad 4 antiquas sedes tunc vacantes à Rege nominatis, Plegmundus septem simul Episcopos anno 909. consecravit. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. *554, 555.*

Cornubiensi Antistiti sedes Cathedralis in Ecclesiâ S. Petroci primum constituta est Bodminæ, postea verò ad S. Germani translata. Episcopi Devonienses apud Northtawton primo consederunt et postea Creditonam (quæ hodie vulgo Kirton) migraverunt. Godwin de præsul. part 1. p. 450. 452. Cornub. & Devon.

Livingum ex Abbate Tavistokensi Episcopum Creditonensem anno 1032. consecratum, omnes consentiunt. Hic nepos Brithwoldi sive Burwodi Cornubiensium Episcopi. ultimi. Illo mortuo, præsulatum ejus suo conjungendum curavit, præter quem etiam Wigorniensem tenuit, ad eum anno 1038. pro vectus. Godwin de præsul. part. 1 p. 455. et 505. *Conjunctionem igitur istam circa an.* 1035: *factem esse censeo.* Uniuntur cc. 1035.

Post mortem Livingi A. D. 1046. 10. *cal. Apr.* Regis Cancellario Leofwino mox Cridiatunensis et Cornubiensis datus est præsulatus. Sim. Dunelm. Col. 182. Hic sedem Exoniam transtulit anno 1050. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part 1. p. 128. Exon 1050

Johannes de Villula *Gisoni* 15°. *Wellens. Episcopo anno* 1088. *mortuo successit.* et anno 1091. impetratâ à Willielmo Rege Abbatiâ Bathoniensi, sedem Episcopalem ad Bathoniam transtulit. Tunc scil. confirmatum est donum (*Chartâ Regiâ,*) factem autem prius fuisse anno 1088. Registrum Wellense docet. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 560. Hic, dimisso nomine Episcopatus Wellensis, primus omnium fecit se Bathoniensem Episcopum appellari. Canon. Wellens. de Episcopis Bath. et Wellens. Bath 1088 1091.

Robertus tertius Bathoniensis Episcopus *Godefrida* successit an. 1135. Iste litem accerrimam inter Monachos Bathon. et Canonicos Wellensis jam diu motam hac lege Bath & Well. 1136.

consopivit, ut Episcopus neque à sede Bathoniensi nec à Wellensi sola, sed ab utrâque simul titulum duceret, &c. Compositioni Willielmus Cant. Thurstinus Ebor. et Rogerus Sarum Episcopi subscripserunt. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 561. *At Willielmus Cant.* obiit anno 1136.11. vel 12. cal. dec. id. p. 110.

Bath. & Glaston. 1192. Savaricus quintus Bathon. Episcopus Bathoniensis et Glastoniensis Episcopi stilum assumpsit. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part 1. p. 562. *Quippe quod Rex ric. 1. illi* Abbatiam Glastoniensem in suo Episcopatu sitam ad Imperatoris preces (*cujus consanguineus ille erat*) concessit. Quam Concessionem sic à Rege extortam à Cælestino Papa confirmari sibi obtinuit anno 1192. Adam de Demersham de lite inter Episc. Bathon. et Mon. Glaston.

Bath. & Well. 1218. Anno 1218. 17. Maii concedente Jocelino *qui Savarico mortuo successit an.* 1206. Honorius Papa dissolvit unionem inter Ecclesiam Bathon. et Glaston. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 564. Et ita Monasterium Glastoniæ, quod privatum fuerat dignitate Abbatiæ anno 1192. usque ad 1218. per 26 annos, restitutum est, quamvis non in toto, ad statum pristinum sub regimine Abbatis gubernandum. Adam, ibid. Et Jocelinus est, dictus jam posthac, non Glastoniensis (sicut primis Consecrationis annis) sed Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcopus, quo Stilo etiam omnes deinceps successores constanter usi sunt. Godwin de præsul. part. 1. p. 422.

Wilton. cc. 920. *Post tres supradictos* (*Scil. Cornub. Devon. et Wellens.*) *præsules* in regionibus à Sherbornensi ereptis *constitutos* quartus porrò inter Wiltonienses brevi collocatus est, qui Cathedram habuit Wiltoniæ nonnunquam, nonnunquam Ramsburiæ et Sunningæ. Godwin. de præsul. part. 1. p. 385.

Quoad annum nota, quod Edwardo Regi successit Athelstanus A. D. 924. anno ejus quinto S. Odo factus est Wiltoniensis Episcopus. Bromton. col. 837, 838. Odo autem non primus, sed secundus fuit Episcopus Wiltoniensis juxta Malmesburiensem, s. 141. qui Ethelstanum illi priorem memorat, sic etiam Florentius. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 2. p. 681. *Ortus igitur hujus Episcopatus inter annos* 909. *et* 929. *reponendus est, ideòque dico circa an.* 920.

Unio Wilton. & Sherborn. 1058. Hermannus Wiltoniensis Episcopus, rerum angustia tædiatus, feré obtinuit ut sedam suam apud Monasterium Malmesbirie statuere possit, sed rege juxta concilium procerum id nolente, offensus Hermanus Epicopatum dimisit [anno 1055. Sim. Dun. Col. 181.] mare transiit ibique tribus annis vixit, Aldredo Wigornensi Episcopo interim Episcopatum administrante. *Tandem* ad aures ejus pervenerat secundus rumor Codwinum Comitem, qui sibi obstiterat, interiisse, nec non Schirburnensem Episcopum obiisse, cujus Episcopatum suo uniendum antiquis Regis promisses diu cogitaverat. Hos igitur Episcopatus sic unitos [*anno* 1058. *Nam isto anno* Aldredus Præsulatu Waltoniensis Ecclesiæ dimisso, et Hermanno reddito, profectus est Hierosolyman. Sim. Dun. Col. 189. Polychron.] cum tribus Pagis suis diu tenuit usque ad nonum annum Willielmi Conq. [*i. e.* 1075.] quando de Schirburn ad Sarum transivit. Bromton. Col. 946, 947. sic etiam Polychron. l. 6. ad an. 1055.

Sarum 1065.

Bristol. 1542. Cœnobii Bristoliensis D. Augustino sacri Ecclesiam in Cathedralem convertit Henricus 8. Diocesim vero novæ sedi assignavit, præter urbem ac decanatum Bristoliensem, sub alio quasi sole jacentem comitatum Dorsetensem. Paulus Bush S. T. B. in Episcopum Bristoliensem consecratus est Jun. 2. 1542. Godwin. de Præsul. part 1. p. 596.

Saxonum Australium Episc.

681. Wilfridus Episcopus Provinciam Australiam Saxonum ad Christum convertit. Quo tempore Rex Edilwalch donavit ei terram 87 familiarum vocabulo Seolseu. Est autem locus ille undique mari circundatus præter ab occidente, unde habet ingressum amplitudinis quasi jactus fundæ. Wilfridus fundavit ibi monasterium, quod usque hodie successores ejus tenere noscuntur. Nam ipse illis in partibus annos 5. id est usque ad mortem Ecgfridi regis officium episcopatûs exercebat. Bed. hist. l. 4. c. 13. Ecgf

dus vero extinctus est anno æt. 40. regni 15. 13. Kal. jun. id. l. 4. c. 26. A. D. 685. 686.
Sax. Chron. Post eum Alfridus regnavit, qui S. Wilfridum de exilio, secundo anno regni sui ad se invitavit. Eddius in vita S. Wilfridi. c. 43. *Hinc sequitur Episcopatum Saxonum Australium fundatum fuisse* A. D. 681. Sed revocato domum Wilfrido, ipsi Episcopo Gewyseorum, i. e. Occidentalium Saxonum, qui esset in Wentana civitate subjacuerunt. Tandem A. D. 705. ex Synodali decreto statutum est, ut provincia 705.
Australium Saxonum proprium haberet episcopum, consecratúsque esteis primus Antistes Edbertus. Tho. Rudborne. Hist. Major. Winton. et Bed. Hist. l. 5. c. 19.

A. D. 1070. Rex. (*W.* 1.) Stigando Sutsaxonum dedit episcopatum. Sim. Dun. Col. 202. Hic. A. D. 1087. decessit. id. Col. 213. Sax. Chron. *Post quam à Seolseiâ mutaverat sedem in Cicestriam, eodum scil. tempore quo reliquæ sedes à vicis ad urbes translatæ sunt, hoc est circa an.* 1075. Cicestr. 1075.

Anglorum Orientalium Episc.

Quo primùm anno Fælix Fidem Christianam inter Orientales Anglos prædicaverit, parùm inter historicos convenit. Id. anno 630. vel sequenti contigisse censeo. Author enim est Beda (l. 3. c. 20.) Honorium Archiep. Cant. Thomæ et Bonifacio Fælicis suc- 630.
cesssoribus consecrationis munus impendisse. Fælix autem sedit an. 17. Thomas 5. Et Honorius obiit anno 653. Post annum igitur 631. Fælix prædicationem auspicari non potuit. Porrò ex ejusdem fide (l. 2. c. 15.) Fælix à Sigeberto rege in Orientalem Angliam primùm adductus erat. Sigebertus Eorpwaldo post trium annorum interregnum successit. Eorpwaldus ab Edwino Northanhumbrorum rege ad fidem conversus, brevi post interiit. Ipse autem Edwinus fidem ante an. 627. amplexus non est. Fælix igitur provinciam ante annum 630, intrare non potuit. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 403.

Fælix accepit sedem episcopalem in civitate Dummock. Bed. Hist. l. 2. c. 15. Dummock.

Bonifacio post 17 annos episcopatûs sui defuncto, Bici Episcopus pro eo, Theodoro ordinante factus est. Quo adhuc superstite, sed gravissimâ infirmitate ab adminis- Elmham. 673.
trando episcopatu prohibito, duo sunt pro illo, Aecci et Badwini, electi et consecrati Episcopi. Bed. l. 4. c. 5. Factum id anno 673. Florentius, 674. Westmonasteriensis et Pseudo Asserius scribunt. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 403.

Ab illo tempore, duo episcopi provinciam illam usque ad tempus Egbriti Regis West Saxonum rexerunt; quorum unus sedebat apud Dommoc, et alter apud Elmham. Barthol. de Cotton. Hist. de Episc. Norwic.

Tradit Florilegus Wilredum Humberto Helmamensi et Weremundo Domocensi epis- Episc. Dunwic. et Elmham. Col. 870.
copis anno 870, defunctis in utrâque sede successisse, propriam autem sedem apud Helmham posuisse. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 404.

Herfastus medio anno 1070, Episcopatu Helmamensi à rege donatus sedem ex Helmham ad Thetfordiam transtulit, præcepto concilii Londinensis à Lanfranco anno 1075. Thetford. 1075.
habiti. id. p. 406.

A. D. 1094. 5 Idus Aprilis Episcopatus Theofordensis translatus est Norwicum ab Herberto Episcopo. Annal. Ecclesiæ. Norwic. Norwic. 1094.

Saxonum Orientalium Episc.

Anno Dom. 604. Augustinus ordinavit duos episcopos, Mellitum, viz. et Justum. Mellitum quidem ad prædicandum Provinciæ Orientalium Saxonum. Ubi verò et hæc provincia verbum veritatis prædicante mellito accepit. fecit Rex Edelbertus in civitate

Londini 604. Londoniæ Ecclesiam S. Pauli Apostoli, in quo locum sedis episcopalis et ipse et successores ejus haberent. Bed. Hist. l. 2. c. 3. vid. Saxon. Chron.

Westmon. 1540. Henricus octavus cathedram episcopalem Westmonasterii collocavit, et Thomam Thirlby episcopum primum (qui et postremus fuit) ibidem instituit. Hic Norwicum translatus est anno 1550, cum ad hanc novam sedem fuisset consecratus Dec. 15. 1540. Godwin. de Præsul. part. 1. p. 598.

Roffens. Episc.

604. Anno Domini 604. Justum in ipso Cantio Augustinus ordinavit Episcopum in civitate Dorouerni, quam gens Anglorum á Primario quondam illius, qui dicebatur Rotschester, cognominat. In quâ Rex Edelbertus Ecclesiam B. Andreæ Apostoli fecit. Bed. Hist. l. 2. c. 3.

Cantuar. Archiepisc.

597. Augustinum anno 596. à Gregorio Papa missum, anno 597. Angliam appulisse ex Bedâ constat. (Hist. Eccl. l. 1. et Epitome) Antequam verò in Angliam trajicerit, in Galliæ sive Germaniæ partibus consecratus est. Id Historicos nostros penitus fugit. Res autem clarissimè constat ex Epistolis Gregorii. Siquidem in Epistolâ ad Brunechildem Reginam Franciæ datâ anno 597. indictione 1. Mense Octobri (in Registro l. 7. ep. 5.) gratias illi agit quòd Augustinum fratrem et Coepiscopum suum humaniter susceperit. &c. Wh. Angl. Sacr. part. 1. p. 89.

Episc. Wallens.

Caerleon. & Landav. ante 512. In Synodo Britannicâ Dubritius primus præsul Landavensis sedis, Archiepiscopus urbi Legionum ad Isce fluenta anno 512. designatus est; et Theliaus à patribus continuò in sedem Landaviensem furrogatus est. Howel Canon. &c. Ecclesiæ Britan. et Anglo-Saxonicæ, p. 8.

Menevia. Conventus Pambritannicus celeberrimus omnium potestatum Britanniæ ad Coronationem inclyti Regis Arthuri solemnizandam habitus est. A. Chr. 519. In hoc conventu S. Dubricius in vitam eremiticam anhelans, sese ab Archiepiscopali sede deposuit, in

S. David. cujus locum sacratur David Regis avunculus, qui sedem illam ope et licentiâ inclyti Regis Arthuri á Caer Legionum urbe Meneviam transtulit. ibid.

Bangor 512. S. Dubricius Episcopos per dextralem Britanniam coadjutores sibi ordinatis parochiis suis consecravit; Danielem in Episcopum Bangorensi civitati, &c. Histor. de fundat. et dotatione Landav. Ecclesiæ ex Registro Teilo dict.

Hujus Danielis Episcopi angor. meminit Giraldus Cambrensis in vitâ S. Davidisp. 638. item Annales Ecclesiæ Menevensis, &c. Et huic Ecclesia Cathedralis Bangor. est dedicata. Cambden. Brit.

De ejus Successoribus silent Authores usque ad Hervœum, qui vacante sede Cantuar.

1090. *inter obitum Lanfranci anno* 1089. *et Consecrationem Anselmi* 1093. *sacratus est per Thomam Archiepiscopum Ebor. Tho. Stubbs act. pontif. Ebor. Col.* 1707. *Et interfuit Synodo Londinensi sub Anselmo A. D.* 1102. *ut testatur Sim. Dun. de gestis R. Angl. Et tandem A. D.* 1109. *Eliensis Ecclesiæ primus pontifex factus est, ut testantur Eadmerus, Florentius, aliique.*

Elguens. cc. 543. Usserius Kentigernum anno 540. Episcopum Glascuensem consecratum esse; anno 543. è Scotia pulsum in Walliam secessisse perhibet, ubi, accepto à Cathwallain Rege

terræ illius loco, Cœnobium apud Elgu prope fluvium Elwe ædificavit. [anno 560.] in Scotiam revocatus sibi successorum in Episcopatu Elguensi instituit Discipulum suum quendam, Asaphum nomine. Wharton. de Episc. Assav. p. 300, 302. Asaph.

Quos Successores habuit non inveni usque adan. 1143. *Quo anno prout scribit Gervas. in Chron. Col.* 1539. Sacravit Theobaldus Cantuariensis Archiep. Gilbertum Lanelnensis Ecclesiæ electum apud Lamhethe, acceptâ prius ab eo professione.

N. B. Sedes à nonnullis Elguensis, ab aliis Eluensis et Lanelwensis nuncupata, à fluvio Elwe, prope quam sita est. Godwin. de Episcopis Asaph.

Hovedenus ad an. 1190. inter sedes Episcopales Archiepiscopatûs Menevensis olim suffraganeas numerat Lanpaternansem in Kerdigaun. Wh. Angl. Saer. part. 2. p. 543. *Et Cenauc sive Kinotus S. Davidis [circa an. 546. mortui Gul. Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston.] Successor, á Paternensi sede translatus dicitur. Godwin de Episcopis Menev. p.* 601. *Sedes illa fuit in loco jam dicto Lhan Baudern Vaur. Camden Britan. in Com. Cardigan.* Quæ Sedes quia Parochiani pastorem suum interfecerunt, olim obsolevit, et Menevensi Diocesi est adunata. Rog. de Hoveden, p. 798. Paternens. ante 556.

De Menevensis Ecclesiæ Jure Metropolitico.

Habuimus apud Meneviam Urbis Legionum Archiepiscopos successivè 25. quorum primus fuit S. David, ultimus verò S. Sampson, qui ingruente per Walliam icteritiâ clade in Amoricam Galliæ Britanniam navigio se transtulit cum pallio nostro. Girald. Camb. de jure et statu Menev. Eccl. p. 542. Ubi vacante tunc fortè sede Dolensi, statim ibidem in Episcopum est assumptus. Nostri verò Episcopi eâ occasione continuè pristina caruerunt dignitate, semper tamen usque ad plenam, quæ per Anglorum Regem Henricum I. facta est, Kambriæ subjectionem, Episcopi Walliæ à Menevensi Antitiste sunt consecrati, et ipse similiter ab aliis tanquam suffraganeis est consecratus, nullâ penitus alii Ecclesiæ factâ professione vel subjectione, ibid. p. 534. vid. Polychron. l. 1. p. 204, &c.

Prædictus Rex Henricus Walliam regno suo subjugavit, et ideoprædictam Menevens. Ecclesiam et alias Walliæ Ecclesia suffraganeas Menevensis Ecclesiæ, Ecclesiæ regni sua scilicet Cantuariæ subjicere cupiens, Bernardum Clericum de camerâ suâ, quem in Menevensi Ecclesiâ Wilfrido Episcopo. (A. D. 1115. *mortuo Sim. Dun. de gestis R. Angl.*) subrogari procuravit, et apud Cantuariam. per regiam violentiam consecrari fecit. Et hic fuit primus Menevensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus à Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo consecratus, et post eum David et Petrus à Regibus Angliæ compulsi similiter à Canturiensi Archiepiscopo sunt consecrati, præstites sacramentis contra canones extortis de non suscitandâ lite super jure metropolitico contra Cantuariensem ecclesiam in perpetuum. Bernardus tamen defuncto Henrico Rege primo movit quæstionem super jure ecclesiæ suæ metropolitico contra Theobaldum Cantuar. Archiepiscopum. Roger. de Hoveden. p. 798. *Atque* adeo ex nimiæ securitatis audaciâ debito de jure quandoque præsumpsit; ut et crusem interdum sibi præferri per Kambriæ fines acceptasset. Giraldus ibid. p. 534. *Tandem vero ut Archiepiscopo Cantuar.* tanquam proprio metropolitano obedientiam et reverentiam exhibeat *Eugenius Papa* præcepit. Ibid. p. 546. 1115.

A Poetical Meditation, wherein the Usefulness, Excellency, and several Perfections of Holy Scripture are briefly hinted by J. C.

THOU, Lord, to me thy word hast given, — Psal. 18. 30. &119. 93, 140, 160, 163.
Precious and pure,
Sweet, holy, sure,
To guide me through the world to Heaven.

1. In all wants and necessities — Mic. 2. 7.
Thy word's my store,
Heaped, running o'er
With plenty of most rich supplies.

2. Temptations, terrors, dangers, fears, — Matt. 4. 3, 4, &c. Psal. 119. 92.
Those petty hells,
Thy words dispels,
And all the way before me clears.

3. When Satan flings his darts at me, — Psal. 18. 30. Eph. 6. 17.
Then, Lord, thy word
Is shield and sword
To save me, and to make him flee.

4. The world presents its objects rare, — Psal. 119. 14, 72 96. Phil. 3. 7, 8.
But yet thy word
Doth that afford
Which seems to me far costlier ware.

5. Then lust invites me to its pleasure, — Psal. 116. 47. 70. 16. 11. 36. Heb. 11. 25.
But to delights
Thy word invites
Which far surpass in weight and measure.

6. Then errors their gumm'd wares display, — 2 Pet. 3. 18. Psal. 119. 30. 102. 104. 118. 128. Isai. 30. 21.
But Scripture says
Shun error's ways.
Walk by my rule, "This is the way."

7. Thus when I'm tempted unto sin, — Psal. 19. 11. Psal. 119. 11.
By thy word's art,
Hid in my heart,
Both battle and reward I win.

8. Yea, though sins have defiled my soul, — Psal. 19. 9. John. 15. 3. Ephes. 5. 26.
Thy word can cleanse
Those noisome dens
Of lust, and sin's greatest strength controul.

9. Have I an unbelieving heart? Rom. 10. 17.
Thy word, Lord, hath
Power to work faith
By thy most Holy Spirit's art.

10. Have I an hard and stony heart? Ezek. 36. 26
Thy word thus deals,
First breaks, then heals,
That stone is cured by these smarts.

11. Will not my frozen heart comply? Ezek. 16. 30.6
Thy word, thy law 63. 36. 26. 31.
That heart, can thaw,
And change it to a weeping eye.

12. Do towering thoughts possess my breast? Acts 24. 45.
Thy words brings low, Rom. 12. 3. 16.
The proudest foe, Phil. 3. 4, &c.
And lays him level with the least.

13. Do muttering thoughts rise and repine? Psal. 38. 3, 14. &c. 39. 9.
Thy rod and word Jam. 5. 10, 11.
Teach patience, Lord,
And still those barking thoughts of mine.

14. Am I tongue-tied and cannot pray? Hosea 14. 2.
Thy word inspires Rom. 8. 26.
Praying desires, Matt. 6. 9, &c.
Dumb lips unseals, tells what to say.

15. When I in darkness err and stray, Psal. 119. 105
Thy word's a light Isai. 59. 10.
Most clear and bright,
And leads me back into the way.

16. I'm foolish, simple, and want eyes, Psal. 9. 7, 8. 110. 104. 130.
Thy word's light, rule, Gal. 3. 24.
Master and school,
Which make the comers to it wise.

17. I see myself undone and poor, Psal. 19. 10.
Thy words infold Prov. 8. 10. 11.
A mine of gold,
A pearl of price, all richer store.

18. With God by nature I'm at odds, Psal. 19. 8.
Thy word my soul James 1. 18.
Converteth whole,
From Satan's service unto God's.

Psal. 119. 23. 50. 143. 165.

19. Do outward troubles, inward grief
My soul torment?
Thy word is sent,
With comfort for my soul's relief.

Act. 16. 29, 30, 31, 32.

20. Am I perplexed with doubts and fears?
Thy word of grace
Resolves the case,
And so my clouded judgment clears.

Psal. 119 11. & 150. 5.

21. Or do despairing thoughts me take?
Thy word doth give
Me hopes to live,
For Christ my dearest Saviour's sake.

Psalm 94. 10. & 19. 8.

22. Do multitudes of thoughts me press?
I call to mind
Thy word, and find
Such comforts as my soul refresh.

Psalm 119. 82. 49.

23. Can't I through weakness walk alone?
Thy word, Lord, is
Strength to my knees,
And staff to stay my hand upon.

Matt. 4. 4.
1 Pet. 2. 2.
Isai. 55. 1.

24. Thus though I thirst, faint, hunger, pine,
Thy word me feeds
In these my needs,
Thy word itself is bread, milk, wine.

Psalm 119. 51. 114.
Prov. 4. 20. 22.

25. Thus though poor, scorned, forsaken, pained,
Thy word alone
Hath all in one,
Health, wealth, friends, honour, all contained.

1 John 2. 1, 2.

26. Thus though soul-sick, and wounded sore
With grievous sin,
Which doth begin
To fester, rankering more and more.

John 5. 39.
Jer. 8. 22.

27. Thy word shews whence help may be had,
And doth me guide
To Christ's pierced side,
Whence flows the balmof Glead.

Psalm 1. 23. 11. 119. 93.
Phil. 2. 16.
James 1. 18.

28. Yea, though in me no life remain,
Thy word is good,
And living food,
Which fetcheth me to life again.

29. Would I prolong this life for ever?
The scripture shews
Whence water flows,
Pure streams, whoso drinks, dies never.

Psalm 36. 2.
Isai. 55. 1.
John 4. 10. 14.

30. The Lord be blessed who thus provides,
And filleth full
My empty soul,
With food, which evermore abides.

Psalm 23.
Isai. 55. 2.
1 Pet. 1. 23. 25.

31. Bless God (my soul) that thus hath given
Strength, light, guide, way,
Lest thou should stray,
In this thy pilgrimage to heaven.

Psalm 119. 32. 105.
James 1. 21.
Jer. 32. 39.

32. This book, these sentences, these lines,
Each word and letter,
To me are better
Than chains of pearl and golden mines.

Psalm 9. 10.
Psalm 119. 72. 162.
Prov 8. 10. 11.

33. 'Tis heaven transcribed and glory penn'd,
God's mind, no doubt,
Was copied out,
When he this gift to men did send.

John 17. 17.

34. 'Tis truth itself: God doth intend,
Man's word shall fall,
Heaven, earth, and all,
But this shall never have an end.

Psalm 119. 89. 142.
151. 152. 160.
Mark 13. 31.

35. My soul admire that hand and quill
That did produce
For sinners use
The eternal mind, the sovereign will.

Psalm 119. 18. 127.
1 Cor. 7. 9.

36. Adore the Author too, and when
Thou canst not raise
Sufficient praise,
Sit down, and wondering, say AMEN.

Psalm 119. 171. 164.

An Enquiry into the Authority of the Primitive Complutensian Edition of the New Testament, as principally founded on the most ancient Vatican Manuscripts; together with some Research of that Manuscript, in order to decide the Dispute about 1st John v. 7.

In a Letter to the Reverend Mr Archdeacon Bentley, Master of Trinity-College in Cambridge.

This relates to the celebrated contest between the learned Dr Bentley and Dr Conyers Middleton, respecting Dr Bentley's proposed edition of the New Testament. Dr Middleton published severe remarks upon the celebrated critic's proposals for reviewing and altering the ordinary text, and a long controversy ensued, which ended in the overthrow of Bentley's design. Among other tracts upon this subject Dr Middleton is supposed to have written that which follows, at least it is included in a catalogue of his works in the Bodleian Library. It was published in 1722.

REV. SIR,

THAT regard is paid by the learned world to your superior skill in critical enquiries, that I cannot think it improper to address the following essay to a person of your acknowledged sagacity, in order to receive a just solution of the question proposed. And indeed I am particularly determined to give you the trouble of this application, by your having lately published your design to give us the New Testament as reviewed by yourself, and consequently to oblige the world with an examination of both Greek and Latin MSS. that relate to the disputed text in the 5th chap. of the 1st epist. of St John; towards deciding the authority of which, these papers are now offered to the consideration of yourself and the public. Certainly it is high time that this celebrated passage should be examined with the greatest accuracy, that either its authority may be satisfactorily vindicated, or be fairly given up for an interpolation, if it is not capable of being defended. The church has been of late so rudely insulted for retaining it in the English translation of St John's first epistle, and the memory of your ancient friend, the late faithful and learned reviser of the New Testament, has been reflected on so severely for deciding in favour of it, that it may seem surprising to some that little more has on that occasion been wrote in vindication of it than what has been offered by the ingenious Mr Martin, in his controversy with Mr Emlin.[1]

But since this is a text that has been frequently cited in controversy against the Unitarians and others, as a passage of scripture that most expressly asserts three persons in the Divine Nature; and since by the[2] Greek and Latin churches now read this pas-

[1] It ought to be added, that a copious vindication of this text has been very lately published, in four sermons, by Dr E. Calamy.

[2] Certé in Ritualibus Ecclesiæ Græcorum Orientalis, velut ab antiquis seculis, recepta est ejusdem [sc. v. 7. c. 5. 1. Epist. S. Johann.] in Epistola illa lectio publica quotannis in quinta feria Hebdomadis a Paschate trigesimæ quintæ, ut liquet ex eorum Codice cui Titulus Ἀπόστολος. Vid. Selden. de Synedriis, l. 2. c. 4. In Lectionibus Dominicæ in Albis, seu Dominicæ Pascha proximè sequentis, reliquisque usque ad Festum Ascensionis,

sage, and have done for so many ages, in a very solemn manner; and since in particular the church of England has in her liturgy appointed the reading of this passage as part of one of the lessons on Trinity-Sunday, and has likewise ever since the Reformation prescribed the publick reading of it in one of her [1] epistolary sections, namely, that on the first Sunday after Easter, according to ancient custom; since, I say, some stress seems to have been laid upon this passage, in honour and decency, and out of a just regard to what has been so long reputed part of the word of God, its authority ought to be examined with the most mature deliberation, before it be either tacitly or avowedly given up as an indefensible passage. It is not easy indeed to add any thing considerable to what has already been laid before the publick about the quotation of this passage by St Cyprian, or the supposed allusion to it by Tertullian, together with the methods that have been made use of to elude those authorities, and therefore I shall not here enter into an enquiry whether St Cyprian directly quoted this passage, as Fulgentius seems to affirm, or whether he mentioned it only as a mystical interpretation of the 8th verse, as Facundus tells us; though Facundus lived too remotely from the age of St Cyprian to know with certainty, that what St Cyprian seems to quote literally out of scripture, was designed by him merely for a mystical interpretation of another passage. Neither shall I now examine, whether Tertullian alluded to the controverted passage, or spoke his own sense without any allusion. These matters have been so expatiated upon by our late writers, who on one side have copied chiefly after *F. Simon*, that instead of repeating what is so well known, I rather choose to lay before the publick another part of this argument, that has not been so thoroughly discussed as it deserves. And it is taken from the authority of the Complutensian edition of the Greek Testament, which (as is well known) was not only the first, but the most accurate edition of it, and which in fact inserted the disputed passage of the threefold testimony in heaven. An edition this, that was firmly believed by the subsequent editors of the New Testament to have been entirely founded on the most ancient MSS. as will appear in its proper place. The question then is, upon what authority the Complutensian editors inserted this famous passage of St John, and particularly whether they did insert it upon the authority of the most ancient Vatican MS. or MSS. This is a question of great importance to this text, since the British Greek MS. cited by Erasmus in favour of this text, and consulted by himself, is perished, or not now to be found; since likewise Robert Stephens's Greek MSS. that have long been believed to have had this text, are either lost, or endeavoured to be rendered dubious; though Beza [2] confirmed their authority, by declaring that he reviewed them himself; and though they have lately been vindicated with great strength against the new artifices of F. Le Long; [3] and since also the authority of this passage in the noble edition of Complutum or Alcala, as being pretended to have been founded on no Greek MS. at all, is much disputed. Since therefore it has been roundly asserted that this text is not to be found in any ancient Greek MS. and since it must be confessed that we are reduced into a narrow compass with regard to Greek MSS. it may not be unserviceable to endeavour to clear up the authority of the Complutensian edition of the Greek Testament, and of this disputed text in particular, as founded on a very ancient MS. or MSS. And that it was so founded, I hope to evince in the following method.

solenne fuit antiquitús ut hodieque pro Epistola Diei inter alias propria legere partem Capitis jam dictæ Johannis Epistolæ quinti, atque in lectione illa publica et receptissima velut omnino genuinum agnosci jam dictum Comma. [sc. 7. cap. 5.] Ibid.

[1] —— sub Henrico Octavo, in Epistolis post Reformationem sic inceptam Solennibus, et sub Edwardo Sexto in Liturgia Anglicana Publica, ut postmodum similiter perpetuò sub Elizabetha Regina deincepsque legebatur [*hoc Comma*] ut alibi, ut pars Capitis quinti Epistolæ primæ Johannis, Dominicæ proximé Pascha sequenti propriæ. Ibid. p. 138. et 139. Lond. 1653.

[2] Vid. Præfat. et Epistl. Dedic. N. T. [3] Vid. Martin's Genuinenses of this Text, p. 62.—*Orig. Notes.*

First, I shall shew, that the Complutensian Greek Testament, as soon as it appeared in the world, was of that authority, as to oblige Erasmus, Robert Stephens, and the other subsequent editors of the New Testament, to accommodate their text very much to that edition.

Though the Complutensian Greek Testament was really the first that ever was printed, yet since (by some accidental obstructions) [1] it lay concealed and unpublished for several years after it was finished, Erasmus did in fact publish three editions of the Greek Testament before the Complutensian edition saw the light, and was known to the learned world. For the Greek Testament was finished in 1514, but that Testament was not published till about 1525. Before which time, namely, in 1522, Erasmus published his third edition of the Greek Testament. But Erasmus in his fourth edition of it, namely, in 1527, [2] professed his agreement with the Complutensian text of the New Testament, took many various readings out of the same, and in many places altered his former text, by taking into the room of it the readings of that excellent Spanish edition, that had by that time gained the highest reputation and authority. And [3] as for his fifth and last edition, he made very little alteration in it from that which immediately preceded it, that is, at the distance of eight years, and just before his death. So that he continued his great esteem for the Complutensian edition as long as he lived. And more especially with application to the disputed verse in St John, whereas it has been said by several writers that Erasmus put that verse into the text of his Testament, merely on the authority of the Codex Britannicus, and to prevent calumny; it is observeable, that this was spoke by Erasmus only of his third edition of the New Testament, in which he inserted that disputed verse after he had omitted it in his two former editions; for he seems to have been confirmed in the genuineness of that verse, since he [4] continued it in his fourth and fifth editions of the New Testament, that is, after he had seen it in the Complutensian edition, to which he paid a great respect, and very much accommodated both those editions.

Next to Erasmus's editions of the New Testament, those of Robert Stephens made the greatest figure. And we have particular reason to mention these, because our present text of the New Testament is the same with his. Now we are assured by Dr Mill, [5] that Robert Stephens founded the text of his New Testament upon the Complutensian edition as the basis of his work; and likewise that upon collation of Greek MSS. in the French king's library, he judged those MSS. the best that most agreed with the Complutensian edition, which he preferred to Erasmus's fifth and last. This was his criterion, and this his method throughout his first edition of the New Testament in 1546; with which his following one agreed, with regard to the controverted verse. And as for his second edition of the New Testament in 1549, he added more readings out of the Complutensian Testament to what he had extracted thence in his former edition. [6]

And with regard to Robert Stephens's third and most celebrated edition in 1550, in folio, Dr Mill computes that there are 598 readings in it taken out of the Complutensian edition. And he assures us, that Robert Stephens had that value for it, and paid that regard to its authority, that in this his best edition he resumed several readings out of the Complutensian Testament, which he had before rejected; and this in opposition to all other editions then extant: Of which we have many eminent instances in the Apocalypse. [7]

[1] Vid. Millii Proleg. p. 109. Edit. Oxon. Vid Alv. Gomecium de reb. gest. Ximenii, lib. 2. p. 966. apud A. Schotti Hispan. illustrat. Francof. 1603. 1 Vol. Fol.

[2] Vid. Millii Proleg. 114. [3] Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 116. [4] Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 114.

[5] Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 116, 117, 119, 120. [6] Ibid. p. 125. [7] Vid. Millii Prolegom. p. 126.—*Orig. Notes.*

As for other editors of lesser character, though 'tis clear from Dr Mill's collection that most of them paid that deference to the Complutensian edition as to accommodate their editions of the New Testament to it, yet it would be superfluous to mention them in particular, after what has been asserted of those superior editors Erasmus and Robert Stephens, who have been chiefly copied after by the subsequent editors.

Secondly, The reason of this authority of the Complutensian edition was founded on the most ancient Vatican MSS. and particularly on that excellent Vatican MS. which was recommended, or rather prescribed, to the Complutensian editors as the ground-work of their edition of the New Testament.

It is so well known that the Complutensian New Testament was carried on at the vast expence of that munificent patron of learning, Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, just before the Reformation began, that I shall not here enlarge upon it, but shall only take notice, that that great man was supplied with Greek MSS. of the New Testament out of the Vatican library, by order of Pope Leo X. for his assistance on that occasion, as we are assured from the preface to the Complutensian New Testament, in which the learned men employed as editors under the cardinal acquaint us, that the said Greek Testament was formed upon several most ancient and most correct MSS. But that it principally was transcribed from one particular Vatican MS. of great character for its extraordinary antiquity and correctness, appears, says Dr Mill, [1] from the acknowledgment of those editors, but (I think) more evidently from Erasmus's [2] sense of that matter. It was this MS. from which Pope Leo commanded those editors not to depart, but to adhere to it as the ground-work and text of their Greek Testament. Of all which since Dr Mill has given a very copious account, I rather chuse to refer to it than transcribe it. [3] It is sufficient under this head to observe, that the great authority which the Complutensian edition of the New Testament soon obtained among the learned must have been founded on the Vatican MSS. and more especially on that distinguished MS. which had the honour to be prescribed by the pope himself as the text of that edition; since I do not find that any more Greek MSS. than those of the Vatican were collated by the Complutensian editors, expect the Rhodian one of the Acts and Epistles, (cited often by Stunica) and except the *Codex Britannicus*, (mentioned by Erasmus) which the late Bishop Stillingfleet [4] assures us was sent to Ximenes on this occasion; though I confess I know not upon what authority this is asserted by that very learned person.

Thirdly, It is highly probable that the Complutensian editors found the controverted passage of St John in the Vatican MS. recommended particularly by Pope Leo, and therefore inserted it in their edition of the New Testament. And that for the following reasons.

First, Pope Leo (as has been just now shewn) expressly commanded Cardinal Ximenes and the learned men employed by him in the Complutensian edition of the New Testament, not to vary from the Vatican MS. that he recommended to them. Now it cannot easily be imagined but that this command of the supreme head of their church should have had great weight with and influence on them; and that not only when we consider those editors for the most part as Spaniards, that is, as men most strongly attached to the obedience of the papal chair, but more especially as engaged in a work of so nice a nature, as the giving the first printed edition of the Greek Testament, the great rule of faith and manners to the Christian world, and that from a certain copy prescribed them as their unvaried text by no less a person than the supposed vicar of Christ upon earth; when these circumstances, I say, are considered,

[1] Vid. Prolegom. p. 108.

[2] *Quibus* [*sc.* Hispanis Editoribus] *ex autoritate exemplar eximiæ vetustatis spectatæque fidei exhibitum e Bibliotheca Vaticana, a quo jussi sunt non recedere.* Apud Erasmi Epistol. ad Rob. Aldrisium, p. 1249. Edit Lond. Vid. etiam Erasmi Cap. Argument. cont. moros. præfix. 5tæ Edit. N. T. Bas. 1535.

[3] Vid. Proleg. p. 108, 109. [4] Vid. Vindication of Trinity, p. 126.—*Orig. Notes.*

t .s by no means credible that those editors should incur the imputation of corrupting the word of God, or run the greater hazard of being disobedient to the pope's express command on so solemn an occasion.

Secondly, The Complutensian editors themselves affirm (as has been already intimated from Dr Mill) that they formed their edition of the New Testament principally upon one particular Vatican MS. Though he does not pretend that they did entirely do so in exclusion of all the other MSS. sent by Pope Leo, he asserts,[2] that in effect they transcribed that MS. into their edition. It is confessed indeed by the editors in their preface, that they were supplied with several ancient MSS. in order to perfect their edition of the New Testament, yet since the chief stress was by Pope Leo's command to be laid upon one particular MS. it is reasonable to think that though they might in some few places vary from it upon the credit of the other MSS. yet that they would not do so with regard to our text in St John, since it had been long read in both Eastern and Western churches, and was known to be applied to so important a doctrine as that of the Trinity.

Thirdly, The singular readings of this text (as well as of many others) in the Complutensian edition of the New Testament shew that they were taken from the Vatican MSS. so particularly recommended to the editors as their standard. For, as Dr Mill judiciously observes, those readings are not now to be met with in the other MSS. of the New Testament. And it is peculiar to this disputed passage in the Complutensian edition, that at the end of the 7th verse it is read of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι. All other copies that we have heard of, that have the 7th verse, read it, Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι. In the Complutensian edition, the words, Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσι, are omitted at the end of the 8th verse. But this omission, though disagreeable to the common reading, is not peculiar to that edition: For the Codex Britannicus, and some other copies, have likewise omitted it. In the Complutensian edition it is read, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; whereas in the other copies it is read, ἐν τῇ γῇ. Now since the Complutensian editors had, according to Dr Mill, no other Greek copies of the New Testament,[3] but the Vatican MSS. the Rhodian MS. and (perhaps) the British MS. those singular readings of their text must have been derived (if from any MS.) from one or other of these. It has been just now shewn, that the 7th verse was read otherwise in the Codex Britannicus. And Stunica (who in his dispute with Erasmus frequently cites the Rhodian MS. on other occasions) does not quote that MS. in favour of this text of St John when omitted by Erasmus. It must therefore have been (if in any) in one or other of the Vatican MSS. And in which could it have been so probably, as in that distinguished MS. from which the pope expressly commanded them not to recede? Not to mention what is so frequently insisted on against this text by our adversaries, but really turns in favour of it, namely, that this text was not found in any of the Vatican MSS. by Caryophilus in the review of Urban VIII. Whence it follows, that if those Vatican MSS. were some of the MSS. that were formerly sent to Ximenes, (as is the common opinion) and if this text was taken from a certain Vatican MS. it must have been so from some other Vatican MS. that was not collated by Caryophilus; and therefore most probably from that Vatican MS. which was enjoined by Pope Leo to be the standard of the Complutensian edition. And that more especially, since the many singular readings in the Complutensian edition, as well as those of this disputed text, are not in the Vatican MSS. that were examined by Caryophilus, nor indeed in any other MSS. that are now extant, as far as we have heard. And therefore as it is not doubted that the many other singular readings in that primitive edition were taken from some or other of the Vatican MSS. there is little reason to doubt that this singular text in St John was likewise taken from some other or

[2] Quam [sc. Editionem] ad eum [sc. Cod. MS. Vaticanum] maximè expressum aiunt [sc. Complutenses]. Vid. Mill. Proleg. p. 108. [2] Vid. Ibid. [3] Vid. Mill. Prolegom. p. 108.—*Orig. Notes.*

the same MSS. If the other singular readings are allowed to be genuine, this singular reading ought also to be so allowed. For MSS. can now no more be produced for the one than the other. And if them any other singular readings are not to allowed to be genuine, the Complutensian edition of the New Testament, which has always been highly valued by all competent judges, must be given up as of no authority.

It if be said on this occasion,[1] "that an unprejudiced reader would presently guess from the marginal note in the very Complutensian edition itself, that the editors put in this text, (*i. e.* 7th verse) upon the authority of St Thomas Aquinas, who knew no Greek, and not from the Vatican MSS." To this it may be replied, that the contrary is very evident from the said marginal note.[2] For from thence it by no means follows that the Complutensian editors made any alteration in the 7th verse; but that if they made any at all, it was in the 8th verse; namely, that in the 8th they omitted these words, Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰσι, after the testimony of the spirit, water, and blood. For the argument against Abbot Joachim, as mentioned in the marginal note, turns upon these words, with relation only to two or three witnesses on earth, and cannot possibly be applied to the three witnesses in Heaven. But, however, it does not follow, that even these words in the 8th verse were omitted on the account of Aquinas; since they were not in the Codex Britannicus, said to have been consulted by the Complutensian editors; and therefore might be omitted on the authority of that MS. as well as of the Vatican MS.[3] And indeed several great men, upon the authority of ancient copies, have been of opinion, that this passage in the 8th verse ought to be omitted; and have probably supposed that it was inserted with design to derogate from the belief of the essential unity of the three heavenly witnesses. The conjecture then of the 7th verse having been inserted in the Complutensian edition from Aquinas, is not only ill-grounded and unconclusive, but is attended with some fatal consequences. For such a supposition would render the authority of the first editors of the Greek Testament so very precarious, as to derogate from the authority of their great work itself, with regard to all those singular readings that occur in it, and (as has been shewn) are on the same foot with this singular reading in St John. And if so, the subsequent editions that have been copied after the Complutensian Testament, and have retained many of its singular readings, will suffer some diminution of authority. For if it were allowed that the Complutensian editors could have taken the liberty of inserting a spurious text merely from Aquinas, and without regard, and indeed in opposition to the Vatican MS. prescribed them by Pope Leo as the standard of their edition, it must be granted that they deserve to be censured as wicked impostors, that could have practised so great a piece of prevarication; and by so notorious a cheat on the Christian world, must have sunk for ever not only their own reputation, but that of their edition of the New Testament. All which is contrary to the judgment of the learned world both with regard to Ximenes and his assistants, who have been so universally celebrated, and likewise with regard to their edition itself, which has been so justly valued and copied after by the subsequent editors of the New Testament. And surely the sense of so many learned

[1] Vid. Answ. to Mr Nelson, p. 209.

[2] Sanctus Thomas in Expositione secundæ Decretalis de summa Trinitate et fide Catholica tractans istum passum contra Abbatum Joachim, vid. Tres sunt qui Testimonium dant in Cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus; dicit ad literam verba sequentia. Et ad insinuandam Unitatem Trium Personarum subditur, et hi tres unum sunt. Quod quidem dicitur propter Essentiæ Unitatem: Sed hoc Joachim perversè trahere volens ad Unitatem Charitatis et Consensûs inducebat consequentem auctoritatem. Nam subditur ibidem; et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terrâ, sc. Spiritus, Aqua, et Sanguis. Et in quibusdam libris additur: et hi tres Unum sunt. Sed hoc in veris Exemplaribus non habetur; sed dicitur esse appositum ab Hæreticis Arianis ad pervertendum intellectum sanum Auctoritatis præmissæ de Unitate Essentiæ trium Personarum. Hæ Beatus Thomas ubi supra. Not. ad 5tum Cap. 1mæ Epist. S. Johannis in Complutens. Edit.

[3] Et quidem in MSS. Exemplaribus multis Latinis Græcisque, etiam in Editionibus aliquot Græcis, &c. omittitur illud de Unitate Spiritus, Aquæ, et Sanguinis. Viri aliquot magni Veterum Exemplarium Autoritate ducti verbis illis locum ibi deberi nolunt. Vid. Selden. de Synediris, l. 2. c. 4. p. 141.—*Orig. Notes.*

persons, who have allowed that the text of the Complutensian edition of the New Testament was entirely formed upon ancient MSS. is of great weight against some late suspicions of falsification.

Fourthly, It appears from several passages of Erasmus, that, as much as he doubted of the disputed text in St John, he doubted not but that the Complutensian Testament was taken from the ancient Vatican MS. and that in particular this controverted text was taken out of it. For he not only assures us, (as has been shewn before under the second head) that the [1] Complutensian editors were commanded by Pope Leo to adhere without variation to that most ancient and correct copy that was sent them out of the Vatican library by his authority, but he farther declares in his fourth edition of the New Testament (which was the first after the publication of the Complutensian Testament) that he almost entirely agreed with the Complutensian Greek text, which [2] Ximenes had taken from the Vatican copy that Pope Leo had supplied him with. And in his fifth and last edition of the New Testament, Erasmus says in general, that those editors followed the said Vatican copy.[3] But above all, Erasmus acquaints us more fully in his annotations on this very text,[4] that it was his opinion that the Spanish editors followed the Vatican copy when they inserted this verse of St John. And surely the judgment of so great a critic as Erasmus, considered as contemporary with the Complutensian editors, and likewise as the very first person that raised scruples about the genuineness of this verse, is of so great weight, as to be almost decisive in the present dispute.

Fifthly, The Louvain divines, (who after Hontenius) reviewed the New Testament in 1574, understood this matter as Erasmus did. For in their corrected Latin Bible, and on this very text of St John, they declare, that [5] the concurrence of the two Greek copies, namely, the British and Spanish copies, produced by Erasmus, is an argument of the genuineness of the said text. In which passage, as the British copy was confessedly a manuscript, so (by all rules of construction) must the Spanish, that is, the Complutensian copy, be understood to be likewise a manuscript, namely, the ancient Vatican MS. recommended to and used by the Complutensian critics, in their edition of the New Testament, which (as was just now shewn) was allowed by Erasmus to have been followed by them.

And on this occasion I cannot but take notice, that though Lucus Brugensis seems to doubt, whether the semicircle placed by Robert Stephens after the words ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, and not after the words ἐν τῇ γῇ, be rightly placed, yet the concurrence of Hentenius, the editor of the first Louvain Bible in 1547, in placing the said little semicircle, that is, the mark of spurious edition, immediately after the words *in cælo*, and not after the words *in terrâ*, and this upon the authority of several Latin MSS.: This agreement, I say, in placing that significant little hook, by Stephens and Hentenius, is an argument of some weight to prove the genuineness of our disputed verse, since Stephens's placing of it from Greek MSS. is confirmed by the very same placing of it by Hentenius from Latin MSS. and indeed this coincidence is so surprising, as to remove all suspicion of mistake in the placing of it by R. Stephens.

Sixthly, F. Amelote of the oratory, confessed by his adversary F. Simon to be a learned man, and though vain-glorious, yet not false and dishonest; he, I say, assures us in his notes on his own version of the New Testament, that he himself had seen this controverted verse in the most ancient MS. of the Vatican library. If this testimony of F. Amelote be not true, he was certainly one of the most egregious liars in the world; and if it be true, there is an end put to our present dispute: Since then no doubt this

[1] Vid. p. 13. in Margin. [2] Vid. Mill. Polegrom. p. 114. [3] Vid. Cap. Argument. præfix. Edit. 5tæ [apud Mill. Prolegom. p. 108.]

[4] Exemplar ex eâdem, ni fallor, Bibliothecâ [sc. Vaticanâ] petitum secuti sunt Hispani. Annotat. in locum.

[5] Quod pro Textûs lectione facit, cui et Latinorum libri plurimi suffragantur, quibus consentientes duos Græcos Codices, unum Britannicum, alterum Hispanicum, Erasmus profert. Apud. Not. in N. T. edit Lovan. 1574, de Epist. 1. Johan. c. 5. v. 7. [in Marg. Simonii de Version. Nov. Test. p. 107.]—*Orig. Notes.*

was the very MS. that was sent by Pope Leo to C. Ximenes as the standard of his edition of the New Testament. But this matter shall be farther considered in its proper place, under one of the following heads of this discourse.

Seventhly, F. Simon himself, the most professed adversary of our present text, not only wishes that all the subsequent editors had exactly followed the [1] Complutensian New Testament, which he owns to be the first edition, but likewise acknowledges that the said edition was taken from manuscripts, and makes no question but that C. Ximenes consulted the most ancient copies of the New Testament when he published his edition. In consequence of which concession it appears, that F. Simon could not deny that this disputed verse was taken by the Complutensian editors from some ancient manuscript, which is what the late writers, who generally transcribe his arguments against this text, are not ingenuous enough to allow. And I cannot but take notice on this occasion, that F. Simon [2] is so frank as to acknowledge, that Erasmus had declared, he had seen a Greek copy in England, which obliged him to insert in his following edition of the New Testament the disputed passage of St John. Which is another piece of ingenuity of F. Simon, not practised by our present adversaries, who are pleased to doubt, whether Erasmus ever really saw such a manuscript in England, though he himself says he had seen it; and though likewise he had owned [3] after his first edition of the New Testament, that if he had met with one copy that had the disputed verse, he would have inserted it, as accordingly he did, when he found it in a Greek copy in England, as he himself acquaints us; and consequently must be allowed to have acted sincerely on that occasion. And here we ought to reflect again, that the aforesaid concessions of so zealous and learned an adversary as F. Simon are of the greatest weight even against his own professed opinion, with regard to the disputed passage in St John.

Fourthly, Notwithstanding the fore-mentioned reasons, it would very much contribute to the decision of the present controversy about this verse in St John, if the original Vatican manuscript itself were again consulted, if it be still extant.

For though I cannot but think, that the reasons now assigned carry an air of great probability, yet I am not so begotten to them as to pretend they are absolutely decisive in establishing the authority of this text as derived from the Vatican MS. For as I aim at nothing but the discovery of truth on this occasion, it is acknowledged, that notwithstanding the order of Pope Leo to the Complutensian editors not to depart from the most ancient Vatican MS. that he recommended to them, it is certain that he likewise sent at the same time to them some other ancient MS. no doubt to be made use of by them in case of any considerable defect in the aforesaid distinguished MS. And this is confessed in other words by the editors themselves, when they tell us in their epistle to the reader, that several very ancient and very correct MSS. were communicated to them to form their edition upon as the original text, [4] and this is frankly owned by [5] Gomecius in his life of Ximenes, and by [6] Dr Mill himself. As for the argument drawn from the many singular readings of the Complutensian New Testament, though it is really a good one, yet it is not quite decisive, nor does it irresistibly force our assent, because Stunica, [7] one of the Complutensian editors, and who bore a great share in the trouble of collating the Vatican MS. as well as the Rhodian one, does not in express words inform us any where, in his dispute with Erasmus, in what

[1] See Crit. Hist. of the New Testament, Part II. E. Edit. p. 114. and p. 12, and p. 157.

[2] Vid. Crit. Hist. p. 3.

[3] Quod si mihi contigisset unum Exemplar in quo fuisset quod nos legimus [sc. 1. John c. 5. v. 7.] nimirum illinc adjecissem quod in cæteris aberat.

Apud Erasmi Respons. ad E. Leum. p. 234. Tom. 9. Bas. 1540.

[4] ——Complura Exemplaria impressioni huic Archetypa fuisse antiquissima emendatissimaque.

[5] ——Vid. Alv. Gomecium de vit. Ximen. lib. 2. p. 966. [6] Vid. Prolegom. p. 109.

[7] Stunica ——cui haud exiguæ in conferendis hisce Codicibus partis erant.—Apud Mill. Prolegom.

MS. he and the other editors found the 7th verse, and whether particularly they inserted it in their New Testament from the Vatican MS. so eminently recommended to them by Pope Leo. And since I scorn to use any disguise in this enquiry, it is confessed, that though the silence of Stunica does by no means overthrow the argument drawn from the said singular readings, yet it is the greatest difficulty to account for, and what sticks most with me. Again, Erasmus's authority, as above cited, would have been decretory, if he had spoken more expressly. And as for the Louvain divines, they build their assertion upon Erasmus, and indeed in their notes in some subsequent editions of their New Testament do not seem to have been quite so frank in their acknowledgment. And again, a greater regard would be due to so positive an assertion as that of F. Amelote, if he had pointed out the number and place of that most ancient MS. in the Vatican library, in which he saw this disputed verse, and had more plainly referred his readers to it for their more entire satisfaction.

Upon the whole, therefore, it is highly requisite that this celebrated Vatican MS. said to be the chief standard of the first and noblest edition of the Greek Testament, be again consulted, reviewed, and collated a-new, if it be still in being, in order to determine with greater assurance what emendations were made of it by the other MSS. in forming the text of the Complutensian New Testament, and consequently whether this disputed passage of St John was actually in it, and taken from it into the sacred text.

Fifthly, In order to such a review of the foresaid Vatican MS. it is necessary to obviate a mistake that has been committed by several writers, in confounding the Vatican Greek MS. which is at the end of Sixtus Quintus's Bible, with that Vatican Greek MS. which was the ground-work of the Complutensian New Testament.

It was asserted by Erasmus in his [1] answers to Lee and Stunica, that the most ancient MS. of the Vatican library has not the 7th verse, and he gives us the very words of Paulus Bombasius (the collater of that MS.) in his epistle to him to prove the same. F. Mabillon [2] likewise has taken notice, that the testimony of the three witnesses in heaven is wanting in the most ancient MS. of the Vatican *library*; and as he adds expressly, in that MS. from which Sixtus's Septuagint was published. Bishop [3] Burnet too has acknowledged the same is not to be found in the most ancient Vatican MS. And not to mention any more, Mr Emlyn [4] (the latest writer against this passage in St John) has said the same after a great number of authors. And accordingly it has been imagined by Mr Emlyn and many others, that this is the ancient MS. that was recommended by Pope Leo. Now all their assertions that this passage is not to be found in a Vatican MS. of great antiquity are very true, if they are understood only of the very ancient Vatican MS. which is at the end of Sixtus Quintus's Septuagint Bible. But then they are foreign to our present purpose; since it is very certain that the ancient Greek MS. of the New Testament which is at the end of Sixtus Quintus's Bible, is not the MS. that was recommended by Pope Leo to the Complutensian editors as the standard of their edition of the New Testament. For (as has been shewn before) the many singular readings in their edition plainly evince that those editors extracted them from some MS. very different from all the other MSS. that are now known, and consequently from that at the end of Sixtus's Septuagint. And if so, most probably they took them from that particular Vatican MS. which was recommended to them by Leo as the text of their edition. It is certain, that the MS. stiled by [5] Dr Mill and

[1] Quid si comperiatur eadem Lectio in Exemplari Bibliothecæ Pontificæ? Ap. Respons. ad Leum. pag. 231. Vid. supra.—Codex vetustissimus in Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ summi Pontificis non habet testimonium triplex in Cœlo.—Nam Paulus Bombasius consulto Libro locum mihi descripsit ad Verbum.—Apud Apologiam ad Jac. Stunicam, p. 294. dict. Tom.—Vid. etiam. P. Bombasii Epistolam inter Erasmi Epistolas, p. 756, 757. Edit. Lond. [2] Vid. Iter Italic. Part. 1. Pag. 63, Par. 1687. [3] See Letter 1. p. 55. Amsterdam, 1686.
[4] See his Enquiry, p. 8. & 32. [5] Vid. Dissertat. in 1 Johan. 5. 7.

others, the *Codex Vaticanus* of great antiquity, is the copy now extant at the end of Sixtus's Bible: And it is as certain, that this MS. has not the singular readings that occur to the Complutensian edition. And therefore this MS. is different from that which the Complutensian editors made use of by particular order of Leo X. This is very agreeable to the sentiments of the late learned reviser of the New Testament, Dr Mill, who has made a just distinction between these two ancient MSS. which seem to have been taken by others for one and the same. He assures us,[1] that all the Greek MSS. excepting that of the apostolical epistles sent to Ximenes and Rhodes, were procured from the Vatican library. Of which he particularly mentions two eminent MS. The first, that which is now extant at the end of Sixtus Quintus's Bible, written in large square or uncial characters, and said to be above 1200 years old. And to this MS. says he, no doubt those editors had some regard. But as for all the rest of the Vatican MSS. that MS. was most eminently distinguished, as he adds, which, for its great antiquity and correctness, Pope Leo sent as a standard to the Complutensian editors. As Dr Mill [2] proves likewise afterwards by the many singular readings of that edition not to be found in any other MS. and therefore not in the ancient MS. annexed to Sixtus's Bible in the Vatican library. By this just distinction an end is effectually put to the vain triumphs of the adversaries of the 7th verse: Those I mean, who, by affirming that the said verse is wanting in the most ancient MS. of the Vatican library, have insinuated that there neither is, nor was formerly, a most ancient MS. there that has, or had, that text. This distinction, as far as I can find, is what has never been considered in the dispute now depending; and since it is of importance, surely it deserves some farther enquiry what has become of the latter Greek MS. on which the Complutensian New Testament was almost entirely formed, and where that most valuable copy is lodged, that it may be again consulted, as on other occasions, so in a particular manner to clear up the authority of this disputed verse in St John.

Sixthly, Since it is certain, that the Vatican MS. was sent into Spain as the groundwork of the Complutensian New Testament, and it is uncertain, whether it was ever returned from thence to the Vatican library, if it is still extant it must lie concealed at this time in the archives of the Complutensian, or some other Spanish library; or, if returned to Rome, in the Vatican archives. And consequently, till an accurate search be made in those several archives, the dispute about the authority of the aforesaid verse in St John ought to be suspended.

It is confessed indeed, that the learned Dr Mill was of opinion,[3] that the fore-mentioned Vatican MS. was actually returned to Rome, and lies now concealed in the archives of the Vatican library, though probably distinguished there by its deserved peculiar character. And this seems to be favoured by F. Amelote's assertion, as cited above. It must likewise be owned, that the supposition of its being sent back to Rome looks plausible enough, when we consider that the Vatican MS. of the New Testament at the end of Sixtus Quintus's Septuagint Bible was returned from Spain to Rome, after it had been collated by the Complutensian editors. For we are assured by Dr Mill, that it was sent thither with other Vatican MSS. by Pope Leo; and it is very probable it was so sent upon account of its great antiquity. Now it is certain that this very MS. was returned to Rome by the time of Sixtus Quintus, since Carafa by his order published the Septuagint from that very MS. to the end of which the said

[1] Ceteri omnes Codices MSS. excepto sc. Rheodio Epistolarum Apostolicarum Cod. è Bibliothecâ Vaticanâ conquisiti sunt: iste certè in primis, qui extat jam ad finem Bibliorum Græcorum κατὰ τὸν ό, à Sixto quinto editorum; grandis ille, literisque Quadratis sive Uncialibus, quas vocant, ante annos jam mille et ducentos, uti perhibent, exaratus. Hujus enim haud dubium est quin rationem habuerint Editores isti. E reliquis erat insignis ille præ cæteris Codex, eximiæ Vetustatis spectatæque fidei, quem tanquam Archetypum Complutensibus nostris tradidit Leo decimus. Apud Prolegom. p. 108. Edit. Oxon.

[2] Vid. p. 109. ibid. [3] Vide Prolegom. p. 109.

copy of the New Testament was annexed. If therefore Dr Mill's supposition, that the MS. used by Sixtus Quintus in his edition of the LXX was actually sent to C. Ximenes in Spain be well-grounded, it is not improbable that the famous Vatican MS. which we are now in search of, was sent back to Rome with the fore-mentioned LXX Bible and the annexed MS. of the New Testament. It is therefore highly expedient, that the librarian of the Vatican should be consulted as soon as is possible, and the archives of that library be diligently examined, in order to find out the Greek MS. that was prescribed to Cardinal Ximenes by Pope Leo, as the basis of his edition of the New Testament. Hither then we ought to recur for satisfaction in the very first place. And indeed we have had not long ago such an instance of the civility of the court of Rome in the late pope's permission of the learned [1] Dr Wilkins, to perfect his Coptick New Testament by the MSS. in the Vatican library, that any man of learning is sufficiently encouraged to make his application on this occasion, and especially in vindication of the honour of the noble Complutensian edition to which Pope Leo so much contributed.

But since, notwithstanding Dr Mill's [2] warm way of expressing himself on this occasion, some doubts may be raised, whether the sending of the said MS. of the New Testament (at the end of Pope Sixtus's Bible) to Spain, be any thing more than conjectural; and if that were sent, whether the Vatican MS. which Ximenes chiefly used in this edition of the New Testament might not be detained there either accidentally, or in vindication of the authority of his said edition, in order to be produced upon proper occasions against any objections of innovation, though Sixtus's MS. were supposed to have been sent back to Rome, together with the other MSS. that were sent into Spain; these, I say, are doubts that deserve some consideration. For when we reflect on the state of things at Rome, a little before and after the publication of the Complutensian Bible, such an omission to send back to Rome the Vatican MS. chiefly used by the Complutensian editors, may be accounted for. As it has been shewn before, that the Complutensian Bible was not published till 1524, or rather 1525, and even then in some confusion, so it ought to be recollected that Cardinal Ximenes, the editor of that great work, died in 1518, (according to [3] Ciaconius) and that Pope Leo died in 1521; and that the successor of Leo, namely, Adrian the VIth, not only had no great genius for critical learning, and was wholly taken up with schemes of reforming abuses in the church, but [4] died within less than two years from his elevation to the papal chair; and likewise that the successors of Adrian, in a long train, had little inclination to learning, or after so long a time might easily have forgot to demand back any of the MSS. that were sent to Ximenes; these circumstances, I say, being considered, it appears by no means improbable, that the foresaid Vatican MS. and perhaps others sent from Rome, were never returned to the Vatican library, but were either left among the books and papers of Ximenes at Toledo upon his decease, or among the MSS. that he himself bought for carrying on his edition of the Bible, and left in the library which he gave to his newly erected university at Complutum or Alcala d'Henares, where that primitive edition was begun and perfected.

But to consider the state of things at Rome a little farther, it does not appear from the lives of the following popes, that is, from the death of Leo the Xth till the reign of Urban the VIIIth, which is about the space of one hundred years, that any design was carried on at Rome that required the review or examination of any of the Vatican MSS. of the New Testament that had been sent by Leo to Ximenes, excepting that at the end of Sixtus's Septuagint, which perhaps was never sent into Spain. For

1 Vid. Præfat. ad Copticum N. Testam. Oxon. 4to. 2 Vid. Prolegom. p. 109. 3 Vid. Vit. Pontific. Rom. p. 1381. vol. II. Rom. 1630. 4 Vid. Ciaconium, in Vit. Adrian.

though [1] the Popes Pius IV. and V. are said to have projected a new edition of the vulgar Latin version, which Sixtus V. carried on, as well as ordered the edition of the Septuagint by Carafa, and though Clement the VIIIth reformed the Roman edition of the vulgar Latin, yet nothing appears to have been done at Rome with regard to the Greek text of the New Testament, that required a survey of the Vatican MSS. from the time of Leo the Xth till Urban the VIIIth. And therefore in the space of a whole century, it might easily happen, that the foresaid Vatican MS. and perhaps some others, might be forgot to be demanded back again to Rome. And that the Vatican MS. so particularly recommended to Ximenes, was not returned to Rome by the time of Urban the VIIIth, appears credible from hence, that [2] when by that pope's command there was a review made of the Greek MSS. of the New Testament at Rome by Matt. Caryophilus, in order to carry on a new edition of the same at that place, and when he collated (besides those of the gospels) eight Greek MSS. of the Epistles, MSS. of the greatest antiquity in the Vatican and the other principal libraries in Rome, the disputed verse of St John was not to be found in any of them, as has been already intimated in this discourse. But though the suppression of that designed edition be to this day a secret, yet it appears that the Vatican MS. which was the ground-work of the Complutensian edition, was not then at Rome; and if not then at Rome, it is not very probable that it has been sent thither since, and is there now; and more especially when we consider that though those various readings that were collected by Caryophilus have been since published by Pope Posinus, the design of another review has not been since revived. We might have hoped for some light in this matter from some good catalogue of the MSS. of the Vatican library since the reign of Leo the Xth. But there is no such printed catalogue to be found, nor indeed any other but the imperfect one of the Possevine,[3] in which there is no mention made of any Greek MSS. of the New Testament. It is certain from Spizelius, who published his *Arcana Bibliothecaram illustr. detecta.* in 1668, that there was then no catalogue published of the Vatican MSS. but that of Possevine, whose catalogue he has reprinted. As for [4] Alexander Raynaldus, after Possevine, he seems only to have been concerned in drawing up a catalogue of the Latin MSS. in the Vatican library, which, however, is not yet published. And perhaps the true reason of its not being published is; that the [5] poverty of the Vatican library with regard even to ancient Latin MSS. and that too after the accession of the Palatine and other libraries to it, made it necessary to suppress the said catalogue, in order to preserve the reputation of the Vatican library. If any thing of this nature, with regard either to Greek or Latin MSS. in the Vatican library, is to be met with among us, we must recur for it to a curious gentleman that resides not far from Windsor; who, according to credible fame, has by him more exact catalogues of the MSS. of the Vatican and other eminent libraries abroad, than have yet been published. He would therefore oblige the learned world, if he would please to communicate to it some account of those MSS. and more especially, with regard to the subject of the present enquiry, if he would bestow upon the publick what catalogues he may have happened to be favoured with of the MSS. of the Vatican, Escurial, Toledo, or Alcala libraries. He will, I hope, pardon the liberty of this application from one who is entirely a stranger to him, since it is occasioned by an enquiry that may be beneficial to the learned world.

In the mean time, with relation to the Escurial library, it does not appear from the collation of eight Greek MSS. of that library by [6] Petrus Faxardus, that this disputed passage of St John was in any of them. I cannot find, that there is any catalogue of the Escurial MSS. as yet published but that of [7] Barvoetius, which is too imperfect to give

[1] Vid. Ciaconium, p. 1825. Part II. [2] Vid. Catenam in Marc. Pet. Possinum, p. 522, 523. Romæ. 1673. Vid. etiam Præfat. [3] Vid. Possevini Apparat. Sacr. [4] Vid. Leon. Allatii Apis Urban. et Alib.
[5] Vid. Burnet's Letters, p. 227. [6] Vid. De la Cerda Adversar. p. 129. Lugd. 1626.
[7] Vid. Barvoëtii Catalogum præfixt. Cyvilli Alex. Homiliis in Jeremiam editis Gr. & Lat. per Corderium. Antv. 1648. 8vo. & apud Labb. Biblioth. Nov. p. 175. Par. 1653. 4to.

us an account of the MSS. of the Greek Testament, as having been made only by help of memory. And in the description of that library by [1] Claudius Clemens, no account is to be met with of any Greek MS. of the New Testament that is above 600 years old. But indeed an end is put for ever to this enquiry into the MSS. of the Escurial library if [2] F. Montfaucon's account be true, namely, that the numerous and most ancient MSS. of that library are all destroyed by fire.

As for the other libraries in Spain, in which the fore-mentioned Vatican MS. may probably be thought to lie concealed ever since it was used by C. Ximenes, they are those of Complutum or Alcala and Toledo, concerning either of which I confess I can meet with but slender accounts.[3] But since Ximenes was the founder of the university of Alcala, and settled professors there; since his celebrated edition of the Old and New Testament was begun, carried on, and finished at Alcala by seven very learned persons that were assembled by him at that place; since we are assured, that the seven Hebrew copies, with which the Old Testament was collated are actually now at Alcala, or were so when Gomecius wrote his history of Ximenes; and, lastly, since we are informed by [4] a very learned and competent judge of these matters, that the Complutensian or Alcala library was filled with all sorts of books, and with those of divinity in an extraordinary manner, by Ximenes himself, and that this library is stiled wonderful and singular, and is recommended especially on account of the Bibles contained in it; when all this, I say, is put together, it is by no means improbable that the Vatican MS. so particularly used by Ximenes at Alcala, was lodged there with his own MSS. of the Bible, and in the fore-mentioned hurry and confusion occasioned by the death of Ximenes and Leo (before the publication of the long-suppressed Complutensian edition of the Old Testament) may never have been returned back to Rome. And consequently, since the said MS. may lie there concealed to this day, the library at Alcala well deserves to be nicely examined by some learned person, upon supposition that by a previous search it is not to be found in the Vatican library.

With regard to Toledo, we are assured by the fore-mentioned [5] writer of the life of Ximenes, that there is a volume of letters wrote by Ximenes now extant in MS. in the archives of the church of Toledo, a few of which letters are inserted by Gomecius in his said life. Now these MS. letters of Ximenes, if consulted, may possibly give some light to the question what became of the Vatican MS. that we are now enquiring after, when Ximenes had perfected his edition of the New Testament; for it is certain, that Ximenes lived one year after that great work was finished. For the whole Bible was begun in 1502, and finished in 15 years, that is, 1517, the famous æra of Luther's reformation. And, as has been shewn before, Ximenes died in 1518. Indeed it is not improbable, that the said Vatican MS. may have accidentally been deposited in the archives of that church in which Ximenes presided as primate when he died, and in which are actually found his unpublished letters and papers; with which that MS. we are in search of might easily be conveyed, and lie there undisturbed to this day. It is therefore worth farther enquiry in those unpublished letters of Ximenes, and the other papers and books in the archives of Toledo, in order to discover the most valuable Vatican MS. And that such an examination of the Spanish archives is practicable at this time, and especially by procuring a particular order of the government there for that end, the present peace with Spain, and the late renewing a friendly commerce with that nation, seem to persuade us, if the bigotry that too much prevails there be not an insuperable obstacle to all enquiries of this nature.

[1] Vid. Claud. Clement. Biblioth. Escurial. Descript. c. 4. 528, &c. Lugd. 1635. 4to
[2] Vid. Palæograph. Græc. p. 28. [3] Vid. Alv. Gomecium de gestis Ximenii, l. 2. p. 966. [4] Vid. De la Cerda de Apparat. Lat. Sermon. apud A. Schotti Hispaniæ Bibliothec. p. 61, 62. Francof. 1608. 4to.
[5] Vid. Lib. 4.

To conclude, as you are engaged, Mr Archdeacon, in giving the world a new edition of the Greek Testament, as you are known to have employed some learned persons abroad in the collation of MSS. on that occasion; so may it be justly expected that you will depute some persons of learning to examine more nicely than ever the archives of the Vatican and the fore-mentioned Spanish libraries, in order to find out, and (if it be still in being) to collate anew the famous Vatican MS. that was the ground-work of the first and noblest edition of the Greek Testament. And indeed such a discovery and subsequent collation of so valuable a MS. would be a very advantageous distinction of your designed edition. For how ancient soever those collations you promise in your new edition, (whether some of them be those of Kuster[1] or distinct ones) and which possibly were unknown to the late industrious reviser Dr Mill, yet it must add highly to your honour, and that of your work, if you shall be so happy as to discover and collate that most ancient MS. on which not only the learned doctor, but Pope Leo and the Complutensian editors, laid so great a stress. How false a judgment soever has been made by some criticks with regard to the multitude of various readings in the New Testament, you have the wishes of all competent judges that you could discover many more Greek MSS. of it of so great antiquity, and oblige the world with their collations. But without derogating from the value of your lately discovered Greek MSS. or any others that may be retrieved, it must be granted that none can be more decisive in the dispute now depending about the authority of the fore-mentioned passage of St John than the confessedly most ancient Vatican MS. from which so many singular readings seem to have been copied into the Complutensian edition, and from thence were transcribed into the most eminent subsequent editions of the New Testament, in an entire dependence on the great antiquity and correctness of that MS.

And indeed, sir, besides these general reasons for making a strict enquiry after the Vatican MS. there seems to be a particular reason or two for your giving orders to some well-qualified persons to search for, and (if it be extant) to collate that copy. One reason is, because it is obvious that your edition of the Greek Testament is designed to outshine that of Dr Mill. But, as he acquiesced in a mere conjecture that the aforesaid Vatican MS. lies concealed at this time in the archives of the Vatican library, how will your edition excel his in this respect, if you do not exert yourself with great vigour, in endeavouring to discover and collate so venerable a copy of the New Testament? Another reason is, that you are cited by professed[2] Arian writers, as one that is of opinion that the controverted passage in St John is spurious. Now as this declaration of opinion, previous to the collation of several MSS. is no small prejudice to your designed edition, so one of the methods that seems necessary to be used in order to vindicate yourself from the imputation of partiality and prepossession seems to be that critical examination of the Vatican and Spanish libraries which is here proposed, to find out and collate anew the most ancient Vatican MS. which is so justly presumed to have in it the fore-mentioned passage of St John. The last reason I shall assign is; that however expensive such an examination of the foresaid libraries may be pretended to be, it is generally believed you have already received so large a sum of money, either in the way of bounty or subscription, as will very amply support the expences of the proposed examination.

Upon the whole, if it shall appear from the Vatican MS. when retrieved, that the Complutensian editors inserted the disputed passage of St John from that most ancient copy, an end will be put effectually to the insults of the adversaries of that passage. And if it cannot be discovered, but must be given up for a lost or perished copy, yet still the strong probabilities will continue that the Complutensian editors inserted the

[1] Vid. Præf. to Kuster's Edit. of Mill's Gr. T.

[2] See Emlyn's Reply to Martin, p. 43. and Whiston's Answer to the Earl of Nottingham, p. 10. Pref.

said passage from it. However, it is very just and reasonable that the controversy about this passage should be suspended, till the greatest diligence possible be used to find out the celebrated Vatican MS. And then it will be time enough to decide upon the authority of this passage. In the mean time, as the method proposed by yourself, sir, of endeavouring to find out whether the said passage be genuine or not, by an accurate collation of the most ancient Latin MSS. of the New Testament, as supposed to be translated from the most ancient uncorrupt Greek copies; as this consequential method, I say, is subsidiary, and may contribute to give some new light in this dispute (though it cannot be allowed to be a decisive argument) so is it highly probable that it is a method that will be serviceable towards the establishment of this passage of St John. For far the greater number of those Latin MSS. that have been hitherto collated by learned men, retain this passage, and many of them no doubt are very ancient. Whatever be the result of collating your own Latin MSS. asserted by you to be very ancient, the publick will be glad to be informed of it. For though it should happen that they want this passage, their authority will not be conclusive against that of a multitude of other very ancient Vatican MSS. that are not known to retain it.

On the other side, if it shall appear from the Vatican MS. when retrieved, that the Complutensian editors did not insert the disputed passage of St John from that most ancient copy, but from Latin copies of great antiquity; though such a discovery would confute the reasons assigned in this discourse, yet agreeably to the method proposed by yourself, sir, of finding out the genuine Greek text by the concurrence of very ancient Latin copies that were translated from the most ancient and uncorrupt Greek MSS. I say, upon this principle, neither the reputation of the Complutensian edition of the Greek Testament, nor the authority of this controverted text in particular, would be affected by such a discovery. For if Stunica and his brethren were persuaded that most, if not all, the Greek MSS. of St John that are now extant, were corrupted, and that the Latin copies that retain this controverted passage were agreeable to the most ancient uncorrupted Greek copies, and that consequently this passage ought justly to be inserted in that edition, as in fact it was, I do not see why they ought to undergo any censure from yourself, who pay so great a regard to, and lay so mighty a stress upon the ancient Latin copies of the New Testament, whatever opinion the rest of the learned world might on this occasion entertain, by way of diminution, of the authority of the Complutensian editors.

I am,
Reverend sir,
Your most humble servant.

Preface to a short and sure Method proposed for the Extirpation of Popery, in the Space of a few Years. By a Person of Quality. 1716.

The Tract to which this preface was written has been already printed, vol. IX. p. 463, to which the reader is referred. But although it was unnecessary to follow former editors in reprinting the Tract itself a second time, it is judged necessary to retain the following remarkable preface to the republication in 1716. It serves to shew the temper of the times, which was still so eager

as have many authors ready to suggest the most violent measures against Roman Catholics. The Tract itself recommends the positive expulsion of all papists from the British dominions.

THE ensuing piece seems to have been written soon after the Revolution, and, as appears to me, to have been designed for the consideration of the Convention-Parliament. It does not appear by whom it was writ, otherwise than by a person of quality: But this is certain, it was penned by a good patriot, as having at heart the future peace and security both of church and state, then happily established in these nations, by the glorious King William, whom God made the happy instrument of delivering us from popery and arbitrary power, when we were just ready to be overwhelmed with both.

That the author was guided by a prophetic spirit, to fall upon the only means, humanly speaking, possible, to deliver this church and nation from the mischievous machinations of papists, utterly destructive of both, may with some seem too much to be said of him. But that by divine direction he has fallen upon the only method, both effectual in itself, and merciful in the nature of it, to free us for ever from the bane of popery, papists, and priests, I crave leave, with all deference and submission, to offer, in way of preface, a few reasons.

And to convince us, as to the fact, that of the numerous laws against popish recusants and their priests, even all put together, have not hitherto been found effectual to rid us of so fatal an evil as both, it may suffice to observe, that from the first enacting of such laws, to this day, we have suffered under the effects of the *voisinage* and *cohabition* of papists, and have been sometimes brought, in every reign since, upon the very brink of total ruin by their various contrivances: But the reasons thereof may not perhaps be so obvious as the effects, permit me therefore so tender a few of the many which may be offered.

And the first shall be the merciful, I had almost said the weak genius of the English nation; from which it seems to proceed, that as in the like particular cases, when we first hear of a bloody and barbarous murder, though we are ready to tear in pieces the cruel creature, yet upon the day of execution, from Newgate to Tyburn, there shall be hardly one in the whole crowd but will pity the criminal, and secretly wish his pardon: And when we first hear of the breaking out of a plot or a rebellion of papists, though our passions suddenly rise high against them, as the pest of human society, yet after condemnation we would have them all pardoned, as at present is the weakness of many, who are really friends, as well as of others who are enemies to the government; so in this more general case of the laws against popery, and the execution of them, though immediately upon an attempt of an assassination of any of our princes, as in the days of Queen Elizabeth; of a Gun-powder-plot, as in the reign of King James I; of another popish plot, as in that of Charles II.; of an usurpation, through popish bigotry, upon the whole rights both religious and civil, of a nation, as in that of his brother James II. Though upon such occasions, I say, our legislature immediately fell upon bills to curb popery, and indeed upon such occasions all our penal laws against popery had their rise, yet when the passion is over, even the very persons who were most zealous in enacting these penal laws, do often themselves soon grow cool in the execution of the same

This may seem to proceed from benignity of nature, which, when duly qualified, the gospel, that inclines to mercy and toleration, does indeed justify and highly encourage, but has nothing in it of the masculine dictates of our most holy religion, which is ever impregnated, as with the most exalted goodness, so with the height of wisdom; but 'tis indeed nothing but feminine weakness, when this tenderness of disposition is carried

to such a dangerous excess of indulgence, as would greatly endanger the whole constitution in church and state, and that the best in the world, in order to introduce the worst in both.

But in the other reason of the non-execution of our just, and good, and necessary laws against popery, priests, and papists, there seems something else in the cause more blameable than a mere weakness; and therefore I shall presume to reflect upon it with greater freedom; and that chiefly because it has brought us so often upon the very brink of ruin, and will continue to do so, I fear, till something like what is proposed by our author shall be brought into our laws, for the further security of prince and people.

And the reason I will assign shall be taken from the voisinage and intermixture of so many popish lords and gentlemen, both in town and country, among our quality, who, as justices of the peace, and in the lieutenancy, have the chiefest share in the execution of our laws.

And indeed our popish gentlemen seem to have some advantages whereby they have the ascendant over the generality of our other English gentlemen, which does greatly compensate for the disproportion of their numbers. They are almost all of them sent for their education into the English seminaries abroad; and there, besides the polite and engaging behaviour they learn by travel, they are industriously trained up by the jesuits, the usual masters of their education, in all the arts of obliging address and dissimulation, by which they are often found to work themselves into the good opinion of their protestant neighbours, to admiration. And even as to those few who know the genius of popery too well, one would think, to be capable of being at all so fatally imposed upon by them, these artful gentlemen prove often too cunning, even for them; and it is not easy better to account how else it should come to pass, that, instead of our being used in our taxations harder, they have been commonly taxed lower, if reports are true, than their protestant neighbours, by some indulgent commissioners. And there being at present in every county of England more or less of these wily and designing gentlemen, and those of great estates, it need not be wondered at that they should be able to enervate the execution of any of our laws which respect them.

But, alas! it is not from the popish gentlemen immediately from whom our mischiefs and dangers do so much arise, as from the numerous priests who take shelter among them. That there are more of that pestilent tribe of men annually educated in the English seminaries abroad, both colleges and monasteries, than in all our universities, may with great probability be concluded from the vast number of such seminaries, and the large estates they have in England to support them. And that their priests, according to the oath taken at their admission, do, at the command of their superiors, return among us in great numbers, especially when some horrible mischiefs are hatching here, may be judged from one single instance which I had of a gentlemen who, in his passage through Liege, a few years since, found, that of the great college of English jesuits there, consisting of about eighty, as I have been informed, they had almost all trooped over hither, so as to leave in their places only a few novices, and those scarcely enough to do their offices. And it is well known that the roads, and passage boats, and coaches, from France and Flanders, from Portugal and Spain, were crowded with them at the late seasonable juncture for them. And now these, when they arrive, where can they take up their head quarters but in the popish families both in town and country? It is here they throw off the cowl, and here they put on the mask. It is hence they sally out among us in a thousand disguises; first to create divisions, and form parties among us, and then to ferment our animosities to such a height of uncharitablenes, as to render our uniting in the common interests of church and state impracticable, and to make our breaches so wide, that they in the scuffle may enter through them; or at least that we may never arrive to the happiness our great deliverer with his dying breath bequeathed us, to have no other distinction but of protestant

and papist, of English and Frenchmen, remaining among us. 'Tis from these dens these cunning foxes come out to seize us geese in the gloomy nights of our threatening dangers; and it is here they retreat towards morning, when we begin to perceive the mischiefs they have been doing us all the night.

I shall not here dwell upon the mischiefs these popish gentlemen dwelling among us do us, in covering the vast estates given to the superstitious uses of the priests and jesuits, as vast a fund as those estates undoubtedly are, for the carrying on of conspiracie, plots, assassinations, and massacres, of foreign invasions and domestic rebellions; as also for the vending and dispersing seditious news and pamphlets, and for forming and widening our senseless, but fatal divisions. And I do therefore forbear assigning the keeping this Pandora's box of innumerable and mortal plagues to our popish gentlemen alone, because I doubt they alone are not accessary in the criminal guilt of covering, in trust for popish priests, such pernicious estates. Not but that I flatter myself I could lay a scheme as effectual to pull the prey out of the teeth of these state foxes, the popish priests, as the succeeding one would be to dig up their kennels. But enough of the mischiefs arising from our not removing our popish gentlemen from among us.

And now give me leave to add a few words of the mercy in this way of proceeding above all methods hitherto thought of, for the publick security and tranquillity of his majesty and his kingdoms. But that I may not be misapprehended, as if I were about to intimate there were any thing unmerciful either in our laws now in being, or in the due execution of them, I must premise that I conceive nothing more just, than that after the bloody reign of Queen Mary; after above fifteen desperate attempts upon Queen Elizabeth, to assassinate her person, or invade her dominions; after a breve of the pope, to prevent King James from coming to the crown, and soon after a gunpowder plot, to blow him and both houses of parliament up; after the Irish massacre of two hundred thousand protestants in cold blood, in the reign of King Charles I.; as also the troubles and great rebellion, and the murder of the same prince, first hatched, and secretly carried on, and finally accomplished by priests and papists; after the grand popish-plot, in the reign of King Charles II.; and a much more fatal one yet by King James II. and his priests, to pawn upon the nation an impostor to succeed him; and when that succeeded not through the goodness of God to the most ungrateful of all people; after an assassination attempted upon the person of his glorious successor King William III. of immortal memory, and other conspiracies to dethrone him: If, after all these provocations, and so many imminent dangers brought upon this church and nation, to the total ruin of both, should they have succeeded in their designs, can it be deemed unmerciful either to have enacted, or executed, any of the severest of our laws made against them, not formed but upon these occasions? And now in the happy, thrice happy reign of our excellent King George; if, after an open rebellion headed by papists, a rebellion which may cost, for any thing I know, two millions before it can be totally suppressed; if, besides the forfeitures, a greater proportion than ordinary, in the taxes, should be laid upon them, till that debt shall be paid off; I can see no unreasonable severity in this; but, on the contrary, it may rather seem very hard that we protestants, except such as have acted in concert with them, should bear the burthen brought upon the nation by their crimes.

But admitting for the present there should seem some severity in the former laws against papists and their priests, as also in the execution, however, in the packing away these troublesome gentlemen, and giving them leave to carry off the value of their estates along with them, I cannot see they will have the least shadow of complaint; but, on the contrary, the humanity and mercy shewn to them therein, as well as the scurity to ourselves, I humbly conceive may fairly be demonstrated from several topicks, particularly these.

First, That as they will be at liberty to chuse the country to plant themselves and families in, so very likely it will be in France, or some other popish nation, where they will settle themselves. And in these they will meet with two things agreeable enough to their genius, such as they must never more, I hope, expect in England; namely, to live under a most arbitrary government, where every thing will be at the prince's will, and that actuated by jesuit councils; and next, either they may enjoy the sweet pleasure of satiating themselves with protestant blood, and have the noble entertainment once a year to behold from their balconies an *auta de fé*, or occasionally once in seven years, perhaps, a bloody dragooning, and something oftener to see a chain of fifty or an hundred hereticks dragged from La Tournelle, as was lately in the midst of winter from under our garrison at Dunkirk, of nineteen, quite down to the gallies. And would it not be worth their while to follow those miserables from Paris to Marseilles, though near six hundred miles, there to behold their entertainment, when arrived, to view on board their bastinadoes, or to peep down into their dark and nasty dungeons? Alas, these are sights they must now never expect to be gratified with in England!

But, secondly, so long as these popish gentlemen shall continue here, their case will remain most unfortunate, because of the entanglements and perplexities of their consciences, or the dangerous risques they must often run, in sacrificing their all, their lives and fortunes, their noble and ancient families, whenever they shall be put upon a secret plot or an open rebellion, in obedience to the papal dictates, and the instigations of their confessors, the private guides of their consciences.

The unhappiness of their case with us, in short, is this: Besides the obligation papists in general are perpetually under, to distress and exterminate hereticks, if they possibly can, by virtue of various canons of councils, down from the great Latern to the council of Trent: There are divers bulls of popes since the Reformation, which have a scurvy aspect upon us particularly, and all our protestant princes: And as antiquated as these bulls and breves may seem to be, shall be still in force, according to the doctrine of their canonists against even our present sovereign (whom God long preserve) and his protestant successors, whenever circumstances shall favour.

The bulls I mean are those against King Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth; the two breves, the one to prevent the succession of King James I. and the other to forbid his vassal-papalins here to take the oath of allegiance. All these may seem to the unwary among us, to have terminated, as to their obligation, with the lives of the princes against whom they were fulminated, but are really still in force, by the doctrine of their canonists, when it shall be practicable to put them in execution. And to be satisfied about the bloody import of them you need no more but to read them, as you will find them in the Papal Usurpations, p. 115.

And therefore, whenever an utter alienation of minds, and divided interests, shall be thoroughly wrought by the pope's emissaries, between prince and people, as in the reign of King Charles I.; whenever the next successor shall be wrought up to the height of popish bigotry, the case of King James II.; and it shall be thought necessary to make way for his succession, that the more indolent and less zealous prince in possession should march off, as is very suspicious was the fate of King Charles II.; but, above all, whenever an impostor can be brought upon the stage to carry on the mischiefs to all future generations, and 'tis likely he may be strongly supported by a poisoned party at home, and by potent succours from abroad, which is our present case; whenever matters shall be thus ripened for execution, then *rebus non ita stantibus*, as before, the suspension of those seemingly antiquated bulls, as also of the annual bull of *Cœna Domini*, shall be taken off, and they shall be bellowed by the popish priests and emissaries, into the ears of all the popish gentlemen, and also into those of inferior rank; and, upon pain of damnation, they shall be roused up to an immediate private assassination and massacre, or an open rebellion.

And now what a miserable condition must our English papists, especially those of quality, live in among us? What a hard dilemma, once in twenty or thirty years at least, have they been, and are they likely to be brought into? On the one side damnation if they shall not, upon the signal from Rome, immediately rebel; on the other, the utmost hazard of lives, estates, and honours, if they stir? And is it not then better for them, as well as more safe for us, that they remove into countries entirely popish, where they shall be brought into none of these miserable streights? Our protestant brethren would take it as a favour, might they be permitted to depart France, and come over to us with their skins; and why should our papists grudge to transport themselves thither with lives and fortunes?

There may indeed be a strong aversion in their priests, that the popish laity should comply with this; and that for many reasons. They will in consequence of this lose the greatest part (I do not say all, as long as protestants shall cover any) of the estates given to superstitious uses: They will hereby be deprived of those places of shelter they have now among us; and they will lose the fiend-like satisfaction of perpetually putting this happy island together by the ears, and their own native country into flames. But yet the Romish priests need not be so much frighted into a departure from us as the laity: For though they themselves come often into the noose, as well as the popish laity, by reason of their desperate efforts to destroy us, yet they have not those family ties by reason of their celibacy, to deter them from such hazardous undertakings. But the lay-gentlemen having the weightiest motives, with regard both to their persons and posterity, to transplant themselves, 'tis hoped they will more easily be persuaded to consult their own as well as our preservation, by so gentle a migration as the leaving a cold northern climate, to enjoy, without molestation, its northern heresy; and to take up their habitations on a southern continent, far more agreeable, as moistened with the tears of confessors, and fattened by the blood of martyrs; and where they may with a wanton luxury, to the mighty improvement of those foreign nations, form together with them new methods of persecuting protestants, by gags and other engines of rare contrivance and of latest invention. But, however, whether they shall be willing or not, for their own ease and our safety, to take this necessary farewell of us, for God, our king, our church, and country's sake, let us effectually consult now at last our own security and interest, by ridding ourselves of such troublesome guests, as, both out of principle, and urged perpetually thereunto by their domestick confessors on pain of damnation, think themselves obliged utterly to ruin and extirpate us. And surely this nation never had so fair an occasion, and so justifiable a pretence, to do it effectually as now.

Soon after the discovery of the popish plot, a considerable attempt was made to rid us of the capital mischief, that of a popish successor: But the reigning prince, with his brother, were too much papists themselves, to give into such a sovereign remedy. Upon the ever-memorable and happy Revolution, the prince indeed was entirely protestant, but too much embarrassed by an adverse party, to complete our deliverance; but now what may not be expected from a king, a ministry, and both houses of parliament, so entirely English and protestant, as we never enjoyed all at one time since the Reformation? The juncture is favourable; the universal conspiracy at least, if not rebellion of papists and their adherents, renders also what is here proposed, were it really severe, as it is not, highly justifiable: And therefore 'tis to be hoped a legislature, so wise as the present is, will lay hold on this occasion, to take, if not this, some other short and sure method, to clear for ever this miserably divided nation, of papists, popish priests, and popery, the prime source of all its schisms and parties, its dangers and mischiefs, both in church and state.

But yet after all, if in what has been here offered by our Person of Quality, in his following piece, or by myself in this preface, there may appear something that will

savour too much of hardship, in the method proposed to rid us of the mischiefs of popery, as if not altogether so agreeable to the mildness of the protestant religion, and the English constitution and genius, that the legislature should easily give into such a method as will look like a forced banishment of the lay papists; being I am myself an avowed enemy to any thing that looks like persecution, even of these men, though the professors of the bloodiest of all superstitions in the world that I am acquainted with, I must entreat the pardon of my readers, if, with all deference and submission to my superiors, I shall wish, that so long as lay-papists are permitted to live amongst us, they may be also allowed to have a proportionable number of their priests to abide with them (exclusive indeed of all jesuits, as being the great incendiaries of the world, and the very pest of human society;) and this for the various exercises of their superstition; it being certain, that the laity of the popish persuasion can the least of all men be without their priests, either living or dying; their very salvation hereafter, as they think, and what may be dearer to them, their liberty of sinning here, so much depending upon their priestly absolutions.

And indeed how uncomfortable must be the condition of the popish laity of all men, whether living or dying, or after death, without their priests always attending them! What! Is this your protestant clemency? will they say: What! No priestly spittle to be put into their children's mouths in baptism? No pretty penances afterwards in their youthful years, for the slips of fornication, adultery, murder? No commutations to enrich their foreign seminaries, upon the commission of these or other enormities; and this in order to furnish us with more of their apostolick missionaries, we not having half enough of them already? No diverting pilgrimages, mummings nor masqueradings, during their Carnivals? No petty Agnus Dei's to divert thunderbolts, to quench lightnings, to still storms at sea or land? In a word, to deliver them from imminent dangers in both? No indulgences for sin, living or dying? Oh hard! No dirges, no requiems, no masses to refrigerate their souls in the flames of purgatory after death? Oh barbarous! It is true, indeed, we hereticks know all these to be mere arts of legerdemain, to entertain their fancies, mere cheats put upon them to pick their pockets: However, they themselves are otherwise persuaded; and though we make these their tricks the subject of our derision, they reckon they find in them great matter of consolation. They will tell us, we may as well deny them the use of mountebanks, and such infallible practitioners, to cure the sores of their bodies, as of these operators to heal the distempers of their souls. And indeed, since fools and knaves are so naturally fitted one for another, it is pity they should not go or stay together.

So that, upon the whole, for my part, I can see no medium, but that if we will permit the popish laity, we must also suffer the popish clergy, be the event what it will, to practise among us. We must continue on to attempt Divine Providence, without our co-operation, still to deliver us in all extremities, as also by slighting it when delivered! We must take no precautions of ourselves, nor use any human means in subservience to Providence. Jupiter indeed, in the fable, said to the countryman, praying to him to lift up his cart for him, when overturned, *supponito humerum*; but we, being better instructed, when thrown in the ditch, must, it seems, lie quietly and indolently down, crying, Lord have mercy upon us.

The Divinity of our Blessed Saviour proved out of the Old and New Testament, &c.

March, 1719.

The Divinity of our Blessed Saviour proved out of the Old Testament, and the exact Time of his Death.

BEHOLD a virgin shall conceive and bring forth a son, and shall call his name Emanuel; and before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land shall be forsaken of both her kings. Isa. 7. 14. 16.

Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulders; his name shall be called Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace; of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform it. Ch. 9. 6.

Behold mine elect in whom my soul delighteth, he shall bring forth judgment for the Gentiles. Ch. 42. 1.

There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch out of his root. The spirit of the Lord shall be upon him: The spirit of wisdom and understanding, of council and might, of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord. He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. Ch. 11. 1, 2, 3, 4.

And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious. Compare with Rom. 15. 10, 11, 12. Ver. 10

Thou Bethlehem Ephrata, out of thee shall some forth to me, he who is to rule the nations, whose goings forth have been from everlasting. Mich. 5. 2.

The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple. Mal. 3. 1.

But unto you who fear his name, shall the son of righteousness arise with healing in his wings. Ch. 4. 2.

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right-hand till I make thine enemies thy foot-stool. Ps. 110.

Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, a sceptre of righteousness is thy sceptre; thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness. Ps. 4. 5, 7.

The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulders; so he shall open, and none shall shut, and he shall shut and none shall open. Isa. 22. 22.

Thou Lord in the beginning hath laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. Ps. 102. 25.

The Lord hath sworn and will not repent, thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedeck. Compare it with Heb. 5. 6. Ps. 110. 4.

The Divinity of our Blessed Saviour and Great Redeemer proved out of the New Testament.

Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. Behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shall call his name Jesus. Luke. 1. 30.

V. 32, 33. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest. Of his kingdom there shall be no end. The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall over-shadow thee. Therefore that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.

Luke 2. 10. The angels of the Lord came unto them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them, and they were sore afraid and the angels said unto them, Fear not I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people; for unto us is born

Ver. 13. this day in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying, Glory be to God in the highest, on earth, peace, good will towards men.

Mar. 1. 16. At his baptism, the heavens were opened, and the spirit like a dove descended upon him, and there came a voice from heaven saying, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.

Matt. 17. 5. This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him! said at his transfiguration by a voice out of the cloud upon the holy mount.

John 12. 28. Jesus said, Father, glorify thy name; then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and I will glorify it again. His birth was attested by angels. His baptism, his transfiguration and passion, favoured with particular and audible

Lu. 21. 33. voices from heaven, to manifest to the unbelieving world that he was the Son of God,

Mar. 13. 31. who said, Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

Matt. 10. 33. Those who will not be persuaded to believe in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,

Mar. 8. 38. would do well to consider what he hath left upon record, Those who deny me before men, them will I deny before my Father which is in heaven.

Matt. 27. 51, 52. At his yielding up the ghost, the vail of the temple was rent, to shew that Gentiles, as well as Jews, had free access to the Holy of Holies.——Rocks did rent, the earth quaked, graves were opened, many saints arose, went into the Holy City, and appeared visible, which made the Centurion, though an infidel, say, Truly, this was the Son of God.

John 1. 10. In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not.

Ver. 14. And the Logos, or Word, was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth; and of his fulness have we all received grace.

Ver. 29. 32. The Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world.

John bare record, and said, I saw the spirit descending from heaven like a dove; and it abode upon him, and I knew him not, but he who sent me to baptize with water said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the spirit descending and resting, the same is he who baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.

Ver. 34. And I saw, and bare record, that the same is the Son of God.

Heb. 1. 2, 3. God hath in these last days spoken to us by his Son, by whom also he made the world.

The brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person; upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high.

John 14. 6. Jesus saith, I am the way, the truth, and the life, no man cometh unto the Father but by me.

Ver. 11. Believe me, I am in the Father, and my Father in me, or else believe me for the very works sake.

Matt. 11. 5. The blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor have the gospel preached to them.

Ver. 6. Bessed is he, who shall not be offended in me.

John 16. 15, 28. All things that the Father hath are mine.

I came forth from the Father into the world, again I leave the world and go to the Father.

I and the Father are one. John 10. 30. 38.

The Father is in me, and I in him.

I came forth from God, neither came I of myself, but he sent me. Ch 8. 42

Father, glorify me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world. John 17. 5.

All mine are thine, and thine are mine, and I am glorified in them. Ver. 10.

Thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life, and this is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. Ver. 3.

There are three who bare record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.*

He thought it no robbery to be equal with God. Phil. 2. 6.

Being justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him. Rom. 5. 9.

For he is our peace; for through him we have access to the Father, who hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son. Eph. 21. 14, 18.

By whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our sins, who is the image of the invisible God; by him were all things created, and for him, he is before all things, and by him do all things consist; for it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell. Col. 1. 13, 14, 17.

The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels in flaming fire, to take vengeance on them who know not God, and do not obey the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the glory of the Lord, and the presence of his power. 2 Thes. 1. 7, 8. 9.

Whom he raised from the dead and set him at his own right hand, far above every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come, and hath put all things under his feet Eph. 1. 20.

Fear not, I am alpha and omega, and behold I live for evermore, amen. I am the first and the last, who was dead and am alive; I have the key of death and hell. I open, and no man shutteth, I shut, and none openeth. Rev. 3. 7.

Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. Heb. 13. 8.

He several times foretold his own death, and who should betray him, and the destruction of Jerusalem.

Behold we go to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be betrayed unto the chief priests and scribes; and they shall condemn him to death, and deliver him to the Gentiles; and they shall mock him, and scourge him, spit on him, and kill him, and the third day he shall rise again. Mar. 10. 33.

As Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. Mat. 12. 40.

Jesus saith, the hour is come, when the Son of Man shall be glorified. John 12. 23.

Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in him, and God shall also glorify him. Ch. 13. 31.

He told the utter destruction of the city and temple of the Jews. Ver. 2, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Mark 13.

Behold the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table; but woe unto that man by whom I am betrayed; it had been good for that man, if he had not been born. Luke 22. 21, &c.

This man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity, and falling down head-long, burst asunder, and his bowels gushed out. Acts 1, 18. Mark 14.

Our blessed Saviour is called Jehovah Eloim, the Lord God of the holy prophets,

in the Old Testtament, which are the incommunicable properties and titles of the great God.

Psalm 102. 25. Thou Lord [addressing to Jehovah] of old hast laid the foudations of the earth.

Zech. 11. 13. And the Lord Jehovah said unto me, Cast it unto the potter, a goodly price was I valued at of the children of Israel.

Zech. 12. 10. They shall look on me [Jehovah] whom they have pierced.

Is. 40. 3 Behold the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord Jehovah.

Hos. 1. 7. I will have mercy on the house of Israel, and will save them by the name of the Lord Jehovah.

Is. 54. 13. And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord Jehovah.

Ch. 44. 8. Is there a God, Jehovah, besides me, yea, there is no God, I know not any. Chap. 43, 11. I, even I, am the Lord, and besides me there is no God.

Texts proving an Unity of Divine Attributes, in Communion with the Father and the Son, equally applied to both.

1 Kings 8. 39. Thou, even thou only, knowest the hearts of all men.

Jer. 17. 10. I, the Lord, search the heart and try the reins.

Isa. 44. 6. I am the first and the last, and besides me there is no God.

Ch. 9. 6. The Wonderful Counsellor, Almighty God, everlasting Father, and the Prince of Peace.

Ch. 61. 1. The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the meek.

He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and sight to the blind.

Gen. 1. 20. And God said, Let us make man in our own image, after our own likeness.

Our blessed Saviour is called by the name Jehovah.

And the Lord God of the holy prophets. Compare Luke 1. 16, 17. Rev. 22. with the Old Testament or Jehovah Elohim.

Heb. 1. 10. Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands.

Matth. 17. 9. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet, they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him who was valued, and gave them to the potter's field, as the Lord had appointed.

John 19. 37. They shall look on him [Jesus Christ] whom they have pierced.

Matth. 3. 3. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord [Christ].

Luke 2. 11. Unto you is born in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.

John 6. 45. It is written in the prophets, they shall be taught of God. Every man that hath heard and learned of the Father cometh unto me.

Rom. 8. 1. There is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus.

Ch. 9. 5. Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for evermore.

Texts proving an Unity of Divine Attributes, applied equally to the Father and the Son.

John 2. 24. He knew all men, and needed not than any should testify of man, for he knew what was in man.

Rev. 2. 3. I am he who search the reins and heart.

Ch. 1. 8, 17. I am the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and was the almighty Lord.

I am the first, and I am the last.

For the same Lord over all, is rich unto all, who call upon him; King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Rom. 10. 12.

Who only hath immortality dwelling in light, that no man can approach to. 1 Tim. 6. 16.

Lord God of the holy prophets. Rev. 22. 6.

Compare it with Luke 4. 18, 19, 20. to preach the acceptable year of the Lord, this day is the scripture fulfilled in your ears.

He was in the beginning with God, all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. John 1. 2.

He laid the whole Stress of his Doctrine upon his rising from the Dead, which was accomplished the very Time he foretold.

Mary Magdalen came weeping to the sepulchre, stooped down, and saw two angels sitting in white, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. John 20. 12.

She turned herself, saw Jesus, and knew him after a while to be her lord, whom at first she took for the gardener. Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father. He sendeth her to his disciples, and appeareth to them the first day of the week himself, when the doors were shut for fear of the Jews, stood in the midst, and said unto them, "Peace be unto you." Then were the disciples glad when they saw the Lord; but Thomas not being with them, he appeared again to them when Thomas was there, and shewed him his side, his hands, and his feet, who being convinced, cried out, "My Lord, and my God." 14. 17. Chap. 21.

He shewed himself to them at the sea of Tiberias. Luke 24.

Jesus met two disciples going to Emmaus, and in a long discourse, convinced them of their unbelief, was afterwards seen of three hundred brethren at once, when he had conversed forty days with his disciples by many infallible proofs, and speaking to them of things pertaining to the kingdom of God, and did promise them the Holy Ghost, saying, Do not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise which you have heard from the Father; ye shall receive power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be my witnesses both in Judea, Jerusalem, and Samaria, and unto the utmost parts of the world. Acts 1.

And when he had spoken these things unto them, whilst they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight.

And whilst they looked steadfastly towards heaven, as he went up, behold two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said, Why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus who is taken from you into heaven, shall come in like manner as you have seen him go into heaven.

Certamen utriusque Ecclesiæ:

OR,

A List of all the eminent Writers of Controversy, Catholics and Protestants, since the Reformation.

WITH

An Historical Idea of the Politic Attempts of both Parties in every Reign, in order to support their respective Interests.

By Charles Dodd.

Printed in the Year 1724.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
1	John Colet	D. D. Dean of St Pauls	De pavore Christ.	1519	Erasmus
2	William Grocin	D. D. Prof. in Oxford	Contra Hostiolun	1522	Luther
3	Thomas Brinknel	D. D. Prof. in Oxford	Tractatus contra	1522	Luther
4	Thomas Spencer	Charterhouse Monk	Dialogus against	1529	Bilney
5	Henry Bullock	D. D. Prof. in Cambr.	De Cap. Babylonica	1530	Luther
6	Rich. Kedermyster	Abb. of Winchcomb	Tractatus contra	1531	Luther
7	John Batmanson	Pri. of the Charterh.	Tractatus contra	1531	Luther
8	Nicholas West	Bishop of Ely	Against the Divorce	1533	Cranmer
9	John Roper	D. D. Prof. in Oxford	Tractatus contra	1534	Luther
10	Sir Thomas More	Lord Chancellor	Supplicat. of Souls	1535	Fish
11	Henry Standish	Bishop of St Asaphs	Against the Notes of	1535	Erasmus
12	John Fisher	Bishop of Rochester	Real Presence	1535	Oecolamp
13	John Kynton	D. D. Franciscan	Tractatus contra	1536	Luther
14	John Rastall	Learned Printer	Defen. of Purgatory	1536	Fryth
15	John Hildesley	Bishop of Rochester	Deveri corporis esu	1538	Latymer
16	John Forrest	D. D. Franciscan	Popes Supremacy	1538	Hen. VIII.
17	Edward Powell	D. D. Preb. of Sarum	Propagnacul. &c.	1540	Luther
18	Richard Fetherston	D. D. Q. Cath. Chap.	Against the Divorce	1540	Wakefield
19	Thomas Abel	D. D. Q. Cath. Chap.	Against the Divorce	1540	———
20	Richard Whitford	Confes. of Sion House	Defen. of the 3 Vows	1541	Luther
21	Edward Lee	Archbishop of York	Against the Notes of	1544	Erasmus
22	Henry VIII.	King of England	Defence of 7 Sacram.	1547	Luther
23	Stephen Gardiner	Bp. of Winchester	De Eucharistia	1555	Cranmer
24	Robert Aldridge	Bishop of Carlisle	Real Presence	1555	———
25	Richard Thornton	Suffragan of Dover	Real Presence	1555	Bland

Henry VIII.

Began his reign in June 1509, died in January 1547. *Protestant Attempts.* They invest the king with the spiritual supremacy, and vote themselves into a national independent church. Abbey lands are seized, and distributed among the lords and leading men of the House of Commons, the more effectually to engage them in the court measures. Wives more than suspected of Lutheranism are provided for the king, the contrivance of Cromwell and Cranmer to poison the court. While Gardiner is attempting

Protestant Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
1	Thomas Bilney	Cambridge Divine	Against Purgatory	1520	Spencer
2	Simon Fish	Lawyer Grey's-Inn	Supplic. of Beggars	1531	T. More
3	John Fryth	A. B. of Oxford	Against Purgatory	1533	Rastall
4	William Tyndale	Schoolmaster	English Bible	1536	Tunstall
5	John Lambert	Parish Priest	Real Presence	1538	K. Hen. 8
6	Robert Barnes	Augustine Friar	Indulgences, &c.	1541	Standish
7	Martin Bucer	Dominican Friar	Of Justification	1551	Gardiner
8	William Thomas	Lay Gentleman	Le Pelerine	1554	———
9	Hugh Latymer	Bishop of Worcester	Real Presence	1555	Brooks
10	John Hooper	Bishop of Glocester	Ans. to the Detect.	1555	Joliff
11	Nicholas Ridley	Bishop of London	Real Presence	1555	Langdale
12	John Philpot	Archd. of Winches.	Real Presence	1555	Harpsfield
13	John Bradford	Preb. of St Pauls	Real Presence	1555	Pendleton
14	John Rogers	Vicar of St Sepulchres	English Bible	1555	Tunstall
15	Robert Farrar	Bishop of St Davids	Real Presence	1555	Morgan
16	Thomas Cranmer	Archb. of Canterb.	For the Divorce	1556	Gardiner
17	Sir Richard Morison	Ambas. in Germany	Apamaxis	1557	Cocklens
18	John Plough	Rect. in Nottingham	Apolog. for Protest.	1558	Hoggard
19	John Bale	Bishop of Ossery	English Writers	1559	———
20	Barth. Trahern	Dean of Chichester	Paranæsis	1561	T. Trahern
21	Peter Martyr	Canon Regular	De Eucharistia	1562	Smith
22	John Poynet	Bp. of Winchester	Priests Marriage	1566	Martin
23	William Turner	Lay Preacher	Rescuing the Fox	1568	Gardiner
24	Roger Ascham	Tutor to Edw. VI.	Contra Missam, &c.	1568	———
25	John Knox	Scotch Preacher	Govern. of Women	1568	Lesley

Henry VIII.

a re-union with Rome, Cranmer inveigles the king in his last sickness to strike him out of his will. *Catholick Attempts.* Gardiner promotes the sixth article act, to cross Cranmer's design of privately introducing Lutheranism. Princess Mary, notwithstanding her declared illegitimacy, is admitted into the succession. Several persons of all ranks and states impatient of giving up their property confirmed by so many ages, and acts of parliament, have recourse to resistance.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
26	William Forrest	Chapl. to Q. Mary	Justificat. by Works	1555	———
27	John Seaton	D. D. of Cambridge	De Eucharistia	1555	———
28	Miles Hoggard	Learned Merchant	Transubstantiation	1556	Crowley
29	John Standish	D. D. Rect. of Wigan	Unity of the Chur.	1556	Barnes
30	Alban Langdale	D. D. Ar. D. of Lewes	De Eucharistia	1556	Ridley
31	John Gwineth	D. D. of Oxford	Detection, &c.	1557	Fryth
32	William Pye	D. D. Dean of Chich.	Transubstantiation	1557	Latymer
33	Hugh Weston	D. D. Dean of Wind.	Transubstantiation	1558	Ridley
34	William Perin	Prior of Black Friars	Transubstantiation	1558	———
35	John Holyman	Bishop of Bristol	Against the Divorce	1558	Cranmer
36	Reynold Pole	Archb. of Canterb.	De Unitate Ecclesiæ	1558	Hen. VIII.
37	Jn. Christopherson	Bishop of Chichester	Transubstantiation	1558	———
38	Robert Ward	Prof. in Oxford	Transubstantiation	558	Ridley
39	Cuthbert Tunstall	Bishop of Durham	Against the Bible of	1559	Tyndale
40	Robert Johnson	D. D. Chan. of Worc.	Respon. ad Articul.	1559	Hooper
41	John White	Bp. of Winchester	Diocosio Martyrion	1560	P. Martyr
42	James Brooks	Bishop of Glocester	Transubstantiation	1560	Cranmer
43	Thomas Heskins	D. D. Chan. of Sarum	Parliam. of Christ	1560	Jewell
44	Roger Edgworth	D. D. Chan. of Wells	Artic. of Faith, &c.	1560	———
45	Henry Pendleton	D. D. Q.'s Preacher	Disputation with	1560	Bradford
46	Ralph Baynes	Bishop of Lichfield	Transubstantiation	1560	Glover
47	Richard Smith	D. D. Prof. in Oxfd.	Defensio Cœlibatus	1563	P Martyr
48	Robert Points	M. A. of Lovain	Real Presence	1569	Jewell
49	Edmund Bonner	Bishop of London	A necessary Doctr.	1569	———
50	William Thresham	D. D. of C. Church	Real Presence	1569	P. Marty

Edward VI.

Began his reign in January 1547, died in July 1553. *Protestant Attempts.* The king's will is broke into, and those persons laid aside who favoured the catholic cause. The nobility and gentry are still secured to the court party by the remainder of church lands and goods, viz. chanteries, colleges, hospitals, plate, ornaments, libraries, &c. The Lord Protector Seymour sends for an army of German soldiers, Lutherans, to bring his matters to bear in case the catholics made any resistance. Queen Mary of Scotland is de-

Protestant Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Adverse.
26	James Calfhill	Bp. elect of Worcest.	Of the Cross	1570	Martial
27	John Jewel	Bishop of Salisbury	Apology, &c.	1571	Harding
28	Walter Haddon	Pres. of Magd. Coll.	Answer to	1572	Osorius
29	John Brydges	D.D. Chap. to Q. Eliz.	Regal Supremacy	1573	Stapleton
30	Matthew Parker	Abp. of Canterbury	Antiquit. Brit.	1573	———
31	Edward Deering	D. D. Cha. to Q. Eliz.	Modest Answer to	1573	Harding
32	Robert Horn	Bp. of Winchester	Pope's Supremacy	1579	Feckenha.
33	Richard Cox	Bishop of Ely	Real Presence	1581	Thresham
34	George Buchanan	Tutor to K. James I.	De Jure Regni, &c.	1582	Lesley
35	John Story	Bishop of Hereford	Exhort. to Martyrs	1585	———
36	Miles Coverdale	Bishop of Exeter	English Bible	1585	Tunstal
37	George Ackworth	LL.D. Layman	Agst Visib. Monar.	1586	Saunders
38	John Fox	Preb. of Sarum	Acts and Monum.	1587	Parsons
39	Robert Crowley	Parson in London	Agst the 6 Reas. of	1588	Pound
40	John Field	Rector in London	A Caveat to	1588	Houlet
41	Thomas Samson	Presb. of St Pauls	A Warning against	1589	Fowler
42	George Wither	Archd. of Colchest.	Rheim's Notes	1589	Bristow
43	William Fulk	M. of Pemb. Hall	Rheim's Testament	1589	Martin
44	Laur. Humphrey	Pres. of Magd. Coll.	Jesuitismus	1590	Champion
45	Thomas Bell	Parson in Lancashire	Downfal of Popery	1590	Woodwar
46	Barth. Clerk	Dean of the Arches	Agst Visib. Monar.	1593	Saunders
47	William Whitaker	M. of S. Johns Cam.	De Scriptura Sacra	1595	Stapleton
48	John Rackster	A. M. of Cambridge	Answ. to Motives of	598	Alabaster
49	Richard Hooker	M. of the Temple	Ecclesiastic. Polity	1600	———
50	Alexander Nowell	Dean of St Pauls	A Reproof of, &c.	1602	Dorman

Edward VI.

manded for King Edward as a means to defeat the catholic, and Scottish title, and a war is declared upon refusal. *Catholic Attempts.* Princess Mary makes a stand against the new liturgy, and injunctions, and refuses to conform. The bishops and most of the dignified clergy oppose a further reformation; and candidly acknowledge their dissimulation in submitting to the regal supremacy. Queen Mary of Scotland is conveyed into France, apprehending she might be delivered up to the English by her rebel protestant subjects.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Adverse.
51	Laurence Vaux	Ward. of Manches.	Church Ceremonies	1570	———
52	Thomas Harding	D. D. Prof. in Oxford	Agst the Apology of	1572	Jewell
53	Henry Joliff	D. D. Dean of Bristol	Respon. ad Articul.	1573	Hooper
54	William Cheadsey	Presid. of C.C. College	Real Presence	1574	P. Martyr
55	Morgan Philips	Prin. of S. Mary's Hall	Defence of Q. Mary	1577	Goodman
56	Thomas Dorman	D. D. Pastor in Tour.	Disproof of a Repr.	1577	Nowel
57	John Harpsfield	D. D. Archd. of Mid.	Homil. on the Creed	1578	———
58	Henry Cole	D. D. Dean of St Pauls	Answer to the Chal.	1579	Jewell
59	Nicholas Heath	Archbishop of York	Pope's Supremecy	1579	———
60	John Young	D. D. Ma. of Pem. H.	Treatise of Schism	1579	———
61	John Fowler	Learned Printer	Catholic Psalter	1579	Sampson
62	Allan Cope	D. D. Can. of St Pet. R.	Historia Evangelica	1580	———
63	George Bullock	D. D. Pre. of S. Jo. Col.	Concur. of Scripture	1580	———
64	Edmund Campion	Learned Jesuit	Decem Rationes	1581	Whitaker
65	Ralph Sherwin	B. D. Priest of Doway	Conference with	1581	Fulk
66	Thomas Pound	Lay Gentleman	Six Reasons	1581	Crowley
67	Richard Bristow	D. D. of Doway Col.	Motives of Faith	1582	Fulk
68	Gregory Martin	Prof. D. of Doway	Rheim's Testament	1582	Fuk
69	John Howlet	Learned Jesuit	Agst Conformity	1582	Fuk
70	Nicholas Saunders	D. D. Prof. in Oxford	Visibilis Monarchia	1583	Nowel
71	Nichol. Harpsfield	D. D. Archd. of Can.	Sex Dialogi	1583	Jewell
72	Thomas Watson	Bishop of Lincoln	Real Presence	1584	Crowley
73	John Martin	LL. D. Chan. of Win.	Defen. of Celibacy	1584	Poynet
74	Edward Rushton	Prof. D. of Doway	Twenty-fo. Motives	1585	———
75	John Feckenham	Abbot of Westmin.	Of the Supremacy	1585	Horn

Queen Mary.

Began her reign in July, 1553, died in November, 1558. *Protestant Attempts.* Lady Jane Gray, of the house of Suffolk, is supported by an army to defeat Queen Mary's right, the interest of reformation putting Cranmer upon this expedient jointly with the Duke of Northumberland, father-in-law to Jane Gray. Sir Thomas Wyat heads an army to oppose the match with Spain, Bishop Poynet of Winchester, and many that were friends to the Reformation, joining with him. Princess Elizabeth, though a catholic, all

Protestant Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
51	Christ. Goodman	M. A. Prof. in Oxford	Regim. of Women	1602	Philips
52	WilliamPerkins	D. D. Prof. in Camb.	Reformed Catholic	1602	Bishop
53	George Downham	Reader of St Pauls	Of Antichrist	1603	Christoph.
54	Meredith Hanmer	D. D. of Dublin	Agst the Challen. of	1604	Campon
55	John Reynolds	Pres. of Cor. Ch. Col.	De Idolatria	1607	Reynolds
56	Gabriel Powell	Chap. to Bp. of Lond.	Agst tolerat. Pop.	1607	———
57	Matthew Sutcliff	D. D. Dean of Exeter	Survey of Popery	1609	Kellison
58	Michael Rhanger	D.D. Rec. of Crowley	De Pii V. Furoribus	1609	———
59	Sir Francis Hastings	Earl of Hunt. Son	Watchword	1610	Parsons
60	Richard Bancroft	Archbishop of Can.	Conference with	1610	Bagshaw
61	Gervase Babington	Bp. of Worcester	Real Presence	1610	———
62	Richard Thompson	M. A. of Oxford	Elenchus Refutat.	1611	Bellarmin
63	Richard Sheldon	Once a Rom. Priest	Motives of Conver.	1612	———
64	William Barlow	Bishop of Lincoln	Discussion, &c.	1613	Parsons
65	John Harmer	D. D. M. of Win. Sch	Conference with	1613	Stephens
66	John Owen	Chap. to E. of Hold.	Herod and Pilate	1613	———
67	Isaac Casaubon	French Gentleman	Answer to	1614	Baronius
68	Robert Cook	Vicar of Leeds	Censura Scriptor.	1615	Bellarmin
69	Thomas Rogers	Rector of Horniger	XXXIX Articles	1616	Broughton
70	Thomas Bilson	Bp. of Winchester	Xian Subjection	1616	Allen
71	Richard Field	D. D. Dean of Glou.	Treatise of the Chu.	1616	Norris
72	Robert Tilney	Archdeacon of Ely	False Doctrines	1616	Chambers
73	Thomas Spark	Parson of Bletchley	Highway to Heaven	1616	Bellarmin
74	John White	D. D. Vicar of Eccles	Succession of Prot.	1617	Fisher
75	Sir Edward Hobby	Of the Privy Cham.	Countersnarle	1617	Floyd

Queen Mary.

this reign is courted privately by protestants, and more than suspected to have fomented the late rebellion. *Catholic Attempts.* Abbey-lands are secured by the pope to the present possessors, that it might be no obstacle towards a re-union. Both houses of parliament submit to the see of Rome, and are absolved with great solemnity by Cardinal Pole. A match is concluded with the King of Spain, a prince able to support the catholic religion with his arms, and inrich the kingdom by trade.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
76	William Good	Learned Jesuit	Ecc. Ang. Tropheæ	1586	———
77	John Gibbons	D. D. Canon of Bonne	De Antichristo	1589	Sohn
78	Arthur Faunt	Learned Jesuit	Prayer to Saints	1591	Tossan
79	William Reynolds	D. D. Prof. in Doway	Def. of Rhem. Test.	1594	Whitaker
80	William Allen	Pres. of Dow. Card.	Defen. of Purgatory	1594	Fulk
81	John Bridgwater	D. D. Rec. of Lin. Col.	De Antichristo	1594	Sohn
82	John Hart	B. D. Priest of Doway	Conference with	1595	Reynolds
83	John Lesley	Bishop of Rosse	Defen. of Q. Mary	1595	Bucanan
84	Thomas Neal	Prof. of Heb. in Oxfo.	Notes on the Script.	1595	———
85	Robert Southwell	Learned Jesuit	Supplicat. to Q. Eliz.	1595	———
86	John Martial	D. D. Canon in Lisle	Treatise of the Cross	1597	Calf-hill
87	Thomas Hyde	Mast. of Winch. Sch.	Agst Conformity	1597	———
88	Thomas Stapleton	D. D. Prof. in Doway	De Princip. Doctri.	1598	Whitaker
89	William Sheprey	D. D. Prof. in Italy	Notes on St Paul	1598	———
90	Robert Turner	D. D. Prof. at Ingolst	De Imaginibus	1598	———
91	Gasper Heywood	Learned Jesuit	Controvers. Lessons	1598	———
92	John Rastall	B. D. Jesuit	Beware of Jewell	1600	Jewell
93	William Harries	Priest of Doway	Theatre of Brit. Ch.	1602	———
94	John Sanderson	D. D. Can. of Cambra.	De Locis Scripturæ	1602	———
95	Thomas Hill	D. D. Chap. to Q Eli.	A Quartern of Reas.	1604	Abbot
96	Humphrey Ely	D. D. Prof. in Lorain	Church Authority	1604	———
97	Rich. Huddleston	Benedictine Monk	Short and plain Way	1604	———
98	Gregory Sayer	Benedictine Monk	Church Authority	1609	———
99	Philip Woodward	B. D. Prof. in Doway	Agst the Challenge	1610	Bell
100	Robert Parsons	Learned Jesuit	Agst the Acts of	1610	Fox

Queen Elizabeth.

Began her reign in November 1558, died in March 1603. *Protestant Attempts.* She is made to believe her title would be questioned at Rome, so was advised to strike in with the reformers; accordingly she assisted the protestant rebels in Scotland, Holland, and France. The nobility are made to believe there would be a resumption of abbey-lands. The council is purged of all that were well affected to the catholic cause. The exchequer is employed in packing a House of Commons. Many of the lords are deceived by mistaking their proxies; and not the least regard is had to the opinion of

Protestant Writers.

	Names.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
76	Francis White	Bishop of Norwich	Conference with	1607	Fisher
77	John Dove	D. D. Preach. in. Oxf.	Persuasion to Recu.	1608	———
78	Thom. Cartwright	Dissenting Parson	Rheim's Testament	1618	Martin
79	Robert Abbot	Bishop of Salisbury	Defence of Perkins	1618	Bishop
80	Edmund Bunny	Rec. of Bolton Piercy	Book of Resolut.	1618	Parsons
81	Thomas Thompson	Parson in Bristol	Monastic Vows	1618	———
82	William Tooker	Dean of Lichfield	Singular Certamen	1620	Becan
83	Francis Mason	Archd. of Norfolk	Protest. Ordination	1620	Champney
84	Andrew Willet	Rector of Barley	Synopsis Papismi	1621	O. E.
85	William Pemble	A. M. Prof. in Oxfo.	Justifying Faith	1623	———
86	Rd. Crackenthorp	Rect. of Blacknotley	Defens. Eccl. Angl.	1624	Spalato
87	John Gee	Curate of Winwick	Foot out of the Sna.	1625	Musket
88	James Stuart	King of England	Apology for Alleg.	1625	Peron
89	William Compton	A. M. of Oxford	St. Augustin's Sum.	1626	Breerley
90	Sir John Davis	Judge of Com. Pleas	Eng. Independency	1626	———
91	Richard Bernard	M. A. of Oxford	Rheims agst Rome	1626	Kellison
92	Lancelot Andrews	Bp. of Winchester	Regal supremacy	1627	Bellarmin
93	Sir Ant. Hungerford	Of Gloucestershire	Adv. of a Son to his	1627	Mother
94	Toby Matthews	Archbp. of York	Concio Apologetica	1628	Campion
95	George Carlton	Bp. of Chichester	Regal Supremacy	1628	———
96	Thomas James	D. D. Librar. of Oxf.	Corrupt. of Fathers	1629	Bellarmin
97	John Denison	Parson in Reading	Auricul. Confession	1629	———
98	Sir Edwin Sandys	Preb. of York	Europæ Speculum	1629	———
99	Sebastian Benefiel	D. D. Prof. in Oxf.	De Consiliis Evang.	1630	Leech
100	Thomas Dove	Bp. of Peterborough	Real presence	1630	———

Queen Elizabeth.

the clergy. *Catholic Attempts.* All the bishops excepting one, jointly with most of the dignified clergy, oppose the court, declaring the change of religion at that time could not be esteemed the sanction of the national church, but only a parliamentary and politic establishment. Colleges and monasteries are erected abroad, in order to preserve religion, by catholic missioners; and give the gentry of both sexes a proper education. The King of Scotland is courted, and assisted with money from abroad for the relief of his mother, and he seemed inclined to be grateful to catholics.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Deat.	Advers.
101	Ralph Buckland	Priest of Doway	Agst Conforming	1611	———
102	John Fenn	Confessor at Lovain	Defence of Martyrs	1611	———
103	Richard Gibbons	Learned Jesuit	Notes of Controver.	1611	———
104	Richard White	LL. D. Pro. in Doway	De Sanctis & Reliq.	1612	Calvin
105	Richard Stephens	D. D. Prof. in Doway	Conference with	1612	Featley
106	Nichol. Fitzherbert	Lay Gentleman	De Antiq. Ec. Ang.	1612	———
107	George Blackwell	B. D. Arch-Priest	Conferen. on Relig.	1613	———
108	Franc. Walsingham	Learned Jesuit	Search into Relig.	1614	White
109	Benjamin Carrier	D. D. Chap. K. James	A Missive, &c.	1614	Hackwell
110	Christ. Holyoak	Learned Jesuit	Defensio Con. Trid.	1616	Andrews
111	John Pitts	D. D. Dean of Liverp.	De Peregrinatione	1616	Calvin
112	Sylvester Norris	D. D. and Professor	Antidote, &c.	1617	Field
113	Mi. Christopherson	Priest of Doway	Of Antichrist	1617	Downham
114	John Breerley	Priest of Paris	Protest. Apology	1617	Morton
115	Edward Mayhew	Benedictine Monk	Fundamentals, &c.	1617	Field
116	John Redman	D. D. Prof. in Doway	Pope's Supremacy	1617	———
117	Richard Stanyhurst	Chapl. to Arch Duke	Brevis Præmonitio	1618	Usher
118	Clement Reyner	Benedictine Monk	Apostolatus Bened.	1621	———
119	John Berkley	Scotch Gentleman	Paranæsis	1621	———
120	Sir Herbert Croft	Of Herefordshire	Defence of the Ch.	1622	Field
121	John Wright	D. D. Dean of Courtr.	Real Presence	1624	Hutton
122	William Bishop	Bishop of Calcedon	Reform. of a Cath.	1624	Perkins
123	William Reyner	D. D. of Storbon	De Protestantismo	1625	———
124	Henry Holland	Licent. of D. Prof.	De Sacrificio missæ	1625	———
125	William Smith	Priest of Doway	Of Faith in Christ	1625	———

James I.

Began his reign in March 1603, died in March 1625. *Protestant Attempts.* Some persons in chief power suspecting the king would be very indulgent to catholics, several stratagems were made use of to exasperate him against them, and cherishing the gunpowder plot is thought to be a master-piece in that way. The king is induced to assist his son-in-law the elector palatine, who, to support the protestant interest, was chosen king of Bohemia in the emperor's wrong. An ambiguous oath of allegiance is invented, to divide and puzzle catholics consciences, a plain and distinct submission to the civil power not an-

Protestant Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
101	Sampson Price	D. D. Vicar in Lond.	Controversial Serm.	1630	———
102	Lionel Sharp	Archd. of Berks	Lookingl. for the P.	1630	———
103	Richard Pilkinton	Archd. of Leicester	Parallela in Ans. to	1631	Champney
104	John Donne	D. D. Dean of St Pauls	Pseudomartyr	1631	Fitzheld.
105	John Buckeridge	Bishop of Rochester	De Potestate Papæ	1631	Bellarmin
106	Samuel Harsnet	Archb. of York	Answer to	1631	Weston
107	John Houson	Bishop of Durham	Papal Supremacy	1632	———
108	Alexander Cook	Vicar of Leeds	Work for a Mass Pr.	1632	———
109	John Rider	Bishop of Kilaloe	Claim of Antiquity	1632	Fitzsimas
110	George Abbot	Archb. of Cant.	Agst the Reasons of	1633	Hill
111	Francis Godwin	Bishop of Hereford	Lives of Bishops	1633	Parsons
112	Sir Humph. Lynd	Learned Layman	Via Tuta et Devia	1636	Jenison
113	Thomas Goad	D. D. Preb. of Cant.	Transubstantiation	1636	———
114	John Burges	D. D. Rect. Sut. Coffiel	Popes dead. Wound	1637	———
115	Richard James	B. D. of Oxford	Controversial Serm.	1638	Posseim
116	Thomas Jackson	Pres. of C. C. Col.	Upon the Creed	1640	———
117	Rd. Montague	Bishop of Norwich	A new Gagg, &c.	1641	Kellison
118	Robert Burhill	D. D. Rect. Northw.	Pro Tortura Torti	1641	Becan
119	Henry Rogers	Vicar of Dorston	Ans. to 5 Questions	1641	Fisher
120	John Davenant	Bishop of Salisbury	De Judice Controv.	1641	———
121	William Bedle	Bishop of Kilmore	Conference with	1643	Wadsworth
122	Daniel Featley	Prov. of Chelsea Col.	Defence of Via Tuta	1644	Smith
123	Wm. Chillingworth	Chancellor of Sarum	Prot. Rel. a safe way	1644	Knott
124	Wm. Laud	Archb. of Cant.	Conference with	1645	Fisher
125	William Twisse	D. D. Rect. of Newb.	Scriptures Sufficien.	1645	Digby

James I.

swering the projector's intention. *Catholic Attempts.* Some divines throw a scruple into the king's head about the lawfulness of assisting the Dutch against their sovereign the King of Spain, and he grows cool in assisting the elector palatine upon the same account. He hearkens to a match with Spain for his son Prince Charles, in which very advantageous stipulations were intended for English catholicks. Catholic noblemen are caressed at court, and vast numbers are proselyted by the liberty of conferences, and publishing books of controversy.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
126	Chris. Bagshaw	Princ. of Gloc. Hall	Real Presence	1625	Featley
127	Tho. Worthington	Pres. of Doway Col.	Anchor of Ch. Doct.	1625	Sutcliff
128	William Gifford	Archb. of Rheims	Inventory of Errors	1629	Morney
129	Humphrey Leech	Learned Jesuit	Triumph of Truth	1629	Benefield
130	Edward Weston	D. D. Prof. in Doway	Trial of Ch. Faith	1633	———
131	Arthur Pitts	D. D. Chn. of Rheims	Notes on the 4 Gosp.	1634	———
132	Richard Broughton	Priest of Doway	Upon the 39 Artic.	1634	Rogers
133	John Colleton	Dean of the Chapter	For Toleration	1635	———
134	John Fisher	Learned Jesuit	Conference with	1635	Laud
135	John Jones	Benedictine Monk	Loci Communes	1636	———
136	Thomas Southwell	Learned Jesuit	Regula viva	1638	———
137	Anth. Champney	D. D. of Sorbon	De Vocatione Minis.	1639	Mason
138	Wm. Rushworth	Priest of Doway	Dialogues of Trad.	1639	———
139	Tho. Fitzherbert	Learned Jesuit	Policy and Religion	1640	Barlow
140	Edmund Stratford	D. D. Prof. in Doway	Disputat. on the Ch.	1640	White
141	Matthew Kellison	Pres. of Doway Col.	Survey of new Relig.	1641	Sutliff
142	Augustine Baker	Benedictine Monk	Collect. of History	1642	———
143	Henry Fitzsimons	Learned Jesuit	Confutation of	1644	Rider
144	George Musket	Pres. of Doway Col.	Conference with	1645	Featley
145	Thomas Vane	D. D. Chap. to K. Ch. I.	Lost Sheep, &c.	1645	Cosens
146	Thomas Read	LL. D. Priest of Dow.	Of the Name Cath.	1649	Boughen
147	Edward Knott	Learned Jesuit	Infidelity unmask'd	1651	Chillingw.
148	Richard Barton	Learned Jesuit	Nullity of Prot. Cler.	1651	Bramhall
149	John Talbot	Archb. of Dublin	Of Catholic Faith	1655	———
150	Matthew Patenson	Doctor of Physick	Jerusalem and Babel	1655	———

Charles I.

Began his reign in March 1625, died in 1648. *Protestant Attempts.* The private articles relating to the queen's chapel are disregarded, many of her priests ordered back into France, and a rupture ensuing between the two crowns, the French protestants are assisted against their sovereign. The king's extraordinary complaisance to his catholic wife is misrepresented as an instance of affection for her religion, and to wipe off the aspersion, the nation urge him to a severe execution of the penal laws, as the best proof of a contrary disposition. Upon the breaking out of the civil wars, catholics are made

Protestant Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
126	Christopher Potter	D. D. Dean of Wor.	Want of Charity	1646	Knott
127	George Hackwell	Archd. of Surrey	Answ. to the Missive	1649	Carrier
128	John Prideaux	Bishop of Worcester	Castigatio, &c.	1650	Eudæmon
129	John Williams	Archb. of York	Controvers. Letters	1650	———
130	Samuel Collins	Prov. of K. Col. Cam.	Epheta to F. T.	165	Fitzherb.
131	George Walker	Parson in Watlingstr.	Fisher's Folly	165	Fisher
132	George Singe.	Archb. of Tuam	Rejoin. to Reply of	1653	Malony
133	Edward Boughen	D. D. Rec. Wood Ch.	Of the Name Catho.	1654	Read
134	Josua Hoyle	M. of Univer. Col.	Real Presence	1654	Malony
135	James Usher	Archb. of Armagh	Answ. to the Chal.	1655	Malony
136	John Hales	Fellow of Eaton	Discourse of Schism	1656	Scott
137	Simon Birbeck	Vicar of Gilling	Answ. to Antidotist	656	Norris
138	Joseph Hall	Bishop of Norwich	No Peace with Rome	656	E. C.
139	Thomas Morton	Bishop of Durham	Catholic Appeal	659	Breerley
140	John Bramhall	Archb. of Armagh	Treatise of Schism	659	Serjeant
14	Francis Rouse	Provost of Eaton	Catholic Charity	1659	Knott
142	Theoph. Higgons	Rector of Hunton	Mystical Babel	1659	———
143	Henry Hammond	D. D. Can. Ch. Ch. Ox.	Seasonable Exhort.	1660	Serjeant
144	Brian Walton	Bishop of Chester	Prologomena	1661	———
145	Peter Heylin	D. D. Subd. of West.	Ch. Eng. not Parlia.	1662	Baily
146	John Gauden	Bishop of Worcester	Ecclesiæ Suspira	1662	———
147	Robert Sanderson	Bishop of Lincoln	Visibility of the Ch.	1663	———
148	Thomas Pierce	D. D. of Oxford	Novelties of Rome	1663	Serjeant
149	George Hughes	Rector in Plymouth	Sure footing exam.	1667	Serjeant
150	Jeremy Taylor	Bishop of Down	Dissuasive, &c.	1667	Worsley

Charles I.

odious to both parties, by the inconsistent calumnies of being for and against the king. *Catholic Attempts.* The match with France was a hopeful prelude to the catholic cause, and the success answered by the advantage of a zealous politic queen, and a fond husband. The two secretaries of state, Cottington and Windebank, warded off many a blow against the catholics, and their dying in that faith gives grounds to think they were projecting something to make them very easy. Several protestant bishops and divines came near to Rome in doctrinal points, and both in discourse and discipline, the church of England began to appear somewhat catholic.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
151	Michael Alford	Learned Jesuit	British Annals	1655	———
152	Richard Smith	Bishop of Calcedon	Prudential Balance	1655	Morton
153	Thomas Baily	D. D. Subd. of Wells	End of Controversy	1656	Heylin
154	Henry Turberville	Priest of Doway	Manuel of Controv.	1656	Thomas
155	John Spencer	Learned Jesuit	Scripture mistaken	1656	———
156	Robert Jenison	Learned Jesuit	Pair of Spect. for	1656	Ly d
157	Joseph Munford	Learned Jesuit	Quest. of Questions	1658	———
158	William Malony	Learned Jesuit	A Reply to	1659	Usher
159	Henry Holden	D. D. of Sorbon	Analysis Fidei	1659	Laney
160	Richard Lassels	Priest of Doway	Prayer to Saints	1664	Cosens
161	Robert Everard	Lay Gentleman	Epistle to Nonconf.	1664	———
162	Sir Kenelm Digby	Queen's Secretary	Conferen. on Religion	1665	Twisse
163	John Lewgar	Parson formerly	Erastus senior, &c.	1665	Burnet
164	Edward Worsley	Learned Jesuit	Prot. whout Princip.	1665	Stillingfl.
165	John Austen	Lay Gentleman	Xstian Moderator	1669	———
166	Walter Montague	Abb. of St Martin's	Motives of Convers.	1670	Falkland
167	William Clifford	Priest of Doway	Prayer to Saints	1670	Cosens
168	Vincent Canes	Learned Franciscan	Fiat Lux	1672	Owen
169	Anthony Errington	D. D. of Paris	Catechism, &c.	1672	———
170	William Lacy	Learned Jesuit	Judgm. of a Univ.	1673	Chillingw.
171	John Theyer	Lay Gentleman	Friendly Debate	1673	———
172	Thomas Carr	Priest of Doway	Prayer to Saints	1674	Cosens
173	Serenus Cressy	Benedictine Monk	Exomologesis	1674	Chillingw.
174	Thomas White	B. D. Prof. in Doway	Apology for Trad.	1676	Chillingw.
175	George Leyburn	Pres. of Doway Col.	Holy Characters	1677	———

Charles II.

Began his reign in January 1648, died in February 1684. *Protestant Attempts.* The parliament oblige him to recal the promise of indulgence he made in favour of catholics. As a politic precaution to support the protestant interest, the Duke of York's eldest daughter is married to the Prince of Orange. Catholic peers are excluded from the House of Lords, and all others of that persuasion from places of trust, by the test and oath of supremacy. They are charged with burning London, Oates's sham-plot of killing the king, calling in a French power, &c. to exasperate his majesty, who was designing something in their favour. The bill of exclusion is brought in to extinguish the Duke of York's title and right of inheritance, on account of his being a catholic. *Catholic Attempts.*

Protestant Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
151	William Prynn	Bencher of Linc. Inn	Rome's Mast. Piece	1669	———
152	Henry Fowlis	Fellow of Linc. Col.	Romish Treasons	1669	———
153	Meric Causabon	D. D. Preb. of Cant.	Rule of Faith	1671	Serjeant
154	John Cosens	Bishop of Durham	Canon of Scripture	1671	Lassels
155	Samuel Mather	Of Trin. Col. Dublin	Answ. to Fiat Lux	1671	Canes
156	Edward Bagshaw	Vicar of Amersden	Of Infallibility	1671	Cressy
157	Daniel Whitby	D. D. of Oxford	Of Idolatry	1671	Godden
158	Herb. Thorndyke	Preb. of Westminster	Just Wts. and Meas.	1672	———
159	Benjamin Laney	Bishop of Lincoln	Quest. proposed to	1674	Holden
160	Edward Hyde	Lord Chancellor	Animadversions on	1674	Cressy
161	John Milton	Secret. to O. Cromw.	Growth of Popery	1674	———
162	Josuah Stopford	Rector in York	Paganozpapismus	1675	———
163	Walter Blandford	Bishop of Worcester	Conference with the	1675	D. of York
164	Thomas Tully	D. D. Dean of Ripon	Justificatio Paulina	1676	———
165	John Tombes	Parson of Bewdley	Answ. to Manuel of	1676	Tubervill
166	Isaac Basire	Archd. of Northum.	Libert. of Brit. Ch.	1676	———
167	Isaac Barrow	M. of Trin. Col. Cam.	Pope's Supremacy	1677	Bellarmin
168	Robert Sheringham	Fellow of Caius Col.	Regal Supremacy	1677	———
169	Andrew Marvel	Secret. to O. Cromw.	Growth of Popery	1678	———
170	Matthew Pool	Dissenting Parson	Nullity of Ro. Faith	1679	Worsley
171	Thomas Hobbs	Lay Gentleman	History of Heresy	1679	———
172	Joseph Glanvill	Parson at the Bath	Impartial Protest.	1680	White
173	Myrth Waferer	D.D. Rec. of Upham	Def. of Dr Featley	1680	Stratford
174	Ezrael Tongue	D. D. Parson in Lon.	Acc. of Rom. Doct.	1680	———
175	Thomas Jones	Rec. of Landurnog.	Rome no Mother Ch.	1682	———

Charles II.

The match with Catherine Infanta of Portugal gave the catholics some remote hopes of being well treated during this reign. Their undisputed fidelity during the civil war, and the generous reception the king met with from catholics abroad, while his protestant subjects sought his destruction, gave them a modest assurance to petition for protection. Five ministers of state, viz. Lauderdale, Shaftesbury, Arlington, Clifford, and Buckingham, stiled the cabal, engaged to stand by the king's prerogatives, and it is thought they had a farther design in favour of catholics. The discovery of the Presbyterian plot made the king absolute master of his enemies projects, and his dying a catholic is a comment upon several occurrences in his life favourable to that interest.

Catholic Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
176	Abrah. Woodhead	Of University Col.	Guide of Controv.	1678	Stillingfl.
177	Robert Pugh	D. D. Cha. to M. Wor.	Elenchus Elenchi	1678	Bates
178	Christ. Davenport	Learned Franciscan	Enchirid. of Faith	1680	———
179	Thomas Gawen	Preb. of Winchester	Real Presence	1684	———
180	John Belson	Lay Gentleman	Tradidi vobis	1684	Falkland
181	Robert Brown	Scotch Priest	Pax vobis		———
182	William Basset	M. of Sidney Col.	Church Authority		Stephens
183	Thomas Dean	Of University Col.	Essay for Cat. Com.		Stephens
184	Obediah Walker	M. of Univers. Col.	The B. Sacrament		Patrick
185	Andrew Pulton	Learned Jesuit	Conference with		Tenison
186	Thomas Ward	Learned Schoolmast.	Monomachia		Tenison
187	John Serjeant	Priest of Lisbon Col.	Sure footing		Tillotson
188	John Warner	Learned Jesuit	Stillingfleet against		Stillingfl.
189	George Touchet	Benedictine Monk	Historical Collect.		———
190	Roger Palmer	Earl of Castlemaine	Catholic Apology		L. Claren.
191	Anthony Le Grand	Learned Franciscan	De Sacrificio Missæ		———
192	William Darrel	Learned Jesuit	Vindic. of St Ign.		Stillingfl.
193	Lewis Sabran	Learned Jesuit	Preservative consid.		Sherlock
194	Thomas Godden	D. D. Chap. to Q. Ca.	Catho. no Idolaters		Stillingfl.
195	John Cross	Learned Franciscan	Transubstantiation		———
196	James Corker	Benedictine Monk	Transubstantiation		———
197	Roger Hesketh	D. D. of Lisb. Col.	Transubstantiation		Patrick
198	John Gother	Priest of Lisb. Col.	Cat. misrepresented		Patrick
199	Sylvester Jenks	Priest of Doway	Real Presence		———
200	John Wilmot	Priest of Rom. Col.	Treatise of the Ch.		Sherlock

Writers in the Reign of James II.

James II.

Began his reign in February 1684, died in September 1701. *Protestant Attempts.* The Duke of Monmouth invades the kingdom, exhorting the people to fly to arms in defence of the protestant cause. This proving ineffectual, a deeper plot was laid. Some ministers of state pretending to be catholics, together with the judges of the nation, put him upon methods which rendered him odious to his people, and were destructive to his interest, viz. The dispensing power; the ecclesiastical commissioners seizing colleges, imprisoning bishops, calling in charters, &c. The Prince of Orange is called over to stand by the protestant religion; and, to prevent catholics for ever making any more efforts,

Protestant Writers.

	Name.	Dignity.	Treatise.	Death.	Advers.
176	John Owen	D. D. Dissent. Parson	Anima. on Fiat Lux	1683	Canes
177	John Durell	D. D. Dean of Wind.	Def. of Ch. of Eng.	1683	———
178	George Morley	Bp. of Winchester	Conference with	1684	Darcy
179	Peter Gunning	Bishop of Ely	Confer. on Schism	1684	N. N.
180	Peter du Moulin	D. D. Preb. of Cant.	Answ. to Philanax	1684	———
181	William Thomas	Bp. of Worcester	Answ. to Manuel of	———	Tubervill
182	Samuel Parker	Bishop of Oxford	Reas. offer. to K. J. 2.		———
183	John Pearson	Bishop of Chester	Expos. of the Creed		———
184	Thomas Barlow	Bishop of Lincoln	Popish Principles		Walsh
185	Seth Ward	Bishop of Salisbury	Justifying Faith		———
186	Richard Baxter	Dissenting Parson	Chur. and Councils		Johnson
187	Andrew Sall	Formerly a Jesuit	Votum pro Pace		J. S.
188	Francis Brevall	Formerly a Capuchin	Motives of Conver.		———
189	Edward Bernard	D. D. Re. of Brightw.	Transubstantiation		Hesketh
190	Anthony Horneck	D. D. Pars. in the Sav.	Conference with		Gother
191	George Bull	Bp. of St Davids	Answ. to the Bp. of		Meaux
192	William Sherlock	D. D. Dean of St Pauls	Preservative		Sabran
193	Simon Patrick	Bishop of Ely	Transubstantiation		Serjeant
194	John Tillotson	Archb. of Cant.	Rule of Faith		Serjeant
195	Edwd. Stillingfleet	Bp. of Worcester	Idolatry of Rome		Godden
196	John Tenison	Archb. of Cant.	Conference with		Pulton
197	Gilbert Burnet	Bishop of Salisbury	Hist. of the Reform.		Le Grand
198	George Hicks	D. D. Non-Juror	Transubstantiation		Woodhea.
199	Henry Dodwell	D. D. Non-Juror	Answ. to six Queries		———
200	Henry Aldridge	Bishop of Bristol	Adorat. of the Sacr.		Woodhea.

Writers in the reign of King James II.

James II.

by the act of settlement on the Hanoverian line, they are for ever excluded from enjoying the crown. *Catholic Attempts.* A declaration for liberty of conscience very much increased the number of catholics, and was a politic scheme to gain the protestant dissenters. The king strikes into the French interest to support himself in his throne, but there was either a power, or a will, wanting to withstand the grand alliance, which was a mixture of catholic and protestant powers. At present English catholics have no prospect besides the plea of hereditary right, when any one next in blood has power sufficient to make good his claim; which God forbid should ever happen.

The Case of the Church of Scotland. 1718.

The episcopal church of Scotland is here to be understood, which was suppressed at the Revolution, and from the tenacity with which most of its members adhered to Jacobitism, was a great object of the suspicion and sometimes of the severity of government during the succeeding reigns, until that of his present majesty. The present seems to be an appeal to the support and charity of the sister church of England. After the year 1715, in particular, the triumphant party exercised some severity upon the episcopal recusants.

In the year 1560, the reformation of the church of Scotland taking effect, the government thereof was founded in a moderate imparity, by the substitution of superintendants, in the room of the bishops. In 1571, episcopacy was synodically established in the first general assembly of the church, both name and thing; and the episcopal government distributed under two archbishops and twelve bishops, as it had been before the Reformation. In 1592, the presbyterian form of government was, after a rebellion of six or seven years, introduced under a minority. In 1597, episcopacy again prevailed over presbytery. In 1598, the articles of the first assembly of the reformed church of Scotland were re-examined, and finally concluded, in opposition to the presbyterian party. *An.* 1601, those articles of the church of Scotland were confirmed and ratified in parliament, and so were made part of the constitution. Thus the church of Scotland by law established, continued in her rights till the rebellion against Charles, I., which brought on the abolition of episcopacy, first in Scotland, then in England. In 1660, by the king's restoration, episcopacy began a little to lift up its head. In 1661, the Solemn League and Covenant was condemned in parliament; the pretended parliaments from 1646 to 1649, with the assembly of Glasgow, &c. were annulled; and the transactions at Newcastle 1646 and 1647 branded; and all acts made in prejudice of lawful authority, ecclesiastical or civil, rescinded. In 1662, the antient ecclesastical government of the church was restored, according to the former legal constitution; and Dr James Sharp, Professor of Divinity at St Andrews, made Archbishop of St Andrews, primate and metropolitan of Scotland; who was, after a most barbarous manner, murdered by some ruffians, in May 1679. After the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland, the more zealous party of the presbyterians, soon rejected Charles II. from being their king, made several declarations of war against him, excommunicated him, murdered several of those who supported his government, and actually levied war against him. In 1679, the covenant was proclaimed in the West of Scotland by the rigid presbyterians, then in arms. These covenanters, though defeated at Bothwell-Bridge, still persisted in their practices against monarchy and episcopacy. In 1680, was another insurrection led on by their field-preachers, but suppressed by the king's forces, Cameron their chief being slain at Airds-moss. Several of the arch-rebels being taken and examined, justified both the excommunication of the king, and the arch-bishop of St Andrews's murder; with other most horrid and barefaced treasons, as well as barbarities, towards the episcopal clergy. In 1684, a sort of declaration was

affixed on the market-crosses of several towns in Scotland, denouncing war against the king, by the name of Charles Stuart, and episcopacy by the name of Antichristian Idolatry; and a party of the rebels at night murdered two of the king's servants in their beds, not far from Edinburgh.

Notwithstanding all this, at the death of Charles II. the church of Scotland was left in a more peaceable condition, than it had been a long time before; all Scotland was (or appeared to be) of one communion; the presbyterians having been divided into two sects, the greater one had for the most part returned to the unity of the church; the presbyterian preachers were generally become hearers of the episcopal ministers, duly attended the church assemblies, and many partook too of the same sacraments with them; and the smaller one, which was the Cameronian, was now almost entirely suppressed. So that when the late King James came to the throne, there were no separate meetings kept, but very rarely and privately; and when Argyle in Scotland, and Monmouth in England at the same time made a bold attempt in favour of them, and the former was earnest to have had them join with him, his conditions did not please the Cameronian presbyterians; and the rest finding their party weak, and how they had but lately smarted for enterprises of that nature, saw the conveniency of continuing still in the king and church's peace, and of waiting a fitter opportunity. In 1685, and in 1686, the king attempting the abrogation of the test and penal laws, was therein disappointed by an episcopal parliament. In Feb. 168$\frac{4}{5}$, he suspended by proclamation all the laws against dissenters; some months after the publication of which, the presbyterians generally refused to accept the toleration granted them, and continued in the communion of the church. In June, 1687, upon the second edition of this proclamation for liberty to Christians of all persuasions, all the presbyterians, who were once very near a general resolution never to take the benefit of it, upon second thoughts, and secret instructions, unanimously closed with it. Thus after they had lived in communion with an episcopal church for some years before, and some months after the toleration, they violently separated themselves, and all arts were used by them to increase their own party, and render the church and church-men contemptible. Upon Christmas-day, 1688, the presbyterian rabble was spirited up by that notable fiction of an Irish massacre (they being made to believe that many thousands of Irish were landed upon them, burning of towns, putting all to the edge of the sword.) To secure the nation, and reform the church after their manner, by tumultuously ejecting the regular and orthodox incumbents, as popishly affected; tearing their gowns off from their backs, turning their families and furniture out of doors, and exercising upon them, their wives, and their children, many incredible outrages and barbarities. In March following, the government of the church was put into the hands of about fifty presbyterian teachers, and of such as they should be pleased to assume. In the parliament, 1690, the presbyterian government was set up; all the laws in favour of episcopacy rescinded; the churches of the rabbled clergy declared vacant from the date of their ejectment, and the ejected presbyterians restored to the churches they had possessed at the end of the Great Rebellion. The condition of the suffering clergy was made somewhat more easy, upon Queen Anne's coming to the throne, by a letter which she wrote to her privy council, and by two acts of the British parliament; one, to prevent the disturbing of those of the episcopal communion in the exercise of their religious worship; and the other, for restoring patronages: Episcopal meeting houses were hereupon set up in several towns and villages, and the use of the liturgy of the church of England introduced, not only into them, but even into several parish-churches; near twenty thousand common-prayer books having, in two years only, been disposed of among the people, to their abundant satisfaction; multitudes of all ranks and degrees becoming sincere converts to it. The great enemies of primitive and catholick Christianity did nevertheless all that was possible, but in vain, to run

it down with clamour and calumny; calling it popish, superstitious, and idolatrous, and accounting it meritorious to decry in their pulpits, what they vulgarly call the English Mass. Yea, so uneasy were they at this liberty granted to the truly conscientious clergy and laity, communicating with the church of England, as fearing lest the whole nation might hereby come at length to be episcopal again, they were continually alarming the people with the dreadful prospect of what might follow: And had the queen lived a little longer, and proceeded to encourage by a toleration, those of her own religion in Scotland, though without disturbing the present kirk thereof in what they possess, those who had declared such a toleration to be intolerable, and the establishment of it to be the establishing of sin by a law, were not unprepared to proceed against her in the way of their fathers: And some of the chief of them beginning to open themselves upon the necessity and expediency of taking arms in this case, for the better security of the true presbyterian religion, and confederating themselves with their brethren of England, they wanted [illegible]o will to have done unto her as they did unto her father and grand-father, and to give the finishing stroke to episcopacy and liturgy. A favourable opportunity for which last presented itself to them, in February 171½, whereof an account at large is given in the representation of the state of the church in North-Britain, lately printed. Upon which all the private chapels and meeting houses, where the liturgy had been used, were on a sudden shut up, without so much as the least process or form of law; and the episcopal congregations being suppressed by the military power, the next attack was made upon the clergy who were possessed of churches, either threatening them with imprisonment, and the prosecution of the presbytery, if they continued any longer in the exercise of their ministry, or even refused to sign such a renunciation of their sacred office as they should dictate to them. It was indeed generally pretended to be for crimes against the state; but by the narrative which is given in the aforesaid representation, it will appear, that these were only pretended, and that episcopacy and liturgy were the real crimes: And that if the clergy would have renounced their function, and relinquished their charges and churches, in the manner and form proposed to them, they had never heard of the libelling for treason and sedition that followed; since those who were well affected to the civil government, and every way also qualified, could find no quarter with them; and that even, though at the same time many of the presbyterian teachers, both in the south and north of Scotland, were protected in their kirks and livings, notwithstanding their not being qualified according to the present laws. Some part of the sufferings of the orthodox and regular clergy of the church of Scotland, especially in the diocese of Aberdeen, hath been lately published, with attestations beyond contradiction; but it is, after all, but a small part; a fair and exact history whereof would be very voluminous.

Since the publishing of the aforesaid representation, there are a great many letters come since to hand from several of the suffering clergy, both in the north and south of Scotland, giving fresh accounts of their deplorable estate and condition, for the testimony of a good conscience, in the worship of God, according to the practise of the church of England, their sister-church; for whose sake only, they are criminals before the presbyterian judicatories. One of these letters, signed by several of the chief sufferers, in the name of themselves, and of all the rest, and afterward ratified by a person of the highest eminence in the service of the church, was in June last sent to the person whom they have thought fit to entrust and empower, in order to solicit for them the charitable relief and assistance of all well-disposed Christians: And is as followeth, viz.

The Copy of a Letter from several of the suffering Clergy in Scotland, to their Correspondent in London.

Reverend Brother, Aberdeen, June 5th, 1718.

The lamentable desolation of the church in this kingdom, and particularly in this corner of it, which hath been gradually carried on near to these thirty years past, being now almost compleated, after the manner, and by the methods faithfully narrated in our representation, it needs not be told you, or any that look about them to what is doing in the world, that by this deplorable desolation, which the cunning and malice of prevailing schismaticks have accomplished, the church is not only trod underfoot, the laity of its communion exposed as a prey to seducing and erroneous teachers, but most of those who served at the altar, even to grey hairs, together with their families, are reduced into the greatest extremities; and so are obliged, under their present distress, after the example of the primitive church in the days of the apostles, to employ some Paul or Barnabas to collect for a supply to their urgent necessities. And since you are so disinterested, and personally known to most of us, we earnestly entreat and request, that you would be pleased to undertake this charitable work in behalf of your suffering and distressed brethren; and that by applying, in our name, to all charitable and well-disposed persons of the communion of the church of England, whether clergy or laity, certifying them in our name, that whatever they lay out this way shall be faithfully distributed to the necessitous sufferers only, for whom you address, according to their several circumstances; and that they shall have the return of our hearty prayers to heaven for them, which is the most becoming requital can be made by suffering priests, who now, in the desolation of Zion, have no other means of redress left them, but *preces et lacrymæ*. We are,

Reverend brother,
Your affectionate brethren,
and humble servants, &c.

Directed
To the Rev. Dr Sharp, at London,
the 16th of August, 1718.

Vera Copia,
Ita testamur,
A. Campbell. Ja. Gadderar.

* The money collected on this account is to be remitted to Edinburgh, and there dispersed in the ordinary way, by the managers of the charity, for the poor distressed clergy: So that all care possible shall be taken, that whatsoever is contributed for so good and Christian an end, shall be effectually disposed of in the best manner, according to the intention of the benefactors, whose hearts God shall touch. There are at present about an hundred and twenty priests of the church of Scotland, whose melancholy circumstances cry loudly, and plead more powerfully than can be expressed by words; and since the suppression of the chapels and meeting-houses for the service of the liturgy, and some other desolating emergencies, the number of indigent sufferers is growing daily greater, and God only seeth the end thereof: Whose blessed will be done.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.

CLASS SECOND.

CIVIL TRACTS.

CIVIL TRACTS.

CLASS SECOND.

GEORGE FIRST.

A Cat may look upon a King. Printed in the Glorious Year 1714.

This virulent attack upon the series of English monarchs appears to have proceeded from one of those few favourers of the *good old cause*, which were yet to be found in England. The Tract contains a pretty complete summary of all the charges, founded and unfounded, which have been brought against the Kings of England, and while it appears to conclude with a prayer for George I., leaves us at no difficulty to discover, that the real wishes of the author pointed to a republic.

The Introduction.

THE unparalleled transactions of these our late times, have raised in me such a confusion of thoughts, that I resolved to look back, as a man that is stunned with a stone looks not after the stone, but after the hand that flung it.

And surely I find (by the help of my spectacles) King James was the fountain of all our late afflictions and miseries.

It hath been a custom among our flattering priests (for I know none else used it) upon mention of deceased princes, to use the expression "of blessed memory;" and so I believe have used it ever since William the Bastard of Normandy over-ran this kingdom: Which begat another itch in me, to search the lives of all our kings since him, to see if any of them had deserved that reverend remembrance. And, first, for

King William the Conqueror.

I know no better testimony of him than out of his own mouth, lying upon his death-bed: His words take as follow:

"The English I hated, the nobles I dishonoured, the commons I cruelly vexed, and many I unjustly disinherited: In the county of York, and sundry other places, an innumerable sort with hunger and sword I slew; and thus that beautiful land and noble nation I made desolate with the deaths of many thousands."

William Rufus.

This king did not only oppress and fleece this nation, but rather with importunate

exactions did as it were flay off their skins. His chiefest consorts were effeminated persons, ruffians, and the like; and himself delighted in continual adulteries, and company of concubines, even before the sun. None thrived about him, but treasurers, collectors, and promoters: He sold all church preferments for money, and took fines of the priests for fornication.

Hunting in that most remarkable New Forest, Walter Tyrrel shot him to the heart with an arrow out of a cross-bow, whether of purpose or not, is no great matter.

Henry I.

Is branded with covetousness and intolerable taxations; and cruelty upon his elder brother, whom he kept in perpetual prison, and put out both his eyes; and for his most excessive lechery, leaving behind him fourteen bastards.

King Stephen.

Infamous for perjury; a hater of this nation, whom he durst never trust, but oppressed this land with strangers, notwithstanding that he had received the crown upon courtesy; dies, and leaves behind him two bastards.

Henry II.

Never such a horrid extractor of monies from the subjects as this king; and is infamous for perjury, jealousy, and lechery; curses all his children upon his death-bed, and so dies, leaving three bastards.

Richard I.

Raked more money by unparalleled taxes upon this nation, than any king before him: His voyage to the Holy Land pared them to the bones by many unjust ways; but his unlucky return quite ruined it: He dies by a poisoned arrow, and leaves two bastards.

King John.

Of this king we cannot reckon so many impieties as he had: Unnatural to his own blood, to the wife of his bosom; bloody to nobility and clergy; perjury, often swearing, but never kept his word; betrays the crown and kingdom to the pope, and rather than want his will to ruin both church, nobles, and the whole nation, sends ambassadors to a Moor, a mighty king in Africa, to render unto him this kingdom of England, to hold it from him as his sovereign lord, to renounce Christ, and receive Mahomet. In the heat of his wars with the nobility, gentry, and commons of this land, repairs to the abbey of Swines-head, where he is poisoned, and leaves behind him three bastards.

Henry III.

A chip of the old block; for no oath could bind him; jealous of the nobility, brings in strangers, despiseth all counsel in parliament, wastes all the treasure of the kingdom in civil wars, sells his plate and jewels, and pawns his crown.

Edward I.

Governed his will by his power, and shed more blood in this kingdom, than any of his fore runners; counted his judges as dogs, and died as full of malice as he lived full of mischief.

Edward II.

A man given to all sorts of unworthy vanities, and sinful delights: The scourge and

disgrace of this nation in Scotland, against a handful of men, with the greatest strength of England. After so many perjuries about his favourite Gaveston, and slaughter of the nobility, he is deposed and murdered.

Edward III.

To his everlasting stain of honour, surrenders by his charter, his title of sovereignty to the kingdom of Scotland; restores the deeds and instruments of their former homages and fealties, though after the Scots paid dear for it, to supply his want. Whatsoever he yielded to in parliament, was for the most part presently revoked: And in that parliament which was called the Good, they desire the king, having abundantly supplied his wants, to remove from court four persons of special prejudice to his honour and the kingdom's, with one dame Alice Piers, the king's concubine, an impudent, troublesome woman: But no sooner ended this parliament, having gotten their monies, but those four forbidden return to court, and their wonted insolencies. The speaker, who had presented the kingdom's grievances, at the suit of Alice Piers, is committed to perpetual imprisonment.

Richard II.

It is said of this king, he spared neither the dignity, nor the life, of any that crossed his pleasure; spared neither lewd example, nor vile action, to follow cruel councel. A man plunged in pleasure and sloth; in his private counsels would alter whatsoever the parliament had settled; neglects his debts; prodigal to strangers; destroys the nobility; and for his hypocrisy, cruelty, perjury, and tyranny, is deposed and murdered at Pomfret-Castle.

Henry IV.

So true true is that distich translated out of Suetonius:

Who first exiled, and after crown'd,
His reign with blood will much abound.

For after he had murdered his predecessor, nothing took up this king's reign, but ruin and blood upon the nobility and gentry of this kingdom, with such unsufferable taxes as never were before nor since.

Henry V.

This king reigned about nine years and a half, all which time our stories mention nothing but his wars, raising of monies, and spending the blood of this poor nation.

Henry VI. and Edward IV.

Were two men born as it were for ruin, blood, and misery to this kingdom; whose lives and actions no man can read with patience: That so much treasure and so many lives should be spent and lost, to maintain the ambition, luxury, pride, and tyranny of but two men, in so many set battles fought in the bowels of this kingdom. Henry was stabbed with a dagger by the Duke of Gloucester in the Tower. Edward died at Westminster, and left behind him two bastards, and a miserable whore Jane Shore.

Richard III.

A monster of lust and cruelty; whose murders, too many to be here repeated, are at large set down in our chronicles, with his attempts of rape and incest. So perfect he was in villainy and hypocrisy, that he would always use most fair language, and shew greatest signs of love and courtesy to that man in the morning, whose throat he had

taken order for to be cut that night; and was the first I read of in our stories, that ever used that oath, God damn me. He was slain at Bosworth-field; his body, stark naked, and mangled, besmeared with blood and dust, was brought upon a horse to Leicester, where, for a spectacle of hate and scorn, he lay two days unburied.

Henry VII.

This king my Lord Verulam hath washed his feet so clean with good language, that without a near approach, he is hardly discovered: But surely I find no right he had to the crown, more than the consent of the people, which was not then in fashion, whom he never durst trust neither, his heart continually burning to destroy all sparks of the right blood and their abettors. How was the lord chamberlain's life juggled away for his thoughts, and his estate, which is considerable, with many more of our nobility? And for that story of Richard Duke of York, son to Edward IV. under the name of Perkin Warbeck, I do as verily believe he was the said Duke or York, as I believe Henry VIII. was the son of this Henry VII. the circumstances being so pregnant from so many persons of honour; but nothing more confirms me in it, than this king's indefatigable pains and most infinite cost to get him and ruin him, and with him the harmless Earl of Warwick, the one beheaded, the other hanged at Tyburn; and surely, though this king did far excel all his predecessors in craft, yet was he as guilty of cruelty and blood as the worst of them; nor can all the water in the sea wash from him those two monstrous sins of avarice and ingratitude.

Henry VIII.

To say much of him were to make you forfeit; Sir Walter Raleigh's testimony of him is sufficient. If all the pictures and patterns of a merciless prince were lost in the world, they might all be painted again to the life out of the story of this king: His vast expence of treasure, and profuse bloodshed, made this kingdom look with a ghastly face; and to express him fully, this remains of him to everlasting, "That he never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust." I do none of them wrong, for thus I find them branded to my hand by public records: And surely this puts me in mind of a story I have heard in Spain: A friar preached before Don Pedro the king, sirnamed The Cruel, took his text, which invited him to extol regal dignity to its highest pitch, often saying, "Few kings went to hell;" but in the close of his sermon, said, "You may, peradventure, wonder that I do so often tell you, That few kings go to hell: Marry! the reason is, there are but few kings, for if there were more, they would go all to the devil."

Of all these our kings I would know which was "Of blessed memory," who ruled by blood, oppression, and injustice upon this nation, in contempt of God and man.

Now, if any man ask why I have curtailed the lives and persons of these thus? I answer, that the common people of this kingdom, who cannot attend to read chronicles, may see their *Jus Divinum*. Next, if any man ask why I make such mention of their bastards? I answer, only to let the world see what foundation these six-and-twenty bastards have laid for honourable, noble, and right worshipful families of a long continuance, which have been maintained by the blood and treasure of this oppressed nation. If why I mention not Edward V. and Edward VI.? I say they were children, and so died, affording no matter for this present. If why I omit Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth? I answer, I have nothing to do with women, and I wish I never had. But I must not make the door bigger than the house; and so I address myself to King James.

King James.

To write the life and reign of this king, requires a better bookman, and a better pen-

man: That which I have to observe, is only to render him as great a tyrant as any of the rest; for though his fearfulness kept him from wars and blood, yet as much as was in his power, he laid as many springs to enslave this nation as ever any; his will was the sole rule of his government; nor had the people any thing to act but submissive obedience. His first work was to sound the prelates and nobility, whose ambition and corruption he found suitable and serviceable to his intentions; and it was theirinfusion, so agreeable to his disposition, that made him carry himself so majestically to the parliament of England (a power he might justly fear to offend) but their counsels, though they then served his and their ends, came upon them like a storm; the one voted down root and branch, the other voted useless and dangerous.

The king brings with him a general peace with all Christendom, not considering the particular interest of this nation, whether it were honourable or safe, as the affairs of England then stood, his predecessor having taken upon her to be head, and protectress of the protestant party wheresoever: But he had his ends to himself. First he had heard how many and how often attempts had been used to take away the life of Queen Elizabeth, whom God notwithstanding preserved and protected, by the diligence of her servants; but he would rather trust to his craft, than to God's providence.

Then having taken away all thought of wars, his design was to luxuriate the people, that so he might more insensibly lay that foundation of tyranny he intended.

And now comes tumbling in monstrous excess and riot, which consumed many good families, and more good hospitality, formerly the glory both of our nobility and gentry; with an incredible increase of taverns and bawdy-houses, for which too we are to this day beholden to the Scots.

And with this king, and this peace, came the greatest plague that ever this kingdom felt before his time; as if God had told us from heaven we had deserved it, by betraying ourselves; and which was but a light forerunning punishment, in respect of what in time should follow; and yet peradventure that plague was but a shadow of himself, the greater.

The kingdom could not afford more pomp and glory, than was shewn when King James came first through London; and it was so much the more considerable as to him, that from a nasty barren country (rather a dunghill than a kingdom) he came to be at that instant as great a prince as any in Christendom: And, indeed, it was the wonder of those statesmen, who had had experience of the gallantry of this nation, that a Scot should enjoy this crown without resistance. If the temper of these our days had then, as now, taken heed, we had saved much blood, much money, and in all likelihood been long since settled to such a happy state as we are just entering upon.

Long had he waited for the death of Queen Elizabeth; but longer had they waited that waited upon him: For had not their hopes as well as his expected their shares of spoils of this kingdom, we may, without doing any wrong to that nation, conclude him in the fate of his many predecessors, whom they murdered. His stock was odious to the more ancient nobility of that nation; and the cloak of the kirk would have served without scruple for such a fatal covering, as the grand signior uses to send men doomed to death.

His original extract I find was this:

Banchoo, a nobleman of Scotland, had a fair lady to his daughter, whom Macbeth the king desires to have the use of; Banchoo refuses, and Macbeth murders him, and takes the lady by force.

Fleance, the son of Banchoo, fearing the tyrant's cruelty, flies into Wales, to Griffin ap Lhewellin, the Prince of Wales: Lhewellin entertains him with all hospitable civility. Fleance, to requite his courtesy, gets Lhewellin's daughter with child: Lhewellin murders Fleance, and Lhewellin's daughter is afterward delivered of a son named Walter; this son proves a gallant man, and falling out with a noble person in Wales,

that called him bastard, Walter slew him, and for his safeguard fled into Scotland, where in continuance of time he gained so much reputation and favour, that he became steward of the whole revenue of that kingdom, of which office he and his posterity retained the sirname, and from whence all the kings and nobles in that nation of that name had their original; here is a goodly foundation!

For his person, a man might sufficiently and truly make up a volume, only to tell of his laziness, and his uncleannesses; but I cannot do it without fouling too much paper.

He was a great pretender to learning and religion, and for the speculative part, had as much as any of our kings upon record; but for the practical, and best part of it (if we may judge of the tree by the fruit) we may without breach of charity conclude him not guilty: He was the greatest blasphemer in the world; swear faster than speak, and curse the people by the clock: And it appears by the whole course of his life, that he was a most malicious hater of this nation.

The king was naturally fearful, even as low as could be; and what he would do, and durst not own, that he would do by his favourites, whom, for the fitness of his designs, he would raise from low degree, to oblige them the more, and to desert them with more ease, and shift them often, till he had them fitted to his purpose.

Dunbar was too solid, Hayes too light, Northampton too crafty, Montgomery too silly (here is two English, two Scots, all deserted.) And now he hath found a young Scot, that had been one of his young pages in Scotland, and turned off with fifty pounds in money and clothes to seek his fortune; having spent his time and his means in France, comes over hither, and for his fashion and language, is entertained by his countryman, then Lord Hayes (another Scot of the like extract) for a page, where the king takes notice of him, calls for him, and at the first dash makes him one of the bed-chamber, and suddenly his favourite, and knight Sir Robert, then Viscount Rochester, and after Earl of Somerset. This man the king had wound up to his just pitch, of whom we may justly say, Trim tram, like master like man. When this man had long wallowed in his master's bounty, and the treasures of this kingdom, he fell the foulest that ever man did, upon the rocks of dishonour, adultery and murder: Of dishonour, to a noble peer of this land, and in him to the whole nobility: Adultery, not only to bewhore her, but to get her divorced, and marry her. And murder, upon the body of that unfortunate gentleman Sir Thomas Overbury, only for dissuading him.

And here it is much to our purpose to insert, how this favourite's carriage had highly offended Prince Henry, who understanding the loose kind of life this man lived, especially relating to her, distastes him, disrespects him, and forbears his company, and flatly falls out with him. Somerset complains to the king: Shortly the prince falls sick, and dies.

That he was poisoned hath been a common fame ever since: But to snuff the candle, and make it burn clear, take the testimony of these famous physicians, that dissected his body, and have left it upon record under their hands.

The Dissection of the Body of Prince Henry.

First, We found his liver paler than ordinary, in certain places somewhat wan; his gall without any choler in it, and distended with wind.

Secondly, His spleen was in divers places more than ordinary black.

Thirdly, His stomach was in no part offended.

Fourthly, His midriff was in divers places black.

Fifthly, His lungs were very black, and in divers places spotted, and full of a thin watery blood.

Lastly, The veins in the hinder part of his head were fuller than ordinary; but the ventricles and hollowness of the brain were full of clear water.

In witness whereof, with our own hands, we have subscribed this present relation, November 7, 1612.

Mayern,	Palmer,
Atkins,	Gifford,
Hammond,	Butter.

This prince was an active man, and full of high thoughts; a lover of this nation, and looked upon by them with much affection and expectation. What fears and jealousies Somerset might maliciously infuse into the king's too fearful and timorous soul, we cannot tell: But that language from Somerset to the lieutenant of the Tower, when he told him he must provide himself to go the next morning to Westminster to his trial, said, "He would not: That the king had assured him he should not come to any trial, neither durst the king bring him to any trial." This language, I say, stinks abominably. And when he did come to his trial, fearing (being enraged) that he might fly out into some strange discovery, there were two men placed on each side of him with cloaks on their arms, with peremptory command, that if Somerset did any way fly out against the king, they should instantly hoodwink him with their cloaks, take him violently from the bar, and carry him away; and this could be no man's act but the king's. He would often boast of his king-craft; but if his fears, and Somerset's malice, took this prince's life away, it was a sweet piece of king-craft indeed, but the fruit of it hath been bitter.

I cannot enough admire that language he used, when he gave in charge to the judges the examination of Sir Thomas Overbury's murder.

My Lords,

I charge you, as you will answer it at that great and terrible day of judgment, that you examine it strictly, without favour, affection, or partiality: And if you shall spare any guilty of this crime, God's curse light upon you and your posterity; and if I shall spare any that are found guilty, God's curse light on me and my posterity for ever.

This expression has a most honest outside: But if the king had a design of fear, rather to be so rid of Somerset, than an inward desire of justice, it was monstrous foul; which we shall better judge of by the sequel.

Seven persons were by the judges condemned to die for this foul murder; four of them of the least account, and accessaries, are executed; the three great ones, and principals, the king pardons; and to Somerset himself, to his dying day, was most profusely liberal, and suffered to live with that firebrand of hell, his wife, under the king's nose, all the days of their lives.

Here's fine juggling! These must be saved, for fear of telling Scotch tales of the king. Would the spirits of those noble souls of these our days, put up such a piece of injustice in the master, and such an affront and contempt of this nation, both from the master and the man (two Scots) without vengeance? I believe not.

And this favourite of his, when his estate was seized upon for this foul murder, was found to have two hundred thousand pounds in money, plate, and jewels, in his house; and nineteen thousand pounds a-year in lands coming in; a fine advance from a Scots page, fifty pounds, and a suit of clothes! (and can any man tell for what?) I never heard that all Scotland was worth so much; but enough of him.

This king had no wars; but spent more money prodigally, profusely, and riotously, than any of his predecessors.

What swarms of Scots came with him, and after him, into this kingdom! Who per-

petually sucked him of most vast sums of money, which stand yet upon record; which put him upon all dishonourable ways of raising monies, to the most cruel oppression of this nation, to serve their riot and luxury; the truth of which was then, and is undeniable: Though they lived a while at such a height, that they died like themselves, contemptible, miserable beggars; and at this day scarce one of them can shew the fruits of those vast donatives, either in themselves or their posterity, that are worth looking upon; and so let them all perish, whomsoever, Scots or English, whose foundation is such. Though I see no reason but an estate may be now questioned, which is known to have been raised upon the oppression of this nation, nor that any title of honour, so bought, should descend to posterity.

A lord is to be a lord by merit of employment in some noble office, for the public good; not by projecting tricks, and cozening devices to fill a tyrant's coffers, to the enslaving of a gallant and free nation. But, &c. to turn to King James.

In those days, it is true, the bishops, nobility, and the lawyers, had a great influence upon the people for their abilities and supposed honesties; yet amongst these such are found, and others are made such, that whatsoever the king would have, they are fit, and willing instruments to bring it about, and make it pass for current divinity and law. Witness,

The burning of a whole cart-load of parliament precedents, that spake the subjects liberty, that were burnt at the king's first coming.

Witness the nullity.

Witness the life of Sir Walter Rawleigh, that was taken away in point of state, whose least part was of more worth than the whole race of the best of the Scots nation.

Witness the inhancing of customs.

Witness privy-seals, monopolies, and loans, benevolences, sales of lands, woods, fines, new buildings.

Witness the lamentable loss of the Palatinate.

Witness the treaty of the Spanish match.

In which two last, this nation received more dishonour, than in any action any former age can parallel, and all under the colour of an honourable treaty. His daughter was undone, and his son bobb'd of a wife, after the hazard of his person, and vast expence of infinite treasure to this day undischarged.

I could never understand what piece of king-craft it was, to let the prince his only son, with Buckingham his favourite, make that voyage into Spain, unless it were to be rid of them both: And had he not to do with a noble enemy, surely they had never returned.

He would sometimes call a parliament for money, not for business: But if the kingdom presented any grievances, he would quarrel by his prerogative, and dissolve it.

One letter of his to the parliament, I cannot read but with amazement: Which being but brief, take here from his own hand.

A Copy of his Majesty's Letter to the Lower House of Parliament.

Mr Speaker,

We have heard by divers reports, to our great grief, that the far distance of our person at this time from our high court of parliament, caused by our want of health, hath emboldened some fiery and popular spirits in our House of Commons, to debate and argue publickly in matters far beyond your reach and capacity; and so tending to our high dishonour, and trenching upon our prerogative royal: You shall therefore acquaint the House with our pleasure, that none therein shall henceforth presume to meddle with any thing concerning our government, or mysteries of state: Namely, not to

speak of our dearest son's match with the daughter of Spain, nor to touch the honour of that king, nor any our friends or confederates; and also not to meddle with any man's particulars, which have their due motions in our ordinary courts of justice: And whereas we hear they have sent a messenger to Sir Edward Sands, to know the reason of his late restraint, you shall in our name resolve them, that it was not for any misdemeanor of his in parliament: But to put them out of doubt of any question of that nature that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in our name, that we think ourselves very free, and able to punish any man's misdemeanors in parliament, as well during their sitting as afterwards; which we mean not to spare hereafter, upon any occasion of any man's insolent behaviour there, that shall be ministered unto us. And if they have already touched any of these points which we have forbidden, in any petition of theirs, which is to be sent to us, it is our pleasure, that you shall tell them, that, except they reform it before it come to our hands, we will not deign the hearing or answering of it.

I leave every reader to comment upon it, according to his own patience and passion: But that a Scot, from so beggarly a condition, to be so peaceably and honourably received to so royal a government, over so brave a nation, should use such ungrateful, presumptuous, and proud language to the parliament of England, is to my understanding, monstrous, horrible, and not good. But it was his humour all his reign; with impatience over-ruling, with jealousies threatening, and at pleasure to dissolve all parliaments, thereby to lay that foundation of tyrannical and arbitrary government, which he intended to bring upon us.

His favourite Somerset being condemned, and quietly laid aside, he was ready provided of another, George Villiers by name, a handsome young man, lately returned out of France, from an allowance of threescore pounds a-year; who comes to court, is admitted to a cup-bearer's place, presently knighted, and made gentleman of the bed-chamber, and the same day a thousand pounds a-year out of the court of wards given him, and in a breath made master of the horse, then knight of the garter, then Baron of Whadon, Viscount Villiers, Earl of Somerset, and a privy-counsellor, Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Admiral of England, chief justice in Eyre of all the parks and forests on the south side of Trent, master of the King's-Bench office, head-steward of Westminster, and constable of Windsor Castle, and lastly duke; and then he could go no higher in title; but by his master's pleasure and courtesy, all the affairs of the kingdom are steered by his compass, as is at large made known in many men's writings published. Yet when he knew his master (notwithstanding his slabbering expressions of affection, and extravagant honours and riches) to be weary of him, he found a plaister and a powder, that made him amends for all his favours; and here the king-craft met with his match. How far King Charles might be privy to this business I determine not; but the private familiarity between them continued so long after, and protecting him from being questioned for this very particular in parliament, is no small presumption.

But what the king denied (justice) God sent by the hand of John Felton, who stabbed this duke at Portsmouth with a tenpenny knife, that he instantly gave up the ghost, with these words, God's wounds, I am slain!

To write all the actions this duke did by these two kings' favours, in prejudice of this oppressed nation, would make a choleric man mad, and a phlegmatic stupid; but let him go, the king is the thing I intend, who made use of him, the flattering prelates, the poor spirited nobility, and corrupt lawyers, to frame such a government as all the wealth in this kingdom should be at the king's disposing.

Which course, with such instructions, he left to his son; and how his son managed them, hath been so clearly published by supreme authority, fairly written by so white

a hand, that I intend not here to say much of that prince; only this I can say, he was a man so wilful, obstinate, and uxorious, that he quite forsook his own interest as a king, and the honour and interest of this nation, through malice and her counsel; and did so far incline to the interest of France, against Spain (and no thanks for his labour) that by his means alone Rochelle and Dunkirk were both lost: But that, and his father's instructions, lost him, with the loss of more blood and treasure to this nation, than all our wars had spent since William the Norman.

It hath been to me the greatest wonder of the world, how this king could be so blind, as not to prevent that storm that came upon him, till it was too late. Were all his counsellors false? O unhappy king! Or would he be ruled by none but himself and his wife? O more unhappy man! (Surely in this was the hand of God most visible.) Mischief was in his heart against this nation, but it came upon himself and all his, as the world hath seen.

There was about the time of his death, a book published, which was presented to the world as he the author; which was so gross an imposture, that I have much marvelled (the fraud being so plain and easily detected) that no course hath been taken to find him out, and punished, that made it; for that it was not his, is as plainly to be discerned, as the sun at noon. But that false perfume lasted but a while, and the scent was only pleasing to them that could not smell.

So that I may say, that in those days was seen two the most remarkable and most eminent passages of human affairs, that this nation hath afforded since the creation:

The entrance of King James into this kingdom, with as much pomp and glory as the world could afford:

And the exit of his son with as much shame and misery as could befal a king.

And although God Almighty be the judge of all men, yet God's judgments that are so remarkable, are for our instructions, and God is to be glorified by us for these judgments of his upon this king's family.

I cannot in the best stories I have read find who was clearly King James's father.

Mary Queen of Scotland (a lusty young widow) marries the Lord Darnly, son to the Duke of Lenox, in the year 1565, or thereabouts; and at the same time had for a reserve in great favour with her an Italian fiddler, and Bothwell, a Scotch lord. After marriage, the queen proves with child. The king her husband, that was Lord Darnly, (enraged by some informations) comes into the room where the queen his wife was at supper, and very big; drags the Italian fiddler into another room, and murders him. The queen was shortly delivered of a son, which was our King James. The solemnity of the christening ended, she and Bothwell murdered the king her husband. Then the queen marries Bothwell (and all this in a moment of time) but they are both fain to fly: The queen came into England, and was here beheaded; Bothwell fled into Denmark, and there lay in prison all the days of his life.

And now (reader) observe the fortune of this prodigious family.

His supposed father was strangled in his bed, by the consent of his mother, and flung out into a garden.

His mother is beheaded.

His eldest son, Prince Henry, by the jealousy, and consent of his father, in the flower of his youth, and strength of his age, is poisoned.

His daughter, married to the Palsgrave, where shortly her husband (in ambition to become a king) is slain, and she with her many children are driven out of their estates, and fly for shelter into Holland, where she lived upon the courtesy of this state.

Her eldest son, having lived long upon a particular charity of this nation, was at last restored to a feather of his goose.

Two other of her sons, after six years following arms and plunder for King Charles, turned pirates at sea, and so continued.

King James himself (after two-and-twenty years reign, by the act of his favourite Buckingham, and the consent of his son Charles that succeeded him) is poisoned.

King Charles, after eight years wars with the parliament, is taken, arraigned and condemned, and is beheaded at his own doors; and his wife fled home to her friends, and his children scattered abroad in the world, to live upon the charity of others.

Are all these circumstances to be slighted, or unconsidered? And shall we take the priest's word, King James "was of blessed memory?" I challenge the proudest of them; let them publish one clear act of honesty from him all the time of his reign, or any honest man that ever he loved, and I'll yield. His hypocrisy, perjury, cowardice, blasphemy, malice, are known to all; and base ingratitude, which comprehends more than all the rest; whereof one example of him is well worth our remembering, to Sir Henry Wotton, which briefly was thus:

Sir Henry (a man for person and parts highly esteemed, and honoured of all that knew him) being in Florence, when Queen Elizabeth's death drew nigh, (which King James gaped for) the Duke of Florence had intercepted some letters, which discovered a design to take away the life of King James: The duke abhorring the fact, resolves to endeavour his preservation, calls for his secretary to advise by what means a caution might be given to the king; and it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, who (being well instructed) is presently dispatched into Scotland with letters to the king, and most rare antidotes against all manner of poisons, whereby that mischief was prevented; and Sir Henry Wotton returns into Italy, where shortly after came the news of the death of Queen Elizabeth, and James King of Scots proclaimed King of England; and away comes Sir Henry Wotton to joy the king.

This had been a fit subject for to have shewn his noble mind upon for a favourite; but what doth the king? Takes him into two-and-twenty years travel, like a packhorse, to make him an agent in foreign parts, and leaves him in his old age in Eaton college, unable to pay his debts, as may appear by his lamentable complaint upon his death-bed; his words are these, in his last will and testament:

"I humbly beseech my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, and the Lord Bishop of London, to intercede with our most gracious sovereign (in the bowels of Jesus Christ) that out of compassionate memory of my long services, some order may be taken for arrears, for satisfaction of my debts."

This precedent alone is so transcendently foul, as all his other actions and passions are virtues to it. Fellows of no merit, at home, must wallow in his bounty and their own luxury, to his foul pleasure, and to execute his tyrannical actions, whilst such a noble soul as this must suffer want, and die in it.

And now lay these things together, and see whether this king, any more than any of his predecessors, did deserve this honourable memorandum: To consummate his character, his cowardice was as remarkable as his other qualifications; for the sight of a drawn sword, or the noise of a gun, would have put his posteriors into such an agitation, that the savour did sufficiently inform the by-standers what condition they were in; but though these may seem ludicrous, yet being plain matter of fact, I thought not fit to pass it by in silence; but leaving so disagreeable a subject, I shall pass on to his son.

Charles I.

Was as like his father as one egg is like another, only with this odds, his father had not courage answerable to his intentions; but this man durst attempt any thing, that his perverse and inflexible temper put him upon. It has been proved already, that he was shrewdly expected to have had an hand in his father's death, together with his favourite Buckingham, whom he protected to the last, against the justice of the kingdom.

As he was a Scot born, so he hated this nation to the last degree, and was a cruel oppressor thereof, by illegal methods; raising what money he thought fit without consent of parliament, by what he called his royal prerogative; witness, ship-money, loans, excise, inhancing of customs, borrowing money by force of particular persons, and if they refused, they were sent for soldiers into foreign parts; nor did some of the largest cities and corporations in England escape him. The aldermen of Bristol were laid up for presenting a petition, to excuse the city from payment of three thousand pounds demanded of them by the king, nor were they discharged before the money was paid.

Besides these methods, he raised prodigious sums by extravagant fines in his illegal courts of Star-Chamber, High-Commission, &c. erected purely to enslave and ruin the nation: In short, it is almost impossible to reckon up the many unjust and illegal methods this king took, to ruin the poor spur-galled subjects, and to advance himself to the highest pinnacle of despotic and arbitrary power. He was a most inveterate enemy to parliaments, as knowing them to be the grand obstacle to his towering ambition; dissolving them at pleasure if they answered not his wicked designs; and it was his beggarly necessities that forced him to comply to the sitting of his last parliament, till they should dissolve themselves, the city refusing to lend a sum of money, that was requested, without it, having been often baffled by him before in the same manner.

He raised two wars upon his own countrymen the Scots, because they would not suffer a liturgy composed by Laud, and sent to Rome to be approved, to be imposed on them. The Irish massacre is another instance of his goodness, for which the broad seal of Scotland was produced; which rebellion broke out in October 1641, thus warranted, when the king himself was in Scotland, by which above a million of souls was butchered in cool blood for being protestants: And though the odium of this fact is industriously shifted off to others, yet in the judgment of reason, we cannot bring in the king not guilty, who would never permit any to be called to account for it, though pressed thereto by parliament; and King Charles the Second's letter on behalf of the Marquis of Antrim, who was thereupon restored to his honours and estate, as an innocent papist, though a ringleader of that bloody rebellion, as having done nothing but by the order, and for the interest, of his royal father, as the king words it, is no small proof by what authority it was committed. At last, to fill up the measure of his sins, as though all the blood already spilt was too little to satisfy his ambition and revenge, having first insulted his parliament with his band of dissolute cavaliers, he set up his standard at Nottingham, and endeavoured to bring in foreign forces into the kingdom, that so he might entirely enslave it, and be revenged, and at once rid of parliaments. In short, he was a man of an haughty, ambitious, insulting disposition; an enemy to liberty, property, and justice; incorrigible and perverse in his temper, cruel, bloody and revengeful, and wasted more blood and treasure of his subjects, than all his predecessors since the Conquest. I should not have been thus large and particular, but that this man is cried up for a saint and martyr, by a party, most of whom were ignorant what he was; the prelacy, for the maintaining of their usurped authority, giving another character than he deserved. At last he ended his days with a lie in his mouth, as is before hinted, owning a book for his own, of which Bishop Gawden and Bishop Duppa were the authors, and he himself wrote not one syllable, making way, by his death, for his son Charles II. to succeed him.

Charles II.

In whose restoration flowed in that deluge of prophaneness and debauchery, under which we groan at this day. Is noted for his excessive lechery, wasting prodigious sums of money in maintaining his whores, of which he kept no small number, and those too at the poor allowance of 1000l. a week, a-piece, by which means he kept himself poor and indigent to the last degree, and became despicable abroad, and the ridicule

of his own court; Rochester often bantering him to his face, and the celebrated wits of the age making pasquils upon him, which were publickly printed and published; at last, after he had spent a long tract of years in lust and riot, he died, not without suspicion of being poisoned by his brother, leaving behind him six bastard dukes.

James II.

Had the courage of his grandfather, and the religion of his mother; the malice and inveteracy of his father, and was altogether ruled by priests and jesuits. We had an instance of his clemency in the West, whilst himself was Duke of York; it was more than suspected that he had the chief hand in the burning of the city of London, and it is well if his brother had not too. During his short reign, there were but few taxes; but mass-houses were publickly erected, and seminaries for priests, nunneries, &c. and an army of Irish papists raised to serve his turn; but having endeavoured to sham the kingdom with a pretended Prince of Wales, and disobliged the nation by *quo warranto's* against the charters of most corporations in England, wherein London could not escape his hands, the Prince of Orange coming over with an army, upon an invitation of the heads of the nation; rather than submit matters to the determination of the parliament, which was offered by the prince, he ran away with the queen and Pretender into France; from whence he entered Ireland with a French army, and joining with the papists, began the war there; which lasted many years, and hath cost Europe so much blood and treasure; and in him, as the last heir male of that family, was finished the curse of his grandfather James the First. And now, reader, I must leave thee to judge which of all these kings deserves that honourable remembrance "Of blessed memory:" And I heartily pray, that his present majesty, from whom we conceive, upon the justest grounds, the most exalted hopes of our future happiness, having hitherto so governed in his own country, that he is become the darling of his subjects there, and the desire of these kingdoms, over whom God in his infinite goodness has placed him for a blessing, may so rule, that he may be the delight and happiness of his subjects, and the terror of his enemies, and when at length Heaven shall think fit to translate him to a celestial crown of glory, he may be a standing pattern to all succeeding princes, (for imitation) and deserve that glorious character "Of blessed memory."

English Advice to the Freeholders of England. By Bishop Atterbury. 1714.

Tindal has given the following account of this remarkable pamphlet:—

"The late ministry, foreseeing they should be called to an account for their conduct, had frequent consultations how to avoid the storm; and soon after a traitorous libel was published, under the title of, English Advice to the Freeholders of Great Britain. Nothing could be more full of malice and falsehood against the king's person and family, as well as against the whigs in general, and the present ministry; and it was artfully contrived to raise discontents among the people against the government, and to possess them with an opinion, that the church was in danger by his majesty's administration. It was carefully dispersed through the country, and great numbers of them were intercepted in the city of Exeter. They were directed to Sir John Coriton, Sir Nicholas Morrice, Jonathan Elford, Philip Rashleigh, Francis Seaball, John Williams, Esquires; Mr Granville Piper, Mr Welchman, Mr William Cary, Mr Prowse, Mr Phi-

lips, Mr Tonkin, Mr Carnock Kendal, in Cornwall; and to the Reverend Mr Shute, the Reverend Mr Hughes, the Reverend Mr Collyer, and the Reverend Mr Bedford, in the same county, and to the mayor of Westloe. Upon which the government issued out a proclamation, promising a reward of one thousand pounds for the discovery of the author of the libel, and five hundred pounds for the discovery of the printer: But to no purpose."—*Continuation of Rapin's History of England, vol. iv, p.* 414-5.

The Tract was imputed to Atterbury, and never disavowed. The boldness of publishing it at such a moment corresponds with the character of that prelate, who is said to have offered to his confederates to go in his lawn-sleeves and proclaim James III.

Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
Hos mihi prædixit luctus, nec dira Celæno.

I AM firmly persuaded that there is not in their way a better set of men, generally speaking, than the freeholders of England. They are a brave, open, plain, and direct people, and when fairly left to themselves to chuse their representatives, always chuse such as are, or appear to be, true friends to their country. I could instance several elections formerly, and one or two of late, where the temper of the people, without any assistance or countenance from court or treasury, carried it for honest men under great temptations to the contrary; and I cannot recollect one bad parliament, but may be easily accounted for from the electors being bribed, and notoriously tampered with, from false returns made by sheriffs and other officers, or, lastly, from some extravagant prejudices scattered and cultivated among the people, who, wanting proper means of information, are obliged to take things at second-hand, and are therefore liable to gross mistakes.

As the case now stands, the honest part of the nation is to wrestle with each of these disadvantages in a higher degree than perhaps was ever known; and we can scarce expect things will take a happy turn, unless one side abates considerably of their zeal, and the other recovers new spirit: Neither of which seems very promising as yet; since nothing is omitted on the one hand to poison the country, and on the other scarce any thing is attempted by way of antidote. Not that there is wanting a good disposition in the people: In many places several of the ordinary sort have the heroic virtue to refuse thirty, forty, a hundred pounds a man for their votes; and indeed throughout the whole kingdom they seem fully alarmed at the present posture of affairs: But I don't know how, there is a defect somewhere, the whigs outdo us in industry as much as in money: Neither are we as active and bold in publishing the truth, as they in inventing falsehoods.

They go on securely, without fear or remorse, to tell you there was formed and settled a scheme by the late ministry, and the chief of the church party, with the queen at the head of them, to set the protestant succession aside, and introduce the Pretender: This they say loudly in their clubs, coffee-houses, addresses, and, by what appears, have thereby made an impression on the minds of those, who might be better informed if they would please to hear more than one side. The press swarms with these and the like monstrous forgeries; but not one single proof is attempted, only a parcel of invectives and libels against those who have no crimes to answer for, but too great lenity when in power, and too supine a neglect of themselves; faults indeed that could never be justly imputed to their antagonists. The sheriffs and other officers through the several boroughs and counties, are most of them men for the purpose, who know their business and are to be confided in. Bank bills, places, lies, threats, promises, entertainments, are every where employed to corrupt men's affections, and mislead their judgments. Boroughs are rated on the Royal Exchange like stocks and

tallies; the price of a vote is as well known as of an acre of land; and it is no secret who are the monied men, and consequently the best customers.

The country gentlemen who have stood the heat of the day for five or six-and-twenty years, are now almost quite worn out and harassed by taxes and elections: Each election hath been a kind of campaign, where men were to fight *pro aris et focis* at the expence of the landed interest, which I take to be the political blood of the nation. Their enemy was a real hydra, a thriving enemy, that daily gained new recruits, and improved upon contest. The wars abroad, the support whereof weakened the country gentlemen, furnished the whigs with forces to carry on the war with advantage at home; and now that by their misrepresentations of things and persons they have got a vast acquisition of strength, they will, it is to be feared, be enabled to compass their schemes so long projected, for the destruction of the church and landed interest. They have, as they boast themselves, the game in their hands; and, to do them justice, they act like men in earnest, who are resolved to play it to purpose.

This then being our case at present, I shall examine into our circumstances, and speak my mind, as to facts, with great freedom and impartiality: But am resolved not to meddle with the characters of particular persons (a field in which I do not delight) any farther than the subject will necessarily lead me.

My endeavour shall be to bring what I have to urge into as narrow a compass as I can, that every candid reader may see the foot we are upon; what it is we have to hope and fear; who those are from whom we may expect an attack upon our constitution; who are the likeliest persons to stand in the gap to defend it; and consequently who deserve best to be chosen members of the ensuing parliament.

Nor is this an affair of small importance; our all, under God, depends upon the next elections; our religion, our rights, our liberties, our present laws, and our future security are at stake: If we make a wrong step at this juncture, all the comfort we can have, is, that probably it will be our last fault of the kind, because we shall never have it in our power to be guilty of another. For if now there should happen a fatal conjunction of a corrupt parliament and a corrupt ministry, a thing not altogether inconsistent nor unprecedented; if the one should be as ready to give up the constitution, as the other to demand it, we can have no resource, but must be bought and sold beyond a possibility of redemption: For I have too good an opinion of the understanding of the whigs, to think they will ever put it in our power hereafter to make reprisals, or retrieve past miscarriages. If they succeed, according to all human views and probability, the next will be our last parliament that can be called free, and even that, I fear, can only be called so.

I must own, I cannot without great indignation, observe the lukewarm, indolent, cowardly, lazy, desponding, and narrow tempers of some among us: To their shame be it said, they profess honest principles, nay, and are really honest in their inclinations, but yet relinquish the cause, and think they deserve commendation, because they do not concur in the iniquity of the times. You shall therefore hear men of such a composition make a thousand trifling excuses, according to their several weaknesses and frailties: One will tell you, that his standing as candidate signifies nothing; that the sheriff will not return him, though he should have double the number of voices his competitors have. A second cries, why should I put myself to trouble and expence? I was not so well rewarded for my last services. A third urges, that all is in vain, and that a defeat will but shew the weakness of the party. A fourth advises folks to be quiet, and not provoke; there is a lion in the way, a lion in the street: With other laudable speeches to the same purport, all in justification of the coward's maxim, That a man should suffer his enemies to destroy him for certain, and without opposition; because there is a chance, that if he should oppose them, he might possibly come to the worst.

But not to exert one's utmost, in a case of this nature, is almost as blameable as an overt act against one's country: Although the crime be not so unnatural, it is to all intents as prejudicial. It is in this as in high treason; whoever doth not what in him lies to discover and prevent the treason, he knows is hatching, is, in the eye of the law, (which is grounded upon the reason of the thing) as guilty as the principal offender; or at best is adjudged guilty of, what the lawyers call misprision of treason. So that, admitting the comparison, those who stupidly submit to the invading faction, without exerting their abilities in their several stations to divert the danger, may in all reason be said to betray their country as much as those very men who have formed the most desperate designs against it: They may promise themselves the benefit of an indulgence, as the reward of their inactivity; but let them rest assured, this will only last until it comes to their turn to be devoured; for whiggish moderation, like death, sooner or later, strikes all that come in its way.

Far be it from me, and every true Briton, to insinuate we have any thing to fear from a prince of such virtues and abilities as our present gracious sovereign. On the contrary, I labour to extricate him out of difficulties I foresee the whigs design to bring him under; if they can pack a House of Commons to their mind, they will leave him no power to act but as they direct and prescribe: They will subject him to the arbitrary government of a junto, who cannot bear to be controlled even by the regal power, which, as they say, is of their own creation: According to custom, they will pronounce every thing to be arbitrary and tyrannical, which they have not leave to dictate. Thus it was they treated the late queen, until the kingdom unanimously took fire, and resolved to deliver their sovereign out of the hands of such managers. They neither allowed her the liberty to speak her grievances, nor chuse her servants, but compelled her to live in the midst of perpetual craving, joined to pride and insolence, not to be endured. Solomon mentions horse-leeches that have two daughters, which cry, Give, give; but I could name some among the whigs with double that number, all in the same tone, and never to be appeased by the most profuse bounty. Were the history of those times penned in a proper style, that which is really true might pass for romance. They surrounded the throne with a wall of brass, and committed the care thereof to an insatiable witch, who never admitted any to the royal presence, but such as came recommended by a golden spell.

From the claws of these rapacious harpies it is, every good subject wishes to see his majesty secured: And how can this be compassed, but by the choice of a House of Commons, such as the last, superior to all temptations, to the prejudice of their native country, zealous for the honour of their prince and the safety of the church, not ready to encroach upon his goodness, nor willing to suffer him to be monopolized by his and the nation's enemies?

The late House of Commons, wherein the church party had a vast majority, expressed an early and affectionate concern for the illustrious house of Hanover: They omitted nothing to shew their fidelity, which certainly the king is too grateful to forget so soon. Beside, if we consider his firm resolution to maintain the church of England, his disposition to govern according to our laws, his great discernment in penetrating into men, and his tender love for his people, we cannot imagine he will desire a parliament of a complexion different from the two last, however the whigs may attempt or suggest the contrary.

It would be endless to enumerate all that those two parliaments have done for the good of the church and state: Nor was it their fault they did no more: They had a constant drawback, a perpetual clog upon their proceedings. One, who either through knavery or folly, or both, always cried, Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep: And yet, notwithstanding all the obstructions he threw in, in spite of all his shuffling, his tricks, his blunders, (the only proof he ever gave of his

talents for business) they provided better for the publick, and enacted more good laws, than all the parliaments put together since the Revolution.

As to the peace and treaty of commerce, which lay before the two last parliaments; why the first proceeded so heavily, is what the whigs, and that able politician the Staff,[1] (as he or his hireling have christened him, in their late histories) can best account for: He too can best inform the world (if the world will regard what he says) why the treaty was not, in every circumstance, as advantageous as might have been obtained. Although I still must say, such as it is, and even as he hath puzzled and involved it, it is a thousand degrees more for the interest of England, than ten more of my Lord Marlborough's glorious campaigns. To prove which assertion, among many good arguments, I shall use but this one incontestible reason; That to this very peace, this nudalous treaty, as it is called, we owe his majesty's safe and undisturbed accession to the throne: The consequence is obvious. Had we been engaged in a war upon the demise of the queen, what could we have expected but to see the succession disputed sword in hand, two foreign armies raging within the bowels of the kingdom, an unnatural civil war, the end whereof no mortal could determine; and which would have been worse than all, to find ourselves deprived of the blessings we now enjoy under his majesty's auspicious government? So that whatever hopes the whigs might have entertained from a prospect of such distractions, now methinks, in compliment to the king, they ought to seem delighted with that, which secured his succession; and in justice ought to thank the promoters of the peace, since they thereby have the double pleasure of seeing the church party turned out, and of finding themselves got into their places. It ought to be considered, that if the peace be bad, the whigs are answerable for it, and in some sense may be said to have made it, because they brought us into a necessity of making it, by squandering away the revenues of the kingdom, by refusing the advantageous terms we might have had at Gertruydenburgh, by their factious cabals in England, and traitorous alliances in Holland and elsewhere.

We are told, we needed not have been in such haste; that we could have held out one campaign more, and one campaign had done the work. This had been the language of some men for many years past: Still it was one campaign, and we should be at the gates of Paris. This induced us to part with our money and senses, until we were almost entirely stript of both.

But we will take it their own way, and suppose we were able to continue the war longer, even upon the ruinous foot the whigs left it, were we sure the queen might not have died before the end of it? Or could we answer that some accident might not have happened to set us as far back as ever? Or, since Bouchain was the work of a whole campaign under my Lord Marlborough, at the head of one hundred thousand men, could we depend upon it, that Cambray might not hold us at bay another year, Valenciennes a third, and so forth? Or could we be very positive that none of our allies would clap up a separate peace, and leave us in the lurch? Did the Dutch never do any thing of this kind? Never desert their friends, nor sacrifice them for their private advantage? And can any man in his wits say, it would have been wiser for us to have protracted the war under all these hazards, than to have made an end of it as we did, which hath restored quiet to Europe, and secured King George upon the British throne?

When one considers the conduct of the church party; how they were the men made and confirmed the act of settlement; how they were the men recognized the king's title, and proclaimed him with all possible marks of duty; one is confounded to think, what colours the whigs could use to represent them as disaffected, and what could pro-

[1] Alluding to a political account of Lord Oxford's conduct, entitled, The History of the White Staff, of which De Foe is supposed to have been the author. Atterbury and St John were severely attacked in that publication.

voke the court to single them out as objects of displeasure; and much more, what can bias the country to reject those men they so lately chose. Upon the death of the queen, the church party expressed a sorrow for the loss of so excellent a princess; remarkable for piety, and every virtue requisite to adorn a throne and make a people happy: And was that sorrow a crime? I hope not. Did they omit to solemnize the king's accession in all the forms? Did they shew a reluctance to acknowledge his title or proclaim him? No. But seemed to vie with their fellow subjects in all expressions of loyalty; with this difference; the whigs were in raptures, as if they had been rescued from some merciless tyrant, from racks, prisons, and tortures: The others did not think they had reason, or that it was decent, to be so immoderately transported; but yet were wanting in no duty towards the successor: They paid a just regard both to the living and the dead: Which in all reason ought to be their recommendation, not their crime.

The Commons as well as Lords immediately address the king, invite him over, and settle upon him seven hundred thousand pounds a year, the very same establishment Queen Anne, a native of our country, whose personal merits we were acquainted with, enjoyed; and more than both King William and Queen Mary together had to maintain themselves, the Queen Dowager, the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the Duke of Glocester: And these may at least be reckoned as great a charge as the Prince and Princess of Wales, who, before they came here, had but bare three thousand pounds a year for their whole expences: Surely so bountiful a gift shewed no disaffection in the givers. But over and above this, the parliament passed an extraordinary compliment upon the Hanoverian troops, who, though in the queen's pay, deserted her general in Flanders; notwithstanding which, the faithful Commons voted those troops their arrears, which I take to be something more than justice; all which was done by a high church House of Commons. And yet this very House of Commons was thought so little worthy of having the liberty once to meet their prince, or so much as to attend him at the great solemnity of his inauguration, that they were denied the poor favour of a medal.

Neither could they have had any motive to this, but their affection to his majesty: For it must be confessed, they were not entirely satisfied with the persons or proceedings of the regents, whether with or without cause I will not dispute. However, there was not, I am persuaded, through the whole three kingdoms, one churchman of distinction, who appeared in the least disaffected to the king, but all unanimously concurred in a submission to his government, to the inconceivable mortification of the whigs, who poured forth wishes for an insurrection. But nothing of this kind happened: All remained quiet; and, which hath seldom happened, both parties agreed in one wish, and impatiently longed for his majesty's safe arrival. Arrive he did at last, and was received with loud acclamations from all quarters: So here was a fair opportunity for him to shew himself an equal parent of his people. The fame of his wisdom and moderation had filled the mouths and hearts of all men before he came. We had been told, with the greatest air of assurance, that he was determined not to set himself at the head of a party; that he did not come to be king of the whigs, or king of the tories, but of all his subjects indifferently, without partiality or distinction. Questionless this had been his interest, and to have abolished the name of parties, and surely never man had so happy a conjuncture to do this in as he at the time of his landing. There needed no profound management to effect it: Nothing but an open countenance to all who came to welcome him: A countenance that might shew no inward sullenness or reserve, no prejudices, no memory of past disobligations. This had gained him the hearts of his people, and answered their wishes; but it was a policy, that, it seems, did not suit with the sentiments of some people, who consult their own resentment and profit more than their master's honour and interest.

It was generally thought a melancholy omen, that the king's first compliment to his people, after touching English ground, should be the removal of the Duke of Ormond; the man of all others the most popular and unexceptionable, and this with circumstances too well known to be mentioned. There was observed, upon this incident, a dejection in the countenances of most men, excepting of the person removed; and they had nothing to keep up their spirits, but to suppose some extraordinary reasons which they hoped could not always subsist. Some pretended to account for this step, by saying, his grace's not fighting the French in the campaign, 1712, is not to be forgiven him: But this must certainly be a mistake. All men know he hath as great a thirst for honour, as much bravery, and as great contempt of money, as any one alive: So that his conduct must have been the result of his obedience to his queen; and obedience to one's prince will not, I presume, be thought bad doctrine in this reign, whatever it might have been in the last.

Suppose the Duke of Marlborough had been commander at the time the queen sent orders to her general not to fight, because the peace was far advanced; and Dunkirk was to be given up into her hands as a cautionary town. In this case I ask, Would the Duke of Marlborough have obeyed or not? If he would, then the Duke of Ormond did but what the other would have done upon the like occasion; if he would not have obeyed, then, in the sense of all mankind, he had deserved to lose his head for that action alone. Or, if you please, suppose General Bulaw, who commanded the Hanoverian troops then in English pay, had remained with the English general contrary to the elector's command, or at least without his leave, what reward do you think would he have found upon his return home? I dare answer for it, such a one as Count Conigsmark.[1] The manifest reason of the thing shews, that could not be the Duke of Ormond's offence; and by what since hath happened, it appears that his being a churchman, and a churchman not to be perverted, is what is not to be forgiven him. What other temptation could there be to so poor a mark of impotent malice, as was that of taking from him the lieutenancy of Somersetshire? a thing he had kept under all administrations during the two late reigns, and which was continued to him for some time under the present. It was not of consequence enough to stop the mouth of any hungry, indigent courtier. The taking it from the duke could not prejudice him, and was known to be a disobligation to all the gentlemen of that loyal county; nor was the person that succeeded his grace in any great degree of favour at court; but he is less in favour with the church party; and the business is to shew these that no measures will be kept with them: Which will further appear by what followed upon the Duke of Ormond's being turned out.

In a few days after his removal, more alterations were made than had been in almost as many years before; nay, more than were upon the Revolution. All, who lay under the imputation of having been esteemed by the late queen, were treated as enemies to the king; excepting two or three at most, who, if I mistake not, will never go the lengths are expected, and for that very suspicion are already but cloudily received. None, bating a few trimmers, who can turn with every wind, are in favour with the present court, but such as was in eminent disfavour with the last. Every one's merit is rated in proportion to that standard. You shall not see a scoundrel, that was either turned out of employment, or had none under the late administration, but expects to come in now upon the foot of a sufferer for the succession. For it is to be noted, this is a phrase in vogue to recommend all who are to make their court. This you may hear hundreds repeat with all the gravity in the world; and, which is more extraordinary, expect to be believed, though they themselves know it is all a farce from beginning to end. If one can imagine the court of Versailles turned Hugonots,

[1] Conigsmark, killed in the apartment of George I.'s wife by his order.

and Monsieur Villars introducing the French refugees, *les pauvres refugiez*, with these or the like recommendations——*Voicy un honnéte homme qui a suffert pour la religion*, &c. "This honest gentleman hath been a great sufferer for the cause; he hath been in the gallies these four years. That other lost his whole estate, and was forced to fly from wife and family to save his life. That poor old man hath been racked twelve times," and so forth; I say, if one can imagine such a scene, they may have an idea of what is said and acted every day at St James's. And I suppose the next question is, who was that inhuman cruel prince, and who those wicked instruments, that have made such havoc among the innocent?

Nor is this prodigious moderation practised here only, but also in Scotland and Ireland, that all parts of his majesty's dominions may feel the effects of our glorious change. In Ireland, two of the lord justices, the lord chancellor, all the judges, I think, and commissioners, excepting honest Mr Medlicot, and two more; in short, all in employment, who are suspected of but wishing well to the church interest, are removed. And to shew the great regard had to the church, the lord primate, a man of the greatest virtues and abilities, is turned out of the privy-council, the first precedent of the kind, I dare say, since the Reformation; and in his grace's stead, Mr Molesworth, an enemy to all religion, is put in. He is a fair enemy I own, because he openly professes it. This gentleman's merit is a crime, for which, in a less mild reign than the last, he would have lost his ears. The thing is notorious; he publickly affronted the whole body of the clergy in the castle of Dublin, when they came with their address to the lord lieutenant, applying to them the words, They that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also. This outrage and prophaneness the House of Lords resented, as they ought; the fact was represented to the queen, and the offender excluded the council. A punishment in no degree adequate to the offence. But now he is thought fit to succeed the primate at that honourable board, and in good time may succeed him in his archiepiscopal see: In the meanwhile, he hath a thousand pounds a-year given him for his services, and I doubt not but that he will take care to deserve ten times as much more.

According to the same model all the lower offices in that kingdom are furnished. 'Tis said five hundred justices of the peace are to be turned out upon subscription: This they may do according to law; but they strain their power further, and break patents, as in the case of one Mr Edgeworth, to whom, for some considerable services performed by him in the Irish war, King William made a grant of a place for his and his son's life: But my Lord Sunderland, whose little finger is heavier than my Lord Wharton's loins, under pretence of a flaw in the form, hath actually given his employment to another. When obligations and patents cannot hold, I am afraid charters will not be long-lived.

Such is the fate of that miserable nation: And I am told Scotland is not in a better condition; so that it must be allowed the whigs are the best state engineers in the world: They shoot with chained bullets, and mow down whole kingdoms before them: The court believes all they do is right, and that the churchmen cannot be too ill used.

Whence this infatuation sprung, and how it hath taken root; whether it was the effect of a westerly wind some months ago, and of Dutch air; of the Earl of Oxford's ordinary witchcraft, or the Duke of Marlborough's money, I will not take upon me to say. Perhaps there might have been a *quantum sufficit* of each to make up the compound. I know there are some unriddle the secret in an easy manner: They say the king's stay in Holland was not casual but concerted; that there it was resolved, who were to be removed, and who to be employed in England; particularly that the Duke of Marlborough, who had spun out the war to the English ruin, and Dutch interest, should be made commander-in-chief; that my Lord Townsend, who had provided so well by the Barrier-Treaty, for the trade and security of Holland, and so entirely ne-

glected and sacrificed his own country, should be made secretary; that my Lord Strafford, who used to speak plain English to the Hogan Mogans, should be turned out, and succeeded by an infamous plunderer, who had been a joint instrument with the Dutch in all the contributions, safeguards, extortions, and rapine, under which the Spanish provinces have groaned for the greater part of the last war. These things are asserted, and perhaps not without grounds; But whether they be fact or not, I will not dispute: Certain it is the church party never gave any just handle for their disgrace, and that they never discovered a dislike to the house of Hanover, unless a dutiful behaviour to the person in possession be thought an injury to the successor; a doctrine that ought by no means to be encouraged in the present times.

Be it as it will, it is not very material to our purpose to enquire who were the authors, or what the causes of the discountenance, not to say injustice, the churchmen now meet with. It is in vain to look back. What behoves every honest man is, to examine into the merits, the views, the interests of each side, and thence to form his conduct: Upon this foot we are now to proceed. If, upon a fair disquisition of the matter, we find the whigs are generally men of more honour and religion, truer to the interest of their country, and less addicted to strangers than their competitors; if their views and designs square better with the establishment in church and state than those of their rivals; in the name of God let all the persons in England that have votes to give, declare for a whig parliament. But if the reverse of all this be true, or if the whigs are at best but men, liable to mistakes, and open to bribery; if their avowed designs tend to the overthrow of the constitution, and at the same time it be their interest to pursue those designs, whilst the only reasonable prospect, the only safety the churchmen can propose to themselves, consists in the preservation of our religion and laws as now settled; if this, I say, be the case, then I presume it will follow, that it is the interest of both the church and people of England to chuse churchmen for the ensuing parliament.

The argument will appear the stronger the better you weigh the several branches of it.

As to the merits of each side, I have a mind, for once, to suppose them equal; that is, take man for man, you will find as many persons of honour, conscience, virtue, and religion, among the church party, as among the whigs, which, I conceive, cannot be thought an immodest supposition, if we consider the body of the whigs is composed of atheists, free-thinkers, and the several sects of dissenters under their several denominations. For example: Give me leave to suppose my Lord Harcourt as equitable a dispenser of justice, and one of as much morals as his successor. Let me suppose likewise that the Duke of Ormond hath as much courage, honour, integrity, and generosity as his Grace of Marlborough, which I believe will scarcely be disputed; that my Lord Townsend's eloquence and abilities are not brighter than my Lord Bolingbroke's; and that one hath at least taken as much care of England, by his transactions relating to our peace, as the other by the Barrier Treaty; which treaty appeared so scandalous even to my Lord Marlborough, that he declared he would chuse rather to lose his right hand than sign it: That Mr Bromley is not inferior to the Brihuega general, either in virtue, good sense, or reverence for churches: And so on.

I say, for once, I have a strong inclination to suppose these paradoxes; but am told there is not a man of the whigs, but will exclaim against this as a dangerous inquisition into their lives and characters; let us therefore examine what designs it is likely, according to appearances, to men's past conduct and professions, and their present mien, each party hath in view.

There is one point, and I believe but one, wherein they both seem to be upon the square with each other, and that is with regard to employments. To confess the truth, I am of opinion, neither side hath much to say against the other upon this head: Nor

do I see what advantage can be made of it, any farther than on all hand to detest those vile prostitutes, who desert their friends, and renounce their principles, to creep into a warm place; and upon the strength of a good salary, nameless perquisites, or the usual pension, bid defiance to honesty and walking on foot. It is true, something may be urged in favour of the mercenaries who are compelled to do the drudgery of a faction for bread; but when it is only to add one to several thousands a year a man hath of his own, it is detestable to pawn or sell one's honour, conscience, and country. Even a wife fond of a court, and of sitting at the receipt of custom, cannot justify the infamy of such a proceeding.

To the eternal honour of some amongst us, places and pensions have been rejected, when proffered upon base terms; so that still, as depraved as we are, there are Englishmen proof against the witchcraft of court favour, and above the power of gold. Examples rare, and the more worthy our admiration! I am sensible I shall offend the modesty of those great men, who have thus signalized themselves, if I presume to name them: But as much as I honour them, I regard my country more, and think it fit England should know, that Sir Thomas Hanmer refused an employment worth three thousand pounds a year, which Sir Richard Onslow, (who had always been for the place-bill) was glad to accept upon the terms desired. That Mr Bromley would not come into the present schemes to get two thousand pounds a year that was offered, to buy him off from the church interest; but stood his ground with that unshaken firmness and integrity, which hath always distinguished his character. But not to lay too great a stress upon the few instances can be produced of this kind, we will consider what designs the whigs charge upon the churchmen, and what these charge upon the whigs, with the grounds of the several accusations.

The substance of all the many articles with which the whigs load us, I take to amount to this; that we have had it in our intentions to introduce popery and the Pretender; that we are enemies to the king, and will obstruct his measures. The former part of the indictment they have rung in our ears many years together: Nor can I blame them, all things considered. It hath upon many occasions been of service to them. They were in the right to accuse us of what we cannot disprove, since they had nothing material to prove against us: And against this we can make no defence, because they attempt to bring no evidence. They pronounce we are Jacobites, and that's enough: They alledge no one single fact; so we can only answer for our hearts and wishes, which they pretend to know much better than we ourselves.

Ask any of their dabblers in politicks, wherein it appears that we are in the interest of the Pretender? and he will give you his oath for it, and assure you we should all have been ruined, sold for slaves to the gallies, or been massacred, if the queen had not died on the first of August, precisely between the hours of eight and nine in the morning; ten minutes later and we must all have sunk, religion, state, illustrious house, and all.

The men of sense argue after another manner: That we must have been Jacobites, because it was our interest; that we knew they had shut the doors against us on one side, and therefore it was natural we should have recourse to the other. But neither had this consideration any weight with us. We continued firm to our engagements; and the generality of the kingdom seems fully sensible, how little we merited either the reproaches or treatment we have received. If we have been trafficking in any unjust designs, how comes it to pass the whigs have never discovered the least advance that way? Why are none of the traitors seized and examined; no papers nor evidence produced? Why is nothing offered as a proof, but the stale threadbare lies of those who have no support for their falsehood, but matchless impudence, and an intrepidity in lying? Is it that the whigs have another Oxford among them, of too merciful a disposition to bring offenders to condign punishment? I believe not. He, good man, hath not his equal upon earth; and they are too well read in politicks to follow such

examples. Is it that the whigs are not diligent enough in their search? I believe also that is not their fault. They took care betimes to search the principal offending person's office,[1] at the same instant that they visited and courted him every day: But no dangerous papers were brought to light; no discoveries made; besides Mr Hare's hat, I hear of nothing seized there, but only a silver candlestick, and another utensil, which a noble peer took care to seal up. Whence could it happen, that after all this wonderful enquiry, no conspiracies were detected? I am afraid it is, because there are no such things in reality, and that an examination into the affair would but unravel the whole mystery. When any thing is done to amuse and throw dust in men's eyes, it cannot endure to be too nicely pryed into.

But to go farther yet, and suppose what does not appear, that the church-party might once have had such a scheme, yet since it is now broke, his majesty settled upon the throne, and a numerous royal issue here upon the spot, out of the power of the pope and all his works; and since there can be no rational nor even romantick prospect of a revolution in favour of the Pretender, it is the true interest of England to elect a Church House of Commons: Of two evils the least is the best, and I dare say it is a less evil to chuse those who once wished us harm, but have it not in their power to injure us, than those who, having it in their power, may soon have it in their intention to overturn the state. The difference is, the churchmen cannot prejudice the constitution, though they should desire it, but a whig House of Commons will both be able and willing to do it.

For supposing you had just such another Jacobite House of Commons as the last, which passed an act for an hundred thousand pounds to the person who should seize the pretended King James the Third: I say, supposing you had such a bloody-minded Jacobite House of Commons, how could they prejudice the constitution either in church or state? What steps could they take? What arguments, funds, forces, allies, could be of service to them? How could they ever get the House of Lords into the project? The House of Lords, which will be as thoroughly whig as heart can wish. Nay, one may venture to say, that if the king himself can be supposed to have any inclination to balance or break parties, 'tis his interest to have such a House of Commons as may check the House of Lords; by which means he might be at liberty to act as he should think fit. If he is now so swayed by a few whigs, how will he be overruled by two houses of the same principles?

True, cry the whigs, we have a House of Lords now on our side, but no thanks to you. Now it is out of your power to shake his possession, and therefore in revenge you will not enable the king to make a figure in Europe; *i. e.* we will not enable him to commence a new war in our present circumstances: And in this the whigs seem to be in the right; for I do not believe the church party have so great an opinion of their late knight-errantry, as to be fond of engaging afresh, unless upon new provocations and better views than now offer. We may fight again and beat, and be beaten; may huzza one day, and fast another, for ten years more, and all to purchase a trifle, which, when obtained, will not answer the hundredth part of what may be laid out in the purchase.

It is probable we shall consider the state of the nation, before we begin a new rupture, that we may not, out of compliment to any one, run blindly into what we are not prepared for. And it must be owned we are very much unprepared for more land-expeditions; the publick is indebt near fifty millions, the interest whereof amounts to near two millions and a half yearly: All the funds, excepting the land and malt tax, are either anticipated or mortgaged; a poll tax and general excise, the only resorts in

[1] The office of Lord Bolingbroke. Some of the principal whigs dined with him immediately before the queen's death, which caused much speculation.

this case, are odious, and not to be supported by the people; already fleeced so often, they have scarce enough left to keep them from perishing: Neither have they the ability or inclination to bear the insolencies and oppressions of a new military power, and of knavish recruiters: The pressing honest housekeepers and tradesmen; the quartering soldiers in private as well as publick houses, with infinite more disorders, the almost inevitable consequences of a new war, are what we are in no disposition to endure.

We ought also to consider how far in our present circumstances an army should be trusted in the hands of an incensed, corrupt, or ambitious general, and to what service he may apply it; whether against French and popish tyranny, or English liberty; whether for the king, or for the whiggish faction: questions I cannot think unnatural; for he that hath betrayed three crowned heads already, out of his boundless passion for money, may find his account in betraying the fourth, or in enslaving his native country, and then his hearty endeavours are not to be doubted of. And indeed nothing can parallel the setting such a notorious traitor to kings at the head of an army, but putting the fleet under the command of him, who was to have betrayed the English navy to the French at La Hogue, and was the deepest in the conspiracy for the late King James's restoration: Which whoever doubts, may be satisfied of by Sir John Fenwick's papers, which are now upon the journals of the House of Lords.

It should seem to me one of the most extravagant delusions in nature, for Englishmen at this juncture to entertain a thought of a new war, only that I have often experienced it, that men are apt to run away with the sound, without considering the meaning of words. This is our case: The king is by all means to make a figure in Europe, and that should stop all mouths; whereas it is not always the interest of a people to have their prince make, what is generally called, a figure in the world. This is a stile applied to such princes as are warlike and enterprizing, and fill the weekly gazettes with accounts of their sieges, battles, conquests, and triumphs; all which rather make a nation terrible abroad than happy at home.

The princes that in this age make the greatest noise in Europe, are the King of France, the Czar of Muscovy, the King of Sweden, and King Augustus: They are all absolute, and raise what men and subsidies they think fit, begin and end wars as their humour, private interest, or caprice direct; and seldom consider the happiness of the subject, any farther than as it suits with their own grandeur. The former of these hath appeared with great lustre, and not only his medals, his panegyricks, but even his enemies, confess he hath made a figure. But pray what are his subjects the better for it? Nineteen parts of them are beggars, proud and poor slaves; and even the twentieth, consisting of projectors, financiers, generals, and courtiers, with fine equipages, and spacious hotels, have only the advantage to wear golden chains.

There is not any thing gives me a greater contempt for the levity of that nation, and abhorrence of arbitrary power, than to see the poor wretches in France, without shoes to their feet, shirts to their backs, or bread or salt to put in their mouths, strut and talk of their grand monarch, with a conceitedness, as if his grandeur descended to them. Their starving pride shews their minds as much enslaved as their bodies. You will say this is their happiness: Be it so: But nevertheless I am of opinion they would be better pleased, if Lewis Le Grand made a less figure, and they had more bread to fill their bellies, and better cloaths to defend them from the weather. The subjects of the Czar of Muscovy and the King of Sweden are much in the same condition, only that their yoke is more agreeable to their climate.

The Polish subjects of King Augustus were indeed free, when they chose him, from being an elector of the empire, and of a different religion from theirs, to be their king; but he being confined to certain conditions, which he did not like, soon found means to break them. Their *Pacta Conventa*, much like our acts of parliament, were only a

dead letter, and could not restrain him who had an army at command. By what means he compassed his ends I need not mention: It is enough to our purpose, to know that, to make a figure, he introduced into Poland a foreign army, engaged in several wars, oppressed his subjects, was kinged and unkinged, and kinged again; and that for several years Poland hath been the scene of all the miseries which can possibly overwhelm a nation.

But not to ramble too far from our subject, I think the result of all the whiggish objections is, first, That we were enemies to the Hanover succession; which is manifestly false, and which, if it were true, could be no objection to us now: And, secondly, That we will not consent to visionary and dangerous projects, that may tend to the ruin of our king and country; however these may be disguised under the specious notion of aggrandising our monarch, or recommended by those who boast themselves his best and only friends.

It remains now, to examine what the churchmen object against the whigs, with the grounds of the accusations. First, we take it for granted, that the whigs are resolved upon an immediate war. This, I conceive, they will scarce deny, although perhaps they may give other reasons for it than we do. They will say they are concerned for the honour of the nation, shamefully betrayed by the late peace, and for the benefit of trade; and we say they want a war to secure their power, and increase their wealth. They have cant on their side, we probability to ours. We say, it is a maxim agreed on all hands, that those same means which have raised any usurped power, are necessary to the establishment of it: That the whigs seem sensible of this, as they seldom are wanting to themselves on such occasions: That they know their present power is the consequence of the wars in the two late reigns: That most of their fortunes were thereby raised: And that it was the war which ruined the landed interest. But it seems the landed interest is not low enough yet, it may have a resurrection; to prevent which, nothing can be so effectual as another war. A war therefore they must have, right or wrong, and cost what it will.

To this end they roar and bellow against the peace: For the same end military men are employed in the several embassies abroad; and I believe those great generals and soldiers so employed, would think themselves ill treated, if not represented as men that delight in war. In Hanover the officers are ordered to increase their quotas by fourteen men in each company, and six in each troop. Here in England, since his majesty's arrival, by secret and insensible degrees, they have taken like methods to increase the forces. All the present measures look apparently towards a new war, and a man must be strangely short-sighted not to perceive the clouds a-gathering. When they are to fall, I will not determine; but we may depend upon it, whenever that shall happen, six shillings in the pound, a capitation stock, and general excise, will be the least of our misfortunes.

Again, we say the whigs resolve, if they can procure a House of Commons to their mind, to destroy the church of England: Whereby I do not mean that they have set up gibbets in their minds, and design to hang, draw, and quarter every member of the church, nor that all the whigs will come into the scheme; but we are persuaded that the generality of the whigs are averse to the present hierarchy and government of the church; that they neither like our doctrines nor our clergy, but would abolish bishops, priests and deacons, assume the church lands to themselves, appoint a small allowance to the parsons, and prescribe them what doctrines to teach from the pulpit; that they would introduce a general comprehension, and blend up an ecclesiastical Babel of all the sects and heresies upon the face of the earth; and, lastly, deprive the bishops of their vote in the House of Lords; which particular they have contrived to render the less odious, by furnishing the reverend bench, as far as was in their power, with such members, as few churchmen will pity or regret when they shall be unloaded.

It may be said, so many black articles ought not to be charged upon the whigs without good evidence and proof: It is true, they ought not, and therefore I am so fully convinced of it, that I will give up all I have said for mere fiction and slander, if you can name me one single man among their leaders, who is not a professed deist and enemy to all religion, a latitudinarian, or notoriously disaffected to the clergy of the church of England. I except the Earl of Nottingham, because he is still an avowed churchman, and only acts with a party into which he was forced by the injuries he received from the Earl of Oxford; not that he is, properly speaking, of the party. He indeed is an instance how far passion and resentment, even in the greatest men, can sway reason: But he is no whig, no more than Oxford was a churchman; so his lordship is excepted out of my rule. But among all who call themselves whigs, and are of any consideration as such, name me the man I cannot prove to be an inveterate enemy to the church of England, and I will be a convert that instant to their cause.

Things being thus, may we not fairly conclude, that when these enemies to the church shall have both the reins and whip in their hands, they will drive on to destroy it root and branch? Suppose, for instance, our next will be as entirely a Whig House of Commons as that which impeached Dr Sacheverell, and that they will bring in a bill for the complete abolition of bishops, priests and deacons (which, as I take it, is no unnatural supposition); how easy will it be to represent to the king, that the way to enlarge his own power, is to lessen that of the clergy; that they pretend to an independency on the state; that they have a strong influence upon the people; that they are in their hearts for the Pretender; that they teach doctrines opposite to his right; and that they have vast possessions in land, which he, like our Harry the Eighth, may seize, convert to his own use, or give to his favourites, as he pleases (all which the whigs say every hour, both in private and publick); I say, in this case, is it not manifest the church will be in danger?

I remember when the dispute about the danger of the church was in agitation in the late reign, I was one of those who thought it not in danger; not but that I was privy to what the whigs drove at; but I knew we had the queen on our side, and that nothing could ever influence her to act to the prejudice of the church of England; the rights whereof she understood, and always tenderly loved; but we may say, without reflection upon any one, the case is prodigiously altered.

How religious soever the king is, it cannot be imagined he hath any extraordinary veneration for a religion which he came into but the other day, and to which he was an absolute stranger before. The Lutheran, wherein he was educated, and which he professed to the very hour of his landing, is entirely different, both in doctrine and discipline, from ours; in that there are no bishops, which we think essential to a church; and there are some ceremonies and tenets which border too near upon popery.

For, to say the truth, Lutheranism and popery in many things differ only as that which is absurd differs from that which is more so. The papists, for example, say the consecrated wafer is Christ really and substantially in person, and that it retains nothing of the substance of the bread: The Lutherans say it is Christ in substance, and bread in substance too: And from both these, the church of England differs widely, as well as in many other points. So that since his majesty, to qualify himself for the crown, was pleased to depart from his own, to embrace a religion so different from it in many, and those essential respects, it is no remote thought to apprehend he may consent to the alteration of ours, for a valuable consideration to himself. Can any mortal, then, assign a reason why he should refuse to give his royal assent to a bill to abolish the present constitution in church? His coronation oath obliges him to maintain the laws of the state as well as the church; and since an act of parliament may repeal the one, why may he not conclude it may do so with the other, since he can

have no scruples of conscience upon him, as to the divine right of our constitution? Would it not be natural for him to argue, that the voice of his parliament is the voice of the nation, and that as they are his great council, he ought to follow their advice? His declaration, which sets the kirk of Scotland upon the level with the church of England, shews plainly he is not particularly devoted to us; and the great concourse and good countenance, with which the numerous fry of short cloaks are received at St James's, may give us to understand, that at least they are as welcome there as the long gown.

Nor are we to expect greater favour from the Prince and Princess of Wales: His circumstances as to religion are the same with his father's; and she is so rigid a Calvinist, that is, so rigid a presbyterian, that hitherto she hath not been prevailed upon to receive the sacrament according to the institution of the church of England. It is true, by the providence of God and the wisdom of our sovereign, the event may prove happy; but still it must be allowed the view is very unpromising, and that our fears are not altogether groundless.

Upon the whole, we may lay this down for certain, that the whigs are sure of the court and of the House of Lords, and that if they can manage it so, as to have a majority in the Commons, and that Providence doth not wonderfully interpose, there will be an end of the purest church in the world, to make way for a monstrous comprehension.

Fœta armis ——————
Illa subit, mediæque minans illabitur urbi.

Another point with which we accuse the whigs is, that they design to repeal or explain away the chief limitations in the Act of Settlement. By that act there are many excellent provisions made for the good of king and people. These are said to abridge the prerogative too much; although it be evident there is not a restriction in that whole act which a wise king would not chuse to lay upon himself; not one, which a king could have a temptation to break, if he were resolved to reign like an English king, and not like a foreigner.

However, to ingratiate themselves at court, the whigs alledge, that the king's hands are fettered and manacled by these restrictions; that we ought to treat him as well as his predecessors; that we seem by this act to distrust him; and that it will be a perpetual handle for misunderstandings, suspicions, and jealousies, between him and his people: On the contrary I affirm, nothing can give so much umbrage as the repeal or alteration of that act; either of which will create a hundred jealousies for any one that could have been otherwise. Men look upon it, in some measure, as sacred as Magna Charta, and think there is not a tittle in it but should be preserved inviolable: The reason, I conceive, is this. They apprehend if you make a small breach, you will not know where to stop; but by opening it to receive a few Hanoverians into employment, will make the gap wide enough for all the foreigners in Europe to pass through. It is thought dangerous practice to break acts of settlement even in private families, and much more so in publick states; both as the consequences are vastly greater in the latter, and as an error therein may be irreparable; but in private cases the law lies open to do the injured party justice.

I must own, I am not entirely of the opinion of those, who think the whigs enjoy their present favour at court, by no other tenure than an assurance of repealing those limitations: I do believe their merits are not confined in so narrow a circle, but that as they may have given expectations of their future good conduct, so they have recommended themselves by past services. However, it is not to be denied but they have engaged and promised to take off the restrictions, which they complain of so heavily.

Their daily discourse rolls upon the hardships the king lies under, to have his hands so tied up. At this rate, say they, what is the crown worth? To answer naturally, I reply, it is worth seven hundred thousand pounds a-year to maintain the civil-list alone, that is, to maintain the king's private family; which is more by one full half, than all Brunswick, Lunenbourg, and Hanover, put together, can raise. And the courtiers and whigs talk of making it worth two hundred thousand pounds a-year more to the Prince of Wales; to which purpose they design to make a demand of the next parliament: As if the principality of Wales, the lands in Cornwall, and what the king may reasonably spare out of his income, were not sufficient to support his son's princely dignity. The late queen, for some years of her reign, gave the publick a hundred thousand pounds yearly out of her revenue; and sure the king may allow so much to his son, without burthening the poor country with new taxes. But further; the crown is worth the empire of the sea, provided our good neighbours the Dutch have not too great an influence upon our councils. It had been worth four millions a-year to carry on a war, if the king's best friends, the whigs, had not contrived to mortgage all the funds: And still in a few years it will be worth as much as the king can have a lawful occasion for, if the peace be continued, trade encouraged, the natives countenanced, and the people allowed a little time to breathe from wars and taxes.

But there are other grounds, of more weight than words or promises, for believing the whigs are resolved to break the limitations: Those are gratitude and interest; two motives which, when united, never fail of irresistibly binding them. Whatever others may think of the matter, I look not upon the whigs to be so far antimonarchical as to refuse a due compliment to a king that hath found out the secret of obliging them. If they can be gratified in some few small particulars, such as the destruction of church and landed interest, and the like, I doubt not but they will, in their way, use their efforts to make his majesty a suitable return, no matter at whose cost. I own, all the arguments deduced from a principle of gratitude in them, may be said to be only probable conjectures; conjectures built upon a foundation not solid in itself, but as it depends upon interest; so that interest is the main point in debate. Allow it: And according to this, examine every one of the limitations most complained of, and you will find it is the interest of the whigs to break them, at the same time that the preservation of them will appear to be absolutely necessary to the welfare of king and people.

For example: By that act it is provided, That his majesty shall make his residence among us, in a fine country and wholesome air, and at least with as polite a nation as any that can tempt him hence: But if he hath a call to any other part of the world, and he and his parliament judge his absence can be of no detriment to the state, he is at his election to go where he pleases. How reasonable soever this be in itself, it is not what the whigs approve: The oftener they can persuade his majesty to be absent, the more power they will have here, and the better opportunities to misinform him. For although they have provided, almost as well as if he were not upon the spot, that he shall have no thoughts but what they inspire him with, although they have besieged him with their spies and agents, and sequestered his friends from him, yet still there is a possibility, that an Englishman may get at him to tell him the truth, and while there is a possibility, they are not as secure as they desire. Nay, although they have as much power, in effect, as if they were declared regents, yet they have not the state they enjoyed some months ago, nor so convenient an opportunity of insulting their betters.

A second article, with which the whigs are equally dissatisfied, is that clause which obliges the person who wears the crown to join in communion with the church of England: This, for the very reasons above rehearsed, goes down very ill with them; for, as it gives a considerable countenance, and some small security to our established

religion, it renders the destruction thereof the more difficult, and is another inducement to the whigs to repeal the Act of Limitation.

But that which is of the greatest moment to the kingdom, and most for the safety of the king, is that part of the act which excludes all foreigners from any employments, or grants of lands, &c. in these nations; which takes off from the king the odium of giving up the rights of Englishmen to outlandish, craving cormorants, and also may satisfy the people, that his majesty's affections are not settled upon aliens and strangers. But this happens to have the fate of all other provisions for the good of England, to be disagreeable to the interest and inclinations of the whigs: To confirm which, I might produce their several inconsistent schemes of naturalization, whereby they would graft so many new exotick scyons, of quite different and of base species, as entirely to alter the property of the old honest English stock. I might instance some of their great men so excessively fond of strangers, as to bring over five or six thousand sluggish famished Palatines, to devour the bread of the natives, and stock us with two of the Egyptian plagues at once, lice and new diseases.

These topicks I might insist upon, and I think with good grounds, but the argument doth not need it: For beside these considerations, there are two powerful motives to make the whigs open their arms to embrace all strangers: One is to strengthen their party. For I scarce ever knew a foreigner settled in England, whether of Dutch, German, French, Italian, or Turkish growth, but became a whig in a little time after mixing with us: An argument that all the world know our constitution better than we; or that as strangers have less concern for us, they strike in with those who are the least affected to England.

Another reason why the whigs will desire an inlet may be made for foreigners into employments, is to establish their present power. I am not ignorant there are some wise heads of both parties, who cry, the whigs will never do this for their own sakes; what, will they pave a way for themselves to be turned out, to make room for strangers! No, but they will feed some of the king's chief favourites with advantageous places and grants, and by that means secure their favour with him, and their tyranny over their fellow subjects. This is no refinement of policy, but plain natural reason, obvious to the capacity of every free mind: For those favourites, being unacquainted with the people, customs, and laws of England, must act by others: And who so likely to direct them as their dear friends, who have helped them into employment, and who, they may fancy, upon a disobligation, will kick them out again? So here is a mutual friendship and league struck up: The court-minions are to have money enough, which is all they want; and the whigs are to have the superintendence of all affairs, which is the thing they pant after.

Nothing is more natural than for the king's old subjects to have the advantage, in point of his affection, over his new. By speaking the same language, their conversation is most agreeable to him; and by having been partners with him in his pleasures, which usually open the heart, they may know the seasons and passes, when and how to win upon his nature, and to render themselves more acceptable than the English. There is likewise on their side, a natural inclination most people have for their countrymen. Neither can we, who are upon the matter absolute strangers to him, expect to be trusted like those whose fidelity he hath long approved. For these reasons, among others, I conceive, he keeps about him those two fellows in Turkish habits, who manage all things at St James's, who do the offices of pages of the back stairs, admit lords and other people to him, lie in his room at night, and seem to have his royal person entirely in their care. Nor is this contrary to the act, because they are not as yet sworn; the lord chamberlain, when commanded to give them the oaths, having put it off until the repeal of the act. For the same reason, I suppose Baron Bothmar

is trusted with the privy purse, that the king may dispose his money here, or send it to Hanover, without the privity of the English.

All this, I say, is natural; and if this were all, we might be satisfied: But the whigs have prepared greater evils for us, which are not to be opposed by the king, because the whigs are in possession of the Germans; nor by the people, because that would be to oppose the king. So our circumstances may easily be summed up: The king's crown is to sit easy upon his head, his countrymen are to partake of his sunshine, foreigners are to be admitted as new additional forces to the whigs, and under the name of the king, a corrupt, detestable junto is to govern: We are to be made slaves, by virtue of a combination between our new friends and old enemies, and whilst we bear a heavy German burthen, the whigs, who have bridled their country, will shew the sovereign use of the prerogative, when lodged in good hands.

But these are not all the articles wherewith we tax the whigs. These indeed should be enough to influence the country not to trust their safety in the power of men of such designs and principles; but over and above all these, we say, that the whigs intend to repeal the act of triennial parliaments: And when that is done, we may bid adieu to liberty. It is true, that act hath not been long in force; and it may be objected, that as we were free before there was such an act in being, so we may be still, after it is repealed. But to believe this, must be something worse than delusion: If ever a nation was ripe for slavery, we are the people. Some are resolved to make their markets of the freedom of their country: Some have neither soul nor spirit to defend it: Some propose to have their share of the spoil and plunder, while it is a going: And those few, who have the virtue to endeavour to make a stand, must expect to be borne down by noise, insolence, and plurality of voices.

How well disposed soever the king is in himself, he knows but little of our constitution; hears few or none but those whose interest it is to deceive him. He was uncontrolable at home; could command the lives, liberties, fortunes, nay and wills, of his former subjects, and probably hath brought with him a desire to be not less absolute over us: So the whigs will make him believe, all they design is to enlarge his power, and raise him to be as great here, as he was at Hanover; and, in the mean time, they will stop up all avenues, whereby he might discover their schemes to enslave him and the nation. In this case a new parliament, according to the triennial bill, might represent to the king his true interest, and so all would be set right again: But the repeal of that act will perpetuate his ignorance, and secure their usurpation, indemnify them for past crimes, and empower them to commit future ones; set them, as they say, above truckling to little mechanicks and dirty farmers, and render them as terrible as the Long Parliament in forty-one. By this means election will cease: Less money and beer will be sent in the country; and more jewels and furniture go to adorn the houses and wives of those noble patriots.

But compleatly to rivet our destruction, it must come upon us like an armed man; or, which is the same, must be imposed upon us by a standing army; and this, we say, the whigs are bent upon. This they aimed at in King William's reign, and particularly the Lord Hallifax; now at the head of the treasury, and supposed to have a great influence upon the present measures, to whom, as much as to any one man living, our present misery may be imputed: He it was that encouraged most, if he were not the original contriver of that cursed expedient, of mortgaging funds for ready money; an evil which perhaps our grand-children will not be able to remedy. He was active in the Treaty of Partition, which begot the late war, and all the sad effects of it: He promoted the scheme for a standing army all he could in King William's reign; and no doubt will promote the same now. The body of the whigs came into it then, and by their own language, they owe as much to their redeemer, King George, as they did to King William, and therefore cannot be averse from it now. It is to be presumed the same maxims prevail, since the same tribe of politicians sit at the helm.

Besides, without a standing army they can never be able to succeed in their hopeful projects: For although the nobility be vitiated to a shameful degree, yet there is still an Old English spirit in the people, necessary to be subdued; which all the straining of laws and pretences of riots cannot suppress, without red-coats, the usual instruments of bondage. This they find by a late experiment. To try the pulse of the nation, there was formed a scheme to burn, in many places, the Common-Prayer Book and Dr Sacheverell in effigy: The people every where took the alarm, and were resolved to rescue the gown and liturgy from fanatick insults. Thereupon some scuffles happened, and particularly in Bristol; but to tame this courage and honesty in the people, an extraordinary commission is dispatched with all the formality imaginable, and the whigs vowed no less than twenty victims, to appease the ghost of one hair-brained quaker. However, things have not answered to their wish; the judges were men of sense and men of honour; and although the whigs had set up their rest upon this trial, to make examples to all, who dare appear in favour of the church, yet the rioters, as they are called, were acquitted: So that the civil power alone, with all their arts, will never do their business: This they wisely foresee, and act accordingly. Hence it is the officers of the army, those I mean who are devoted to them, are so much caressed at court; hence it is, those men, who talk loudest of storming the enemies towns and trenches abroad, are encouraged, and as it were dieted, to terrify their fellow subjects at home. For what is the court now but a downright camp? The palace, which used to be the place of education, as well as a mark of distinction for the sons of our nobility, is now a nest for every upstart little officer. There is now no difference between civil and military employments; the first are swallowed up in the last; and these locusts of the army swarm, yea even in the king's chamber. We see how fortunate, if not faithful, the general has been; he failed in his attempt of getting a commission of general for life, but by encompassing the throne with an armed band of his own creatures, he has gained much more than equivalent for it. But even with all this, I am of opinion the corruption of the army would not reach as far as they desire, were there not more effectual secret practices a-brewing. The vast numbers of strangers, and pretended refugees, are sworn slaves to a whig ministry; not to mention the engagements of Holland, and the preparations in Hanover. I dread a military power, which can have nothing to overcome but the liberties of the people.

Another particular which we impute to the whigs, is a design to take away the liberty of the press. This, I own, is contrary to their avowed principles, but they copy after their mother, the Kirk. When she is only under a toleration, then all the cry is against persecuting the righteous for conscience-sake; but when she hath the secular arm on her side, then Down with Babylon, No Toleration, the cause of the Lord will not suffer iniquity to be established by a law. So when the whigs were under a cloud, the liberty of the press was invaded, if they had not the privilege to libel the queen and government as they pleased; but now that they are in power, if a poor scribbler, for a half piece, is delivered of a pamphlet, not to their good liking, immediately a messenger seizes him, he is dragged to Newgate, from Newgate is brought before their lord chief justice, and then the wretch hath nothing for it, but *Libera nos Domine!*

Observe the different spirits of the parties; in all the late tory ministry there were not above two or three prosecuted for writing; and one of those wrote on their own side, and had done infinite services to their cause. But in a whig ministry, even an unguarded expression in a sermon drew the whole posse of the whigs upon the preacher; and now, by the help of the upright chief justice, they are grown so terrible, a man dare not say it is noon-day at twelve o'clock, lest they should think fit to take offence, and my Lord Townshend's warrant contradict it. Nay, the poor hawkers, who get their bread by bawling titles they do not understand, are sent by dozens and scores to Bridewell; whilst poor Grub-street lies in a state of non-entity.

Were I in a merry way, I could sit down and cry over Grub-street. *Hic Ilium fuit, et ingens Teucrorum gloria.* But it is past a time for fooling and mirth, when a sword is at a man's throat.

Lastly, We impute to the whigs the outrages offered to the memory of the late queen; whose reign was never stained by one bloody scaffold; who never did an unjust action, and who often chose rather to suffer hardships herself, then let any of her subjects think herself injured. Sure if ever prince deserved well of a people, she did, if piety, charity, good-nature, clemency and justice could entitle her to it. But how was she treated in her life! How has her memory been insulted since her death! How did the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough affect to triumph over her, by their frantick cavalcade through the city, almost before she was cold in her bed! In which I am at loss which to be most astonished at, the ingratitude, barbarity, or indiscretion of it. To her they owe the honours, the palaces, they now enjoy, the millions they wallow in, and yet they ———! But their whole conduct is uniform: This was of a piece with the rest of their ingratitude, and that is the best one can say of them.

The rest of the whigs follow this pattern. 'Tis true, not equally, for that is next to impossible; but according to the rancour of their souls, perform their parts to admiration.

Nothing is omitted even by some of the right reverend prelates, to asperse her character; and, without pretending to a spirit of prophecy, one may foretel the next parliament, if of a whig stamp, will endeavour to fix some lasting stain upon her fame: But posterity will do her justice, and perhaps the present age may live to regret her loss.

If I have been something warm upon this head, I cannot but think myself excusable, when I see there is not a common decency observed towards her in point of mourning, which, though a trifle, and matter of form in itself, argues the utmost contempt for the deceased; when I see how ill her faithful servants are rewarded, and that common justice, in point of her arrears, is not done her domesticks; when the few relations she left behind her cannot obtain a small part of what they have a right to by our English laws; and this, though she left behind her to the value of four hundred thousand pounds; when I hear the drawing rooms, ruels, coffee-houses, nay churches, ring with open reflections upon the best of queens, it is with great difficulty I can preserve my temper. For my part I am not as yet germanized: I can no more laugh at the death of Queen Anne, than I can rejoice at the approaching funeral of England.

How near this may be, I will not pretend to determine, but if you have a whig parliament, the case is clear: The interposition of Providence we have no reason to expect, because we have done all, in the power of men, to deserve the contrary; and without that I cannot but think there are calamities treasured up for us, and yokes heavier than we or our forefathers were able to bear. By whom these are prepared, and who are to impose them on us, I have shewn at length, although these are circumstances, which can be of no manner of comfort to us; since, if I am to be a slave, it is equal to me whether it be to one or many.

Of use indeed it may be to consider how near we are to our ruin, that we may endeavour to prevent it. For this reason it may be of service to consider, that the dangers and miseries to which we are exposed, are entirely owing to the whigs, who have squandered away near a hundred and twenty millions upon two wars, and would now engage us in a third less desirable, if that can be, than either of the other: To the whigs, who have debauched our morals and principles, and taken away the force of all obligations, human and divine: To the whigs, who deprived us of the blessings we might have enjoyed under the queen, and would do the same as to the happiness the nation may have in the king: To the whigs, who have sunk the landed interest, and would destroy the church.

These things it may be of use to weigh, as also, that this is the most critical juncture ever happened; that if the country errs in their choice of representatives now, it will probably be never more in their power to do themselves justice; and that the sale of a man's vote, even for a hundred pound, a price frequently offered, is a wretched bargain, because it is selling it for ever.

Upon the whole, I am far from arrogating to our own party all the good sense and virtue of the nation; but, compare the bulk of each side together, and you will find the whigs positively bad, the churchmen negatively good. According to which computation I have cast up the account, for the benefit of those who may be at too great a distance from the fountain of affairs, to know the true state of them. The following bill of their several deserts is, I think, very exact.

The Merits of the Church-Party.	*The Merits of the Whigs.*
I. No new war, no new taxes.	I. A new war, six shillings in the pound, a general excise, and a poll-tax.
II. No attempt against the church.	II. A general and unlimited comprehension, without common-prayer book or bishops.
III. No repeal of the conditions upon which the crown was settled upon the king.	III. The repeal of the act of limitation of the crown, &c.
IV. No foreigners in employment.	IV. An equal distribution of places between Turks, Germans, and infidels.
V. No standing army.	V. An augmentation of troops for the better suppressing of mobs and riots.
VI. No long parliament.	VI. The repeal of the triennial act.
VII. No restraint of the liberty of the press.	VII. An act to prohibit all libels in favour of the church or churchmen, and to enable free-thinkers to write against God and the Christian religion.
VIII. No insulting the memory of the queen.	VIII. An encouragement to all men to speak ill of the queen and her friends.
Total. No alteration of the constitution in Church and state.	*Total.* An entire and thorough revolution.

Utrum horum mavis accipe.

Chuse which you please.

English Advice to the Freeholders of England. 1714.

This is a parody upon the tract preceding, and follows through the argument paragraph by paragraph, putting a whig application upon the rhetoric of the Prelate.

Nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
Hos mihi prædixit luctus, nec dira Celæno.

I AM firmly persuaded that there is not in their way a better set of men, generally speaking, than the freeholders of England. They are a brave, open, plain, and direct people, and when fairly left to themselves to chuse their representatives, always chuse such as are, or appear to be, true friends to their country. I could instance several elections formerly, and one or two in the last reign, where the temper of the people, without any assistance or countenance from court or treasury, carried it for honest men under great temptations to the contrary; and I cannot recollect one bad parliament, but may be easily accounted for from the electors being bribed, and notoriously tampered with, from false returns made by sheriffs and other officers, or, lastly, from some extravagant prejudices scattered and cultivated among the people, who, wanting proper means of information, are obliged to take things at second hand, and therefore liable to gross mistakes.

As the case now stands, the honest part of the nation is to wrestle with each of these disadvantages in a higher degree than perhaps was ever known; and we can scarce expect things will take a happy turn, unless all true Englishmen will open their eyes to the danger they were lately in, and from which they have been rescued by his majesty's happy accession to the throne, recover their old spirit, and exert their zeal for the constitution and government at the ensuing election of members of parliament. Nothing is omitted by the enemies to the Revolution, and protestant succession, to poison the country; and 'tis the duty of every loyal subject to do what he can to provide an antidote. Not that there is wanting a good disposition in the people all over the kingdom, who seem to be resolved not to be influenced by the clamour of the corrupt part of the clergy and the disaffected gentry. They were too much alarmed at the late posture of affairs, to forget who were the men that brought them into it, and who the men that, next under God and our king, are now securing us against such another. However, I do not know how, there is a defect somewhere; the tories outdo the whigs in industry, and are more active and bold in inventing falsehoods, than we are in publishing truth.

They go on securely without fear or remorse, and notwithstanding that the scheme formed by the late managers, and the chiefs of the high church party, to introduce the Pretender, is confessed by one of the prime of them, and is hinted at in the impostor's declaration, and Lesley's letter, yet do they now affect an extraordinary concern for the preservation of the church and state. They talk loudly of it in their clubs and coffee-houses, and have thereby made an impression on those bigotted minds, who

might be better informed, if they would be pleased to hear what is said on the side of the government. The press swarms with their monstrous forgeries; but they never attempted one single proof, only a parcel of invectives and libels against those who had no crimes to answer for, but too great lenity when in power, and too great a neglect of themselves: Faults indeed that could never justly be imputed to the tories. The sheriffs, and other officers, through the several boroughs and counties, at the election of the two last parliaments, were almost to a man, men for their purpose, who knew their business, and were to be confided in. Pensions, places, lies, threats, promises, entertainments, were every where employed, to corrupt men's affections, and mislead their judgments. Boroughs were rated at York-Buildings and Golden Square, and those that would purchase one at the price of honour and conscience, were sure to be recommended; nor were there wanting enough of that stamp, to make up a representative to their mind.

The best gentlemen in England, who had stood the heat of the day for five or six-and-twenty years, were opposed every where by obscure and indigent persons, who cried aloud for the land interest, though, God knows, they had the least share in it. Each election was a sort of campaign, where men were to fight *pro aris et focis*, for hereditary right and the protestant succession. The tory-faction was a real hydra, a thriving enemy, that daily got new recruits, and gained upon contest. The peace abroad, which had dissolved the confederacy, and turned the balance of power on the side of the house of Bourbon, furnished the tories with forces to carry on the war with advantage at home; and when, by their misrepresentation of things and persons, they had acquired a vast acquisition of power, they were in hopes to compass their schemes so long projected for the destruction of liberty and property in Great Britain. They had, as they boasted themselves, the game in their hands; and, to do them justice, they acted like men in earnest, who were resolved to play it to the purpose.

Such were our then circumstances, and let us enquire a little into what they are now, and that with the impartiality becoming truth and a good cause. I am resolved not to meddle with the characters of particular persons, a field in which I do not delight, farther than the subject will necessarily lead me.

My endeavour shall be to bring what I have to urge into as narrow a compass as I can, that every candid reader may see what foot we were and are upon; what it is we have now to hope and fear; who those are from whom we may expect an attack upon our constitution; who are the likeliest persons to stand in the gap to defend it; and, consequently, who deserve best to be chosen members of the ensuing parliament.

Nor is this an affair of small importance: The establishing the present government, and with it the security of our religion and liberties for ever, depends, in a great measure, on the wise choice of the next representatives. If we make a wrong step at this juncture, all the nations upon earth will look on us as a besotted incorrigible race of men, not worth deliverance or assistance. On the contrary, if there should happen a glorious conjunction of a loyal protestant parliament, and an able and faithful ministry, such as the present; if the one should be as ready to settle the constitution, as the other to demand it; the faction for the Pretender can have no resource, but must be baffled and ruined beyond possibility of redemption. For I have too good an opinion of the understanding of the whigs, to think they will ever put it in the power of their enemies to endanger the constitution hereafter. If the friends to it succeed, as, according to all human views and probability they will, the late tory parliament was, we may hope, the last they will have; and we shall have nothing at heart, but the continuance of the invaluable blessing we enjoy in his majesty's most gracious government.

I must own, I cannot, without great indignation, observe the lukewarm, indolent, cowardly, lazy, and narrow tempers of some among us: To their shame be it said, they

profess honest principles, nay, and are really honest in their inclinations, but yet relinquish the cause out of timorousness or avarice. You shall therefore hear men of such a composition make a thousand trifling excuses: One will tell you, That his standing as candidate signifies nothing, that there will be enough without him; another will cry, He will not be at the trouble and expence, he does not know who will thank him for't; a third will say, 'Tis a folly to stand, the clergy will carry every thing before them; a fourth will pretend, He is afraid of too great a majority, and would rather have a motley parliament; with other laudable speeches to the same purport. Whereas not to exert one's utmost in a case of this nature, is almost as blameable as an overt act against one's country. Although the crime be not so unnatural, it is to all intents as prejudicial; and is in this, as in high treason, whoever doth not what in him lies to discover and prevent the treason he knows is hatching, is, in the eye of the law, which is grounded upon the reason of the thing, as guilty as the principal offender; or, at best, is adjudged guilty of what the lawyers call misprision of treason. So that, admitting the comparison, those, who stupidly submit to the jacobite or tory faction, without exerting their abilities in their several stations to divert the danger, may in all reason be said to betray their country, as much as those very men who have formed the most desperate designs against it: They may promise themselves the benefit of an indulgence, as the reward of their inactivity; but let them all rest assured, this will only last till it comes to their turn to be devoured; *for tory moderation, like death,* sooner or later, strikes all that comes in its way. *If the tories could get a House of* Commons to their mind, this kingdom would soon be subjected to the arbitrary government of a popish king; for they have no hereditary prince but the Pretender to set over us. They would pronounce every thing to be seditious and schismatical. As they did in the reign of the late blessed managers, they would not allow the subjects to mention their grievances and fears; but, joining pride to insolence, would make our necks bend to a yoke not to be endured. We have heard of the terrible effects of French and Irish cruelty; and what less could we expect from a set of men obstinately bent on promoting the interest of one whose favourites are Irish and French papists, whose religion is popery, and his politics tyranny? How did they surround her late majesty with a wall of brass, and committed the care of the throne to an insatiable witch, who never admitted any to the royal presence, but such as came recommended by a golden spell?

From the claws of these rapacious harpies, it is every good subject's wishes to see his majesty secured: And how can this be compassed but by the choice of a true British parliament, such as asserted the revolutional constitution in the impeachment of Sacheveral; such as are equally zealous for the honour of their prince and the liberty of the people, not ready to insult his title, nor willing to suffer him to be monopolized by his and the nation's enemies?

The House of Commons, which was hastily dissolved upon the change of the ministry four years ago, expressed on all occasions an affectionate concern for the illustrious house of Hanover: They omitted nothing to shew their fidelity, which can never be forgot by so grateful a prince as our present sovereign. And when we consider his firm resolution to maintain the church of England, his disposition to govern according to our laws, his great discernment in penetrating into men, and his tender love for his people, we cannot imagine he will desire a parliament of a complexion different from that of such an English representative. However the tories may have endeavoured to lessen them in the opinion and affection of the English freeholders, it would be endless to enumerate all that parliament did for the good of the state, nor was it their fault they did no more: They had a constant drawback, a perpetual clog upon their proceedings. One, who either through knavery, or folly, or both, always cried out, Church, church, peace, peace; and yet notwithstanding all the obstructions he threw

in, in spite of all his shuffling, his tricks, that parliament taking advantage of his blunders, the only proof he ever gave of his talent for business, provided better for the publick and the security of the succession in the protestant line in a few months, than the two last did in several years.

As to the peace, they'll tell you it lay before the two last parliaments, and therefore must not be talked of: They will own it was not in every circumstance as advantageous as might have been obtained; that Harley puzzled, involved it; nay, they will have the impudence to say, that to this very peace, this scandalous treaty, we owe his majesty's accession to the throne. They will pretend, if we had been at war, the French would have opposed his landing, or have followed him with an army. But this is like the rest of their assertions. Durst the French have fought the navy-royal of England, and the Dutch fleet, with their Dunkirk squadron? Durst they have spared 20 or 30,000 men out of France, when his Grace the Duke of Marlborough was ravaging Picardy, and carrying the terror, or perhaps the noise of his arms to the gates of Versailles? Or could they have transported an army of 30,000 men in cock-boats, when an hundred stout men of war were scowering the British seas, and the remains of their fleet lay rotting in the harbours of Toulon and Brest? They will tell you they were put upon a necessity of making a peace, because the revenue was squandered away; but they will not say a word of the twenty millions they squandered or plundered, after the war was over. They will say, what would have been the consequence of continuing it a year or two longer, since Bouchain was the work of a whole campaign? But they will not put you in mind, that the next year the Confederates, when we had forsaken them, took Quesnoy, and would have taken Landrecy in a month, had not they been deserted; that they lost the best opportunity the allies ever had to destroy the French army, by the withdrawing of the British troops. They will not inform you, what the consequence of beating that army, and taking these towns, had been; and that Paris, in eight and-forty hours, might have been under contribution. No; they insinuate, that we must take Cambray one year, Valenciennes another, Peronne a third; and suppose, as the tories say, the war had lasted those three years longer, and we had raised the 1st year six millions, the 2d seven, and the 3d five, as we actually did for the treaty of peace, which would have carried on the war, should we not then have been masters of France? Had not Philip, and his friend the Chevalier, been probably at Rome? And what necessity were we under to send Prior to France to beg a peace, when with the same expence we might have had *carte blanche*, and have done what we pleased with the monarchy of Spain: Sure we were, that none of our allies would have served us as we served them. They all expressed the utmost aversion to treat on any other terms but those of Gertruydenburgh, which my Lord Townsend had certainly obtained, had not a factious cabal in England, by their treacherous correspondence in France, encouraged the French to break off that treaty, in hopes of getting a good one when their friends came in play in England. This they had sure expectations of by the divisions the faction were fomenting, and the flame into which they promised to put the nation. Did the Dutch ever once offer to treat without participation with us? Did they desert their friends, or sacrifice them for their private advantage? Can any man in his wits say, it would not have been wiser for us, to have continued the war two or three years longer under the same expence we were at so long afterwards, than to have made an end of it, as we did? And was not that the surest way to have established the quiet of Europe on a solid basis, and have secured King George on the British throne?

When one considers the conduct of the tory leaders, how they were the men who voted against the house of Hanover, in the case of the Security Clause; how they refused his royal highness's writ to sit in parliament; how they insulted the Hanover ministers here, and always opposed his present majesty's interests before he was king,

one is confounded to think with what face they can pretend to have any affection for his person or government; and what should hinder the nation's singling them out as objects of displeasure: And much more, what can bias the country to chuse them? What did they do upon the queen's death? Does not the Staff, as his hireling has christened him, tell us, they were in the utmost confusion and irresolution? Did their sorrow for his majesty's decease hinder their flying out into transports of grief for his majesty's succession? Did not some of them cry out, "We are undone," and others swear, "We'll have France and the Pretender?" Does not Staff tell us, "they were in a black cabal, where every thing said was treason against their country?" Does he not inform us they fell in with the loyal whigs, who would not be kept out any longer from council on that occasion in proclaiming his majesty, with all possible regret, and purely because they found they could not prevent it? Were not the whigs in raptures, to find a new deliverer arise, to rescue them from a merciless faction, from racks, prisons, and tortures? The tories said, "they did not think they had reason to be so transported;" and that their behaviour to a princess, whose days, the Staff says, they shortened, "should be to their recommendation, and not their crime?"

Did not the same faction, to shew their respect to the illustrious house of Hanover, refuse to pay his troops in Flanders their arrears, till after the queen's death, because they would not desert the army of the allies? And was an House of Commons, capable of such an act of injustice, worthy to meet a prince to whom they had been so unjust? For if paying those arrears, after his majesty's accession to the crown, was a just act, the refusing to do it before was an unjust one: And I cannot think that men, who had affronted and injured his majesty so notoriously, deserved a place at his inauguration, or a medal to remember it. Did they not express their dissatisfaction to the persons and proceedings of the regents, with which his majesty and the whole nation were entirely satisfied? But notwithstanding their partial resentments, all remained quiet, and the people impatiently waited for the arrival of the king. Arrive he did at last, and was received with loud acclamations from all quarters; and his majesty took hold of the first opportunity to shew himself a father of his people. The fame of his wisdom had filled the mouths and hearts of all before he came; and how could that wisdom have exerted itself more, than his putting the ministry into the hands of those great men whom he knew to be his friends from principle and affection? True it is, his majesty made no distinction of whig or tory, but met all with an open countenance who came to welcome him, excepting only two or three, who had dipped deepest in the guilt of the late ill management. And how could a wise prince meet such offenders, without shewing an inward reserve, some just mark of prejudice, and remembrance of passed disobligements? But this coldness was shewn to so few, and those so hated, that his majesty gained the hearts of all that approached him, who by their joyful looks made it appear, that he entirely answered their wishes.

Some of the disaffected party seemed to relish the Duke of Ormond's being removed, though it was only to restore a general, to whom the nation has the greatest obligations, to a command, from which he had been most unreasonably and unworthily displaced. They say the Duke of Ormond could not avoid obeying orders, and refusing to fight the French in 1712, when the confederates might have done it with such an advantage. And they cry, Would not the Duke of Marlborough have obeyed orders? Yes, doubtless, had it been to charge the French army at the head of his own battalions only; but I dare say the Duke of Marlborough would not have left England to go on to so pacifick an expedition, nor have carried over a commission that enjoined him to abandon the confederates, nor have kept his batoon, had such orders been sent him.

And whereas it is pretended the Duke of Ormond was discharged from his employ with marks of disrespect, they deceive you who tell you so; for never was a general dismissed from his command with greater deference to his person. Nor has there been

any thing omitted to give content to a lord, whom the disgusted party pretend to honour above all others; yet at the same time they extol his worth, they do it an injury, by mingling with their encomiums the vilest detraction on a greater lord, whom when I so call, I am satisfied his other grace will not set himself against the sense of all Europe, to accuse me of partiality. They will exclaim against that duke's losing the lieutenancy of a large county; but I must tell you, there have not been above two knights of the shire chosen for it since the Revolution, who were not professed enemies to revolution principles, the foundation of the present government.

Though the faction complain of removals, and, by the way, the loss of their places is all they mean by church grievances, &c. yet 'tis fresh in our memory, what a terrible change they made some years ago, and that they made it little less than treason to whisper a word against the power of the prerogative. That change was not on a demise, when changes always are expected; not to turn out enemies, and take in friends, not to remove knaves and fools, and admit men of capacity and honesty; but the very reverse. That whole set of ministers had been applauded in addresses from the parliament to the throne, and from almost all the counties and boroughs in England; and those that succeeded, had never a good word from a good man in their lives. Yet, to mutter against the right of the sovereign in giving of places, was thought so heinous, that a man could not drop a hint of the unreasonableness of it, but he was stigmatized for a seditious republican; and had suffered accordingly, had information been given against him. None were then left at court but a few trimmers, who can turn with every wind: None were in favour, but such as had been in eminent disfavour with King William. You should not see a scoundrel, who had no employment under the former administration, and could talk loudly of the church's danger, of hereditary right, and rail at the Revolution and toleration, but he expected to be advanced as a sufferer for the church, which was the vogue to recommend all that were to make their court. This you would hear hundreds repeat with all the gravity in the world; and, which was more extraordinary, they expected to be believed, though they themselves knew it was all farce from the beginning to the end. This was said and acted every day at St James's. If one should turn our view to the management of the faction in Ireland, what a primate, what a chancellor, what judges and justices shall we find there? I have that respect for the character of the first, that I shall leave it as I found it. As for the chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, what was his merit, but his pleading for the unalienable right, in opposition to King William's and his present majesty's? What a rare governor he made may be seen in the addresses from Ireland, which name him as the author of all the distractions under which that kingdom has laboured. How many hundred, if not thousand men, were listed during his administration in the service of the Pretender? And when the castle of Dublin was crowded with such priests as Swift and Higgins, had not Mr Molesworth good reason to say, They that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also! If the House of Lords resented it, you must remember that house was then composed of twelve Irish bishops, and about ten lay-peers, and were the same who opposed the protestant House of Commons in Ireland, who were proceeding in a parliamentary manner against Phipps for his tyrannical government, particularly with respect to the city of Dublin, whose rights and privileges he so scandalously invaded.

I might take notice, that all parts of that kingdom suffered under his tyranny; that the friends to the Revolution were every where turned out of place and commission, and the most suspected of the new converts put in their places; that those converts continued to associate with rigid papists, and did nothing which shewed any sign of conversion in principle or inclination.

Such was the fate of that miserable nation, and Scotland was in no better a condition; so that it must be allowed the tories were the best state engineers in the world;

they shot with chained bullets, and mowed down whole kingdoms before them. The court believed all they did was right, and that the whigs could not be too ill used.

Whence this infatuation sprung, and how it took root; whether it was the effect of a southerly wind four years ago, and of French air; whether of Masham's ordinary witchcraft, or A——'s lessons, I will not take upon me to say; perhaps there might have been a *quantum sufficit* of both. I know there are some that unriddle the secret in this manner: They say, that before Sacheveral was tried and condemned, Harley had found means to have private conferences with her late majesty; that he put the doctor on preaching, and the commons upon impeaching him, on purpose to set the nation in a flame, and raise a clamour against the ministry. That the change was agreed upon, whether the priest had preached, or been tried or not: That it was resolved by Harley and his cabal, who were to be removed, and who to be employed; particularly that the Duke of Marlborough, who had for ten years together been beating the French from one end of Europe to the other, should be disgraced: That my Lord Townsend, who had provided so well, by the Barrier Treaty, for the security of Holland, and the interest of his own country, should be recalled, and the Lord Strafford sent to bully the Hogan Mogans. These things are asserted, and with good ground, the effects having admirably well answered the cause. Certain it is, the whigs never gave any just handle for their disgrace. They never discovered the least dislike to the house of Hanover; and their dutiful behaviour to the person of the queen, however it has been misrepresented, was such, that her majesty was pleased to say of one of the displaced ministers, very much abused by the faction, that she never knew any one behave himself with respect to her more like a dutiful subject and an accomplished gentleman.

It is very material to our purpose, to enquire who were the authors of the discountenance and injustice the whigs then met with; 'tis highly necessary to look back, that, by considering past perils, we may prevent future, and take care not to trust any such wicked men again. It behoves every honest man to examine into the merit, the views, the interests of those that stand candidates for members of parliament, and to vote for such only as have always been zealous for the protestant succession and interest. Upon this foot if you proceed, you will generally find the whigs men of more honour and religion, truer to their country, and less addicted to the French, than their competitors: Their views and designs square better with the acts of settlement and toleration, than those of their rivals. In the name of God therefore, let all the persons in England, that have votes to give, declare for a whig parliament. If the reverse of all tha be true, with reference to the tories; if they are debauched in principle, and corrupt in morals; if they are plunderers in business, and open to bribery; if their avowed designs tend to the overthrow of the constitution, and at the same time it be their interest to pursue those designs; while the only reasonable prospect, the only safety the whigs can propose to themselves, consist in the preservation of our religion and laws, as now settled: If this, I say, be the case; then, I presume, it will follow, that it is the interest both of the church and people of England, not to chuse tories for the ensuing parliament.

The argument will appear the stronger, the better you weigh the several branches of it.

As to the merits of each side, there is not a wretch of common sense, common honesty in England, that will put them upon an equality. Take man for man, you will find among the whigs, more men of honour, conscience, sobriety, and charity, than among the tories; which I conceive nobody will deny, who considers, that the body of the tories is made up of drunkards, swearers, whorers, persecutors, foxhunters, and papists. Give me leave to say, my Lord Chancellor is at least as equitable a dispenser of justice, and one of as much morals as his successor and predecessor; you must then

add to his scale a superior genius in law, eloquence, and affairs of state. Let me tell you, that the Duke of Marlborough has as much courage, honour, integrity, and wisdom, as his grace of Ormond, which I believe will scarce be disputed: To his account must be further placed, by way of advantage, an hundred victories, without one retreat, from the common enemy the French. Let me assert, that my Lord Townsend's eloquence and abilities are as bright as Lord Bolinbroke's; to the former's character must surely be added virtue, fidelity, and the merit he acquired by his negotiations abroad, so much to the interest of England, and the satisfaction of our allies, in the Barrier and other treaties. I am sure there is not a tory, who ever heard of Mr Berkeley and General Stanhope, but will allow the latter to be as much a better statesman as he is a general, and not inferior to the Traveller, Mr Berkeley, in learning, honour, good sense, and zeal for the constitution.

Having thus taken a view of the men, let us examine what designs it is likely, according to appearances, to men's past conduct and profession, and their present mien, each party hath in view. There is one point, and I believe but one, wherein they both seem upon the square with each other, and this is with respect to employments. To confess the truth, I am of opinion, neither side hath aught to say against the other upon this head; both have shewn an equal concern for themselves, and contempt for others; both have been earnest to get advocates when they wanted them; and both have alike abandoned them when their turn was served; both have made fair promises, when out of power, and have been far short of performance when in; both have justly incurred the scandal of *ungrateful*; and, as the quarrel is personal, both deserve to be as much despised as they despise; but as it is general, as it is the cause of whig and tory, liberty and slavery, every honest man will strip that cause of the persons, and defend it as he thinks it merits to the utmost of his ability. They will detest those vile prostitutes, who desert their friends, and renounce their principles, to creep into a warm place; who carry themselves as insolently in it as they did courteously out of it; who are never at home when they are ministers, and never abroad when they are sufferers.

To the eternal honour of some among us, places and pensions have been rejected, when proffered upon base terms; so that still, as depraved as we are, there are Englishmen proof against the witchcraft of favour, and above the power of gold; examples rare and the more worthy our admiration! I am sensible I shall offend the modesty of those great men, who have thus signalized themselves, if I should presume to name 'em; but as much as I honour them, I regard my country more, and think it fit England should know, that the Earl of Sunderland refused a pension of three thousand pounds a year, when he was removed from the secretary's place, in which the Earl of Dartmouth, who had always been a staunch churchman, succeeded him, and did what was desired of him. That the Lord Chancellor would not come into the late scheme, to keep the great seal, which was offered to buy him off from the interest of his country, but stood his ground, with that unshaken firmness and integrity, which has always distinguished his character. But not to lay too great stress upon the few instances that can be produced of this kind, we will consider what designs the whigs charge upon the tories, and what the tories charge upon the whigs, with the grounds of the several accusations.

Some whigs say, and have said these thirty years, that the tories have had it in their intentions to introduce popery and slavery; that they have been enemies to King William, and obstructed all his measures; nor have they been able to disprove it. They pronounce them Jacobites, and instance their opposing the making the Prince of Orange king, the association, the two wars with France, the abjuration-oath, &c. The whigs say, the tories, during the late administration, preferred professed enemies to the house of Hanover, turned all their most zealous friends out of the fleet and army, threatened the whigs with a coup de grace, as the Examiner called it, or, as a good Englishman

would have phrased it, a massacre, and assure you, that if King George had not been proclaimed on the first of August, precisely between the hours of one and three, twelve hours later, we must have all sunk, religion, state, protestant succession, and all. Others go farther, and argue with good sense, that they could not help being Jacobites, because it was their interest. That they had all along appeared against the house of Hanover, and the confederacy, and therefore it was natural they should have recourse to France and the Pretender. The truth is, they continued firm in their engagements, and the generality of the kingdom seemed fully sensible how much they merited the reproaches that were then made 'em, and the treatment they have since met with; that they had been trafficking in unjust designs, which, no doubt, will be proved upon them, the traitors seized and examined, and papers and evidence produced, while they have nothing to vindicate themselves with but matchless impudence, and an intrepidity in lying. The whigs indeed have always been of too merciful a disposition to bring offenders to condign punishment; they were never diligent enough in this search, or else Greg had not been the only traitor who had swung for it in the last reign. But if this lenity should be continued, if no enquiry should be made, the enemies to the government will cry, 'tis because there are no such things in reality.

How notably the tories argue, when, to save their leaders, they say, suppose they had laid such a traitorous scheme, yet since it is now broke, they ought to be trusted again, to enable them to accomplish such another. If so, then, and then only, should you be inclined to send them to parliament; if you would have an end put to your constitution; if you would lose your protestant king, your religion, and liberties; if you would have the Pretender, the mass, and wooden shoes, send his good friends the tories to represent you. But if you would have the church of England, and the rights and privileges of the people, secured to you and your posterity, chuse a whig House of Commons, who will be both able and willing to do it.

For supposing you had just such another jacobite House of Commons as the last, which passed the schism bill, and confirmed the peace, how might the constitution be prejudiced by it? What steps would they take? What would they do with our funds, our allies, our ministers? And what hopes could we have, but in the House of Lords, which we hope will be as thoroughly whig, or English, as heart can wish? Is it for his majesty's interest, that a parliament in which his royal highness was refused his seat, as much his right as ever it was the Prince of Denmark's? Is it, I say, for the king's interest to meet those men that so much injured his son? No surely. There's no question but the lords will be true to the interest of king and kingdom; that 'tis out of the tories power to shake his majesty's possession; yet in revenge they would serve him as they did King William, obstruct his measures, and not enable him to perfect his treaties, which are for the good and safety of England.

If Mardyke was fortified with a thousand cannon, Dunkirk rebuilt; if the Netherlands were invaded by the French; if the Spaniards were over-running Portugal; if the Pretender was forming an army in Lorrain, under the protection of France, the tories would never be for a war. They own it, that the whigs are in the right when they say so. They call the conquests of the last war knight-errantry: They make merry at our victories, thanksgivings, and prayers, crying, 'twas huzzaing one day, and fasting another; and most absurdly assert, that the gaining of several battles, one hundred towns, and a thousand miles of country in all parts of Europe, will not answer 500,000*l.* expence, as one of their most topping authors, with inconceivable impudence, assures us in a late tract. They rail against land-expeditions, because 'tis the only way of prejudicing the French; they having no fleet to destroy, nor trade to interrupt, worth the maintaining 20 men of war: They are never for a standing army, but when they are sure 'twill be made use of to enslave us; witness the 20,000 men they gave King James; and Sir Christopher Mulgrave said in the House of Commons, 'twas a deplorable case

he had no more. They are for no general who delights in war, and takes more pride and pleasure in beating our common enemies the French abroad, than in a pacific batoon at home. They account none traitors, but those who have been true to the government ever since the Revolution, and have evidenced their fidelity by their blood. The two greatest offenders with them are the Duke of Marlborough and Earl of Oxford; the one for his victories in Flanders, the other for his victory at La Hogue. In every article of their conduct, the interest of France and the Pretender is at the bottom. By church, they mean persecution; by hereditary right, the Chevalier de St George; by landed interest, places and preferments; and by seats in parliament, pensions and bribes.

What they charge the whigs with, are a parcel of stale thread-bare lies, or new visionary objections, which have no foundation in fact or reason.

They say the whigs are for an immediate war, which is a lie: The whigs are not for any but a necessary war, and such a one as the voice of the nation shall put them upon, whether now or hereafter. We were, 'tis true, shamefully betrayed by the late peace, and our trade given up to France and Spain, which are matters fit only for the consideration of a free English parliament, such as we expect from free Englishmen. The tories say, the whigs want a war to secure their power, which is another lie. The power of the whigs depends on the favour and wisdom of their master, and the affection and choice of his people. Whether peace or war, England cannot be safe, but in the hands of those that are zealous for the protestant interest, for the king's, and the nation's; and whether whigs or tories are most so, let all the freeholders of England judge impartially, and shew it by their votes. The tories say, the present power of the whigs is the consequence of the wars in the two late reigns; which is another lie. The present power of the whigs, is the consequence of their zeal for the succession in the illustrious house of Hanover, for the reducing the exorbitant power of France, for liberty and property. The tories say, the whigs must and will have a war, right or wrong; which is another notorious lie. They never had a war, but what was a just and necessary one; and they that have three quarters of the wealth of the nation in their possession, can never be in the wrong so far as to enter into an unjust or romantick one.

The whigs, if they can procure a House of Commons to their minds, will shew how entirely they are of his majesty's sentiments, delivered in his declaration, to maintain the churches of England and Scotland, as they are by law established. They are averse to superstition and persecution, give entire assent to the creeds and articles of the church, have the greatest veneration for the bishops and clergy, excepting such only as by their principles and practices are a dishonour to their profession, such as have neither piety nor prudence, learning nor virtue, sense nor charity: Such, in a word, as Sacheverell, Higgins, Smith, Milbourn, and the rest of them of the high-flying order. They are rather for increasing than lessening their revenues, to put them above temptation and contempt. They would indeed restrain the licence of the pulpit, as it tends to foment divisions, and is dangerous to the state; and there is not a sober, wise, and religious clergyman in the kingdom, but approves and desires it. They are for maintaining the rights of the bishops, as well in convocation as parliament; and have shewn their respect to the reverend bench, by furnishing it, as far as was in their power, with such members as all good churchmen reverence and esteem for their great piety and merit.

It may be objected, that so many black articles ought not to be charged upon the tories, without good evidence and proof. It is true, they ought not; and therefore I am so fully convinced of it, that I will give up all I have said for mere fiction and slander, if you can name one single man among their leaders, who is neither a bigot or debauchee, a persecutor, or a rake, notoriously disaffected to the constitution, as founded upon the Revolution. Among all who can call themselves staunch tories,

name me the man I cannot prove to be an inveterate enemy to moderation and liberty of conscience, and I will be a convert that instant to their cause.

Things being thus, may we not fairly conclude, that when these enemies to the Revolution and toleration have again got a majority in parliament, they will drive on to destroy all that's built on those foundations? Suppose, for instance, our next was to be entirely a tory-parliament, as that which passed the Schism-bill, would they make any scruple of depriving the whigs of their votes in elections, and disabling them from holding the places they turned them out of?

If we had no other consideration but the security of the church of England, to sway with us not to chuse tories to represent us, it would have weight enough with any thinking man: For as they are by principle, if they have any principle at all, for the divine, hereditary, unalienable, indefeasable right, they must of consequence be for the Pretender, whom I suppose they will not now call an impostor, as they did plentifully enough in the last reign. And can you imagine that a priest bred up by the most bigotted and tyrannical even of all popish courts, and altogether a most bitter enemy to our religion and nation, would not, were it in his power, establish popery, not out of conscience, but out of revenge, for the treatment he has met with from the protestant church of England? Besides, toryism and popery in many things differ only as that which is absurd differs from that which is more so; and if ever the tories should gain their ends, and get a parliament to their minds; if the Pretender was introduced by them, and this constitution subverted, there would soon be an end of the purest church in the world.

I explain myself, that by tories, I do not mean those true and zealous sons of the church, who are enemies to fanaticism on a religious account only, who are for maintaining all her just rights, and rather for enlarging than abridging them, who were instrumental in the Revolution, or approvers of that cause, and are now loyal and dutiful to his majesty: These tories are as good Englishmen as any in the kingdom: But the high-flyers and jacobites treat them as rudely as they do the whigs, because they are not for persecution, nor were for giving away our trade to the French; because they vote as they think it for the interest of their country, and not for such men as the faction would impose upon them. True, some of these well-meaning men have frequently been misled by misrepresentations, and carried away with the stream, when the church-peal has been rung in their ears, to vote for such as their priests have said were her true sons, though perhaps they did not visit her a tenth part so often as their opponents. By tories, I all along mean those that, under pretence of the church's danger, which they know to be a lie, continue the scheme they began upon the change of the old ministry, in favour of France and the Pretender; who would sacrifice religion, liberty, property, and every thing to their avarice and ambition. These are the men I desire the reader to understand always, when I name the word tories, the disciples of Lesly, Hicks, Welton, Smith, and other scandals to our country and religion.

That our ruin would be inevitable, were the hereditary right to take place, no man in his senses can question. Besides the chevalier's French education, his hatred of our constitution, as well as church, who has he about him but such as would rather still starve abroad, than come home on any other terms than establishing tyranny, to massacre and enslave all true lovers of our country? But supposing their misery had taught them better, and they would be afraid of another 30 years banishment, it were sufficient to fright us from trusting those that are for his interest, were we to imagine he had none but jacobite tories about him. Are they not always preaching up an uncontroulable power, and that the prince should command the lives, liberties, fortunes, nay, and will of his subjects? What would be the issue of that, but bondage and poverty, without the comforts of religion to support us? For our churches would be soon shut up, or turned into popish temples, our common prayer into the mass, our trade into beg-

gary, and our lands into a wilderness. What would become of the landed interest, when the hands that it depended on were either murdered or banished? What would become of property, when 'twas at the mercy of a jacobite ministry? What of religion, when it had no security but the good-nature of the Pretender? All these terrors are, God be thanked, distant; and ever distant they will be, if the freeholders of England vote now for good protestants and good subjects; men who practise obedience, though they do not assert it to be always passive, and distinguish between revolutional and republican principles. Representatives of contrary sentiments, would immediately rivet our destruction; it would come upon us like an armed man; for how could they effect it, without their dernier resource, the assistance of France? which that they were making sure of, one need not be at much pains to prove to you. Why else were Prior and M——r sent to France before the peace? Why were all the confederates disgusted in the peace? Why was St John dispatched to Versailles, to be closetted and caressed by Lewis XIV. when the Chevalier was acknowledged king at St Germains? Why was Duke Hamilton picked out to go ambassador to him, a man known to be as zealous for his interest as any in the three kingdoms; and who, as Lockhart says in his Memoirs, had engaged to fight his way from Lancashire to Edinburgh, to meet him and join him? In a word, why were the late managers put at the helm, if it had not been to mortify, humble, and weaken the Dutch, the guarantees for the protestant succession, and cajole and strengthen the French, who for almost 30 years had harboured two Pretenders to this crown, which the laws of God and man had set upon other heads? I cannot here avoid mentioning again one of the prime of those managers, Strafford, who had so great influence upon the past measures, and to whom, as much as to any man living, our late misery may be imputed: He it was that encouraged most, if he was not the original contriver of that cursed scheme of withdrawing our troops from the confederate army, an evil which perhaps our grand-children will not be able to remedy. He was active in the treaty of Utrecht, which destroyed all the advantages of the late war, and all the good effects of our victories. He promoted the bill of commerce all he could, and, no doubt, would have promoted any other French bill, after the French king had given such a fine account of his parts and person. If this man, or any brother-in-law of his, should plead with you for your votes in Berkshire, Wiltshire, or any other shire in England, will you give 'em to them, after what I have remembered you of concerning him? I say remembered, because I'm satisfied you knew all of it before; he was far from dealing doubly with us. His looks, his life, his pride and power, all had one bent; and he was so far from hiding his hatred to the house of Hanover, that he missed no opportunity of insulting their friends. It has pleased Heaven to put an end to our fears, and shall we bring them upon us again, by taking the old snakes into our bosoms? We owe to our second deliverer, King George, this mark of our duty and affection, to send none to meet him in parliament, but those that distinguished themselves in the worst of times, by their zeal for his succession.

I do insist upon it, that without a French power, the enemies to this government and ministry can never succeed in their traitorous projects; for though the inferior clergy and multitude be vitiated to a strange degree, yet there is still an old English spirit in the people, which I hope will exert itself in the ensuing elections, in opposition to the factious spirit conjured up by Sacheveral, and such mutinous priests, in their riotous progresses. 'Tis hoped the moderation of the government in the prosecution of some of the rioters at Bristol and elsewhere, will have that good effect, that the offenders, in gratitude for such extraordinary clemency, will give no more provocation to justice, but will take example by their brethren now in gaol at Bristol, under a very moderate punishment for a very enormous crime; that they will think of those that have run their country for the riot there committed, whom else no mercy could

reasonably have saved from the gallows, for having murdered a peaceable citizen, who only came to persuade them to peace.

There will be a very great cry among you about foreigners: The reason is, the staunch tories are afraid of every body that comes into England; for that, as they affirm, they all turn whigs, and always will do so, unless they are French and papists. There are not such a sect in the protestant world as our English tories; all protestants are in love with liberty, wherever they meet with it, and embrace every tenet which advances Christian charity. Almost all protestants abroad are industrious, great lovers of trade, and jealous of their property, when 'tis secured to them by laws. They all act like honest and wise men, and of course they must be whigs. When you hear the tories complain of foreigners, tell them they made no complaint of the army of French and Irish priests and papists, which invaded us after the Utrecht peace. Tell them the Duke d'Aumont brought over with him ten times as many Frenchmen, in his Louis d'Ors embassy, as King George has brought Germans. These men seem mightily concerned, that his majesty has a proselyte Turk or two about him, who have faithfully served him ever since he brought them from Hungary, where he was valiantly fighting for the Christian religion, while King James was establishing popery in England: But they did not say a word when Laules, the Irish agent for the Pretender at Madrid, changed the scene of his agency to London, and had access in the most endearing manner to the ministers. I will shew the faction that the whigs have manners, and will confine that access to the living. The Act of Limitation excludes all foreigners from employments, let them have deserved ever so well of our king; and that act stands as firm as any statute in our law books. The faction cannot charge the court with giving up the rights of Englishmen to outlandish people; and yet of these outlandish people, I could name you many who have done more service to our country, and who love its liberty and its religion, more than nine in ten of the most zealous sticklers for the divine right and church independency. Farther; what, I pray, is their Pretender, but a foreigner? Is he ever the better an Englishman for having been rocked four or five months in an English cradle, and been bred six or seven-and-twenty years in a French court? Therefore, honest freeholder, as often as thou hearest the tories cry out against foreigners, remember 'tis only because they dare not cry out against the king. They did the same in King William's time, and with the same reason, because King William delivered our church and us from the danger they had brought us all into of popery and slavery. If ever they talk of the Palatines, put them in mind of the 10,000 French and Irish soldiers, that were to have been transported from Dunkirk to Scotland about six years ago for the service of their cause: Or of the Irish army they sent for to settle that slavery and popery which King James was bringing upon us. The Palatines were sluggish. The Irish, as sluggish as they are in their own country, would doubtless have been busy in ours, to plunder our houses and possess themselves of our estates. If this argument has not much weight with it, 'tis at least as much to the purpose as the clamour of the tories for the Palatine invasion, as if they had come to conquer us. For as to eating our bread, they have not consumed the hundredth part so much as has been traitorously transported to feed the French, when they were at war with us to destroy our church, trade, liberty, and all. Besides it has been proved in many discourses, and on many occasions, that people are the riches of a nation, and that no trading nation ever rejected a law of naturalization: Nay, 'tis very well known, that the Dutch put forth several edicts, to encourage those very Palatines to settle among them; and were not wanting in trying ways to intercept those that came hither; and I hope it will be allowed, that the Dutch, who are every whit as industrious as our tories, knew what use to make of those Palatine sluggards, and had as much reason to be as sparing of their bread as we, considering there

is not the two hundredth part of the corn they spend, that's the growth of their own country.

It must be owned, we shall not need to fear either German or Dutch, if we trust the staunch tories with the government: They will deliver us from the apprehensions of being eaten up by protestant foreigners. If they invite over a French-bred prince, and a French army, 'tis to settle the hereditary right, and with that idolatry, and tyranny. Doubtless those Frenchmen would be very glad to be gone again, when they had once tasted the sweets of English plunder. Would not the court be worse than ever a Hounslow camp was? What devouring locusts would swarm every where in our streets? And death would be the welcomest thing a man could meet with, to be delivered from his pains and terrors. If the Pretender did not make his bastard brother, the Duke of Berwick, general for life, there would be mareschals and generals enough to enslave us to France; and we should be so far from thinking of preserving our liberties, that no wise man would think his life worth keeping. The tories would copy after their brethren the papists: When they are down, then moderation and equality are the cry; and when they have the secular power on their side, "Down with presbytery, down with whiggery; the cause of the church will not suffer schism to be established by a law." Poor creatures! how long would it be before their high church would be treated by popery, as much like a schismatick, as high kirk would be. But 'tis so little a leap from toryism to popery, that there's no danger of their suffering martyrdom to avoid it, and we would soon see what their concern for the church would come to.

What need we mention, that the press would be stopt, if these tories had the power; that we should never hear truth again, without risking our necks; for to purchase and disperse any pamphlet writ on the side of liberty, would be treason, and the punishment such as the tory jury procured for Algernon Sidney, who had dispersed his book in his closet only, and that in manuscript; who lost his head for writing an answer to one of the most villainous books against our constitution that ever was writ. How did the same faction deal with the Reverend Mr Johnson, for writing his honest half-sheet, addressed to King James's army? How did our streets ring with the howlings of tormented wretches in that and King Charles his brother's reigns, who were whipt and fleaed for daring to speak or write in the cause of liberty? And what would a tory ministry do under the direction of a French viceroy, under such a *Trinculo?* What, I say, would the tories do with all those that should dare write or speak a word for the rights and privileges of the people? If a poor scribbler should be delivered of a pamphlet not to their good liking, immediately would a messenger be sent to seize him, and to drag him to Newgate; from Newgate he would be brought before another such a tory judge as their Jefferies was; and then the wretch would have nothing for it, but *Libera nos, Domine.*

Observe the different spirit of the faction: In all King William's time, there were not above two or three prosecuted for writing; whereas in five years of the tory ministry, the æra of the Oxford decree, and the addresses of abhorrence, there was one earl's son put to death, and twenty gentlemen prosecuted and punished for it, besides printers, publishers, and booksellers. A paragraph of news, in a letter to a friend, cost Sir Samuel Barnardiston a sentence of 10,000l. an angry word shut Mr Pilkington up in gaol in an action of 100,000l. and Mr Dutton-Colt had the same treatment for a like offence. By the help of their upright chief justices, they were grown so terrible, a man durst not say it was noon-day at twelve o'clock, lest they should think fit to take offence, and Jeffreys's warrant should contradict it. Some of the tory jurymen, as Withers, and others of the stamp, are now standing candidates for the next parliament. Thus have they recommended themselves to their electors; and if Englishmen are weary of sleeping quietly in their beds, or remaining safe in their houses; if they would not

be hauled away to prison for an unguarded expression against their arbitrary governors, and be flead by the common hangman for dropping a word against popery or slavery, let them have a care how they give a vote for such as were of any of those tory juries, or for any of their abettors. Jeffreys's clerk has had the assurance to stand twice or thrice to represent one of the honestest boroughs in England, Ailesbury; and, by the help of Sir John Packington's constable, he has been returned. Will any freeholder give a vote for such men? If the extraordinary commission to try the rioters at Bristol, though it was so necessary, gave offence to the faction, what abhorrence should all true Englishmen have for those that had a hand in that bloody western assize, wherein a thousand good protestants were either butchered or sent slaves to the Indies by a staunch high-church chief-justice, and his assistants, all of the same party.

It is what the tories glory in; and therefore we might avoid mentioning what affronts they offered to the memory of our deliverer King William, whose reign was never stained by one bloody scaffold, for that cannot be thought a stain on which died the notorious and insolent traitor Fenwick: Who never did an unjust action, and who often chose to suffer hardships himself, rather than let any of his subjects think themselves injured. Sure if ever prince deserved well of a people, it was King William, if bravery, wisdom, clemency, and justice could entitle him to it. But how was he treated by the tories in his life-time? How has his memory been insulted since his death? How did they affect to triumph over it? What attempts did they make to blacken his reputation, almost before he was cold in his bed, giving out he was in a plot to set aside the then queen? In which I am at a loss which to be most astonished at, the ingratitude, barbarity, or falsity of it: To him they owed their religion and liberty, and those of them that had any, their estates; for property would have gone, and always will go with liberty; and yet that they ———; but their whole conduct is uniform: That vile reflection was of a piece with the rest of their ingratitude, and that is the best one can say of them.

Nothing was omitted by some of their reverend doctors to asperse his character; and, without pretending to a spirit of prophecy, one may foretel the next parliament, if of a staunch tory stamp, will endeavour to fix some lasting stain upon his fame, for the invaluable legacy he left us in the protestant succession. But the world and posterity have done and will do him justice; and perhaps the present age may resent one time or other the insults put on his memory by an insolent ungrateful faction.

If I have been something warm upon this head, I cannot but think myself excusable, when I remember the faction did not observe a common decency in their language of him. How ill were all his faithful servants rewarded? Nor was common justice done his domestics, in point of their arrears. Did not the drawing-rooms, ruelles, coffee-houses, nay, churches, ring with open reflections upon the best of kings? It is with great difficulty I can preserve my temper: For my part, I shall never be frenchified enough to think the worse of King William, because he was Dutch, nor the better of the Pretender, because he is French: I could no more rejoice at his death, than I should at the Chevalier's mastering us; which would soon be followed with the funeral of England.

I will not frighten the honest freeholder so much, as to let him imagine there's any danger of such a horrid revolution. We have God and a good and great king on our side; and if the British electors add to them a good parliament, we may safely leave the rest to them. We can desire no greater blessing in this world: Our security depends on it. But if they will be blind to their peril, and put their safety into the power of a faction who so lately betrayed them, they have no reason to expect a new interposition of Providence, they having by an election of a disaffected representative done all in the power of men to deserve the contrary. If they should be so mad, which I must confess I do not much fear, considering the present posture of affairs,

and the honest disposition of the majority, I cannot but think what calamities must be treasured up for us, and yokes heavier than our forefathers were able to bear. By whom these only can be prepared and imposed upon us, I have shewn at length; and since the truth of the fact and the reason of the argument are evident, one would hope there is not an Englishman in his senses that will give his vote for one of those staunch tories, that would be accessary to bring that yoke upon us; and I dare say, there is not a staunch man in England but would give himself and his country into the hands of the French, rather than see the present administration so established as to make him despair of a change.

It will be of great use to all electors, to consider how near we were to our ruin, that they may endeavour to send such men to parliament, as did what they could to prevent it. For this reason, it may be of service to consider, that the dangers and miseries to which we were exposed were entirely owing to the tories, who squandered away twenty millions, while their envoys were patching up the peace with which we are so safe and happy; and would hinder us, if they could, from making any alliances for our defence and security, in case their peace should not be so lasting as the French king's *bona fide* may make it. To the tories do we owe the corruption of our morals and principles, and the taking away the force of all obligations, human and divine. To the tories are we indebted for the riots, mutinies, and insurrections they have executed and attempted, to deprive us of the blessings we enjoy under the king. To the tories do we owe all this, and a great deal more; the ruin of trade and reputation, and all the advantages we might have got by a ten years glorious war, and the expence of an hundred and twenty millions of money.

These things it may be of use to weigh, as also that this is the most critical juncture ever happened; that if the country errs in their choice of representatives now, it may probably be never more in their power to do themselves justice on those ill ministers, whose administration brought us to the precipice from which his majesty's succession to the throne prevented our falling. Let every freeholder seriously weigh these things; and then the scale of his vote, though for a hundred pounds, will appear a wretched bargain, since he sells with it an opportunity of establishing our protestant constitution in church and state for ever.

Notwithstanding all that I have said against the tories, I am far from arrogating to our own party all the sense of the nation: But I may venture to affirm, that they have all the political sense, which is put to any better use than to serve the interest of France and the Pretender.

If the tories could once get the game in their hands again, I will not say they would repeal the Triennial Act, as I do not suppose the whigs will do it, but they would render all parliaments useless, by putting the majority into hands that were always enemies to parliaments, when they had not by force and treachery got possession of the power, which they knew how to use so effectually, as to hinder the parliament doing any thing against their interest.

Could one have imagined, that after so many parliaments had addressed the late queen in favour of the old ministers, for securing the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and the like, that it would have been possible for any party to get a House of Commons to vote for a peace, which gave Spain to the Bourbon family, and to approve of the actions of managers, who by fraud and violence had thrust themselves into the places of the best ministers that ever prince or people was blessed with?

Can one imagine, that an English parliament should ever be weary of a just, necessary, and victorious war, or think it a crime to conquer and delight in it? That there could be such an assembly in St Stephen's chapel, as would address one day against an article of state-management, and the next day give thanks for it? Yet these things, and a hundred more of this extravagant and destructive nature, have been done to com-

pliment a tory administration; and what would not the same men, or men of the same party do, to compliment a jacobite one? Therefore the honest freeholder will now look about him, judge for himself, and not be abused by pretences: When he goes to the election, he will enquire of his neighbour, if he does not know it before-hand, whether any one of the candidates were for the peace, and the Commerce-bill, to dissolve the confederacy, prevent the reducing the exorbitant power of France, and to ruin our trade? Whether any one of them, pretending zeal for the church, voted for the Schism Bill, which the prime leader of the faction owns, by himself and his mercenaries, was brought into parliament, not for the church's sake, but party-sake, to cause dissention among the managers, and bring others not more deserving into play? Thus were several thousand families exposed to starve, and those families as good protestants as any in the world, for the faction to try their political pranks by it. Will an English protestant freeholder vote for a man, that could come into such a cruel scheme purely to oblige one or two ill ministers? Let every true Briton then set a mark on the schismmen, and on those that turned Mr Steel out of the House of Commons, because he had written against the Pretender, and vindicated the protestant succession; which he could not do without falling upon the ministry that had endangered it: Let them not be frighted with visionary dangers of a war, of foreigners, of presbytery, of repealing the Triennial and Limitation Act; and let them consider seriously, that a staunch tory majority would most certainly repeal the acts of Right, Indulgence, and Settlement; that their church would be persecution, their war with the Dutch and all protestant friends abroad, and all their foreigners French papists: Which brings me also to consider the merits of each party more particularly; and upon the whole, we shall find their deserts to stand thus.

Merits of the Whigs.

I.

King William, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne.

II.

The protestant church of England.

III.

The Toleration, Association, Abjuration, &c.

IV.

Ten victories over the French, 100 towns, and 1000 miles of ground taken out of the map of France.

Merits of the staunch Tories.

I.

The persecution in King Charles and King James's reign; The blood of my Lord Russel, Colonel Sydney, Mr Cornish, &c.

II.

King James, and his attendants popery and slavery.

III.

The Opposition, the Abdication, Toleration, Association, Acts of Settlement, War with France, and every thing tending to the security of our protestant church and liberty met with ever since the Revolution.

IV.

The Peace, the Dozen, the Commerce with France and Spain, the Catalans, Mardyke, and a new harbour for a French fleet in sight of us.

V.	V.
The Acts of Settlement.	The Tack, the Occasional-bill, the Schism-bill, &c.
VI.	VI.
The Union.	A spunge for all funds, and second exchequer shut up.
VII.	VII.
The Guarantee, and 100 other good treaties broken per contra.	The dispensing power to set up will and pleasure, instead of law and justice.
VIII.	VIII.
King George and the illustrious house of Hanover.	The Pretender, mass, and wooden shoes.
Total.	*Total.*
The security of religion, liberty, and property.	No church, no trade, no liberty, no property, no kingdom.

Utrum horum mavis accipe.

Chuse which you please.

The false Steps of the Ministry after the Revolution: Shewing, That the Lenity and Moderation of that Government was the Occasion of all the Factions which have since endangered the Constitution. With some Reflections on the License of the Pulpit and Press. In a Letter to my Lord ——— 1714.

The parties in England, inflamed with mutual resentment, eagerly watched the first steps of George the First upon his arrival in Britain. The whigs, full of hope and expectation, anticipated full and exclusive possession of power; while that part of the tories which professed attachment to the protestant succession, conceived themselves entitled to share the smiles of the new sovereign. The king observed, until his arrival in Great Britain, a strict neutrality between the factions; and many among the whigs were apprehensive, with the author of the following Tract, that, like King William after the Revolution, George I. might assume the character of mediator between the two great parties which divided the nation. He endeavours to point out the evils which followed from such a balancing system after that great event, but his apprehensions were unfounded. Mr Cox has shown satisfactorily, that an union of parties during the reign of George I. would have been utterly unattainable.

'The king, or rather Townshend and Walpole, to whom the formation of the new ministry was principally attributed, have been severely censured for excluding the tories, and confining all places of trust and confidence exclusively to the whigs, thus making the monarch the leader of a party, instead of sovereign of his people at large.

" It may not be improper to remark, that in treating of past events, writers are too apt to form a judgment of things according to principles of theoretical justice or fancied perfection, without

considering the temper of the times, or making sufficient allowance for the powerful operation of opinions and prejudices. When we consult contemporary accounts, we find that so great was the inveteracy which subsisted between the whigs and tories, that neither would have been content with less than the whole power; and such was the temper of the nation at the time of the king's accession, and the animosity derived from the clash of civil and religious opinions, that it would have been impracticable to form a stable coalition between the two parties."—*Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. I. p.* 105-6.

My Lord,

I agree entirely with your lordship, that it is high time to put an end to faction; and that in order to it, nothing should be done which might tend to inflame men's minds, and prevent the union so necessary to make his majesty's government easy.

Your lordship is of opinion, that the calling the late managers to account would have that ill tendency, that they would not only be espoused by the jacobite party, but by many churchmen; either deceived by their pretended zeal to the church, or engaged by interest in their preservation; which objections of your lordship's I shall also consider, but in matters of justice the law should have its free course without weighing the consequences; *fiat justitia ruat mundus,* is an axiom as true as it is old; and no constitution can support itself where power is wanting to punish. Were those Jacobites and deluded churchmen as formidable by their numbers as their principles, the cry of an injured nation should prevail against all their clamour, and the guilty receive their reward, or the innocent can never be safe.

But when it shall appear that all the good effects of the late glorious war were ruined at once by their begging France to put an end to it, by their sacrificing the interest and liberties of Europe to their ambition, that they have rendered an expence of above one hundred millions useless, and by a scandalous treaty given up all the glory and advantage of ten years victory; when their deeds of darkness shall be brought to light; when their intrigues with France to destroy the Dutch, the emperor, and at last ourselves, to introduce the Pretender, and with him popery, poverty, and slavery; when that black scene, I say, shall be laid open, I doubt not but the people of Great Britain will hardly have patience to forbear doing themselves justice; and that even the tories will be the first to demand it on those that so wickedly abused and betrayed them.

What are these men that we need be apprehensive of arming the laws against them? I am far from delighting in blood,[1] though I must own I did delight in our war with France; far from taking pleasure in the misfortunes of the miserable. But the destruction these men were bringing upon us was so dreadful and so near, one cannot think of it without horror; nor will the constitution ever recover its health and vigour, till it is purged of those ill humours that were the cause of its sickness and danger.

Besides, how can we prove to all Europe, that it was not the British nation who abandoned their confederates, some to slavery, and others to slaughter, but a vile, profligate faction, if we do not bring their leaders forth, and shew to all mankind, that we are guiltless of their crimes by punishing the criminals? Will any prince or state be willing to trust us, and enter again into alliance with us, if those who deserted the last so shamefully and treacherously be not called to account for it? Who will treat with us again, if the men who broke almost a hundred treaties at once, do it, not only with impunity, but reward, if they wear those garters, and enjoy those honours and fortunes they purchased by their treachery to their country and its confederates? What security will foreigners think there is in our engagements, when to break the strictest in the most insolent and ruinous manner has been the way to titles and estates, and we

[1] In one of Queen Anne's speeches from the throne, the party who were for maintaining the war with France is stigmatized as those who delight in blood.

have not had courage and wisdom enough to right ourselves and them? Shall not we be looked upon by all the world as the weakest and most wretched of mankind, who, being conscious of the wrongs we have suffered, yet dare not, or know not how to do ourselves justice?

I remember, that soon after the Revolution there was a set of men employed who had been instrumental in making that Revolution necessary: Men who had gone as great lengths with King James towards bringing in popery and slavery, as either Jefereys or Peters; and what was the consequence of it but continual treachery and confusion? Insomuch we are told, that the city of Amsterdam, whose power is so great in Holland, that it may be said they have the purse in their hands, has had ever since a bias to France, despairing of seeing any good measures taken in England, where many of the old ministry whom they abominated, were made use of. For, says an author of that time, they would sooner incline to put the Marshal de Boufflers at the head of their troops, and the Marquis de Torcy to preside in their assemblies, than trust the movement of their affairs to any of King Charles the Second's, or King James the Second's emissaries. I must confess it is not many months ago, that if we had shifted hands with the French, I should not have been more apprehensive of the designs of our ministers against our religion and liberty; and shall we have no examples to deter any future traitors from making the like sacrifices of our honour, trade, and safety to their malice, pride, or interest?

I know very well, and rejoice in it, that the people of Great Britain are the best natured in the world, that they are apt to forget a man's guilt in their compassion for his misfortune. But we are told in divine writ, that mercy is sometimes cruelty; and surely it can never be more so, than when those who had brought us to the very brink of destruction, and hazarded the great happiness we now enjoy, a blessing we could never value enough, till we were in possession of it, escape with impunity, and are preserved, perhaps for an opportunity by new tricks and new treasons to accomplish their hellish designs.

There was, as I have hinted, a party in England at the Revolution that had nothing in their mouths but clemency and moderation, that were for forgetting who were the instruments in the invasion made upon the charters of England, of the dispensing power, of the murder of the best patriots, and all the tyrannical practices of the former reigns, and trusting those instruments again in King William's, which was the rise of all that great king's difficulties, and of all the miseries that we have since felt or feared.

Accordingly, as soon as ever that party found they could not hinder the Prince of Orange's being declared king, they fell in very zealously with his interest, boasting themselves to be the only men for monarchy, that they always defended the prerogatives of the crown, which they did on two accounts, the one to ingratiate themselves with him by their flatteries, the other to render him odious to the people as affecting an absolute power. They immediately offered their service to the court, were accepted, and their leader, Sir Edward Seymour, put into the treasury. Many of them being in continual danger of prosecution for their estates and lives, for what they had done in King Charles and King James's reigns, were impatiently soliciting an act of indemnity, and their argument for it was the best that could have been given against it. Many securities were offered for the people's liberties in parliament, these men violently opposed it; and though we cannot believe King William, who had saved our liberties, would favour them on that score, yet his ministers, who loved power as well as King James's, did not fail to let the party see it would be the only way for them to come into employment again.

Some members of parliament took hold of this disposition of the ministry to procure that fatal act, the source of all our misfortunes, by pretending they durst not displease

the House of Commons in arguing for the crown as they would, while severe rods were over them; and the ministry, to open their mouths, often pressed and persuaded the king to move the House to hasten the Indemnity Bill. To the objections that the king's best friends made against it, was said then, as perhaps it may be now, that a pardon would be the only way to unite all people to our king, and take off their thoughts from returning to King James. The convention in framing that bill, took infinite pains so to form it, as might have answered all the ends of mercy, yet with due regard to justice and the future safety of the king and government. They resolved that there should be but few exceptions, but that some were necessary to be punished for example's sake: Which was so distasteful to the ministers, that those members who were not of the criminal party, were represented at court as men studying revenge, setting up a faction, and driving off those who would gladly come into the king's interest. A noble lord tells us on this occasion, that he had often seen those impudently whispering such falsehoods at Whitehall, who, he knew, did in private ridicule both King William and Queen Mary, drink their confusion and damnation. By these insinuations they prevailed with the court to be for an absolute general indemnity; complimenting the king so far, as to declare they would rather be content with an act of grace from himself, than the convention's indemnity bill, clogged with exceptions and limitations. Thus, says the same noble lord, did they creep into court, get themselves indemnified, and then put into places of power and trust, overlooked those whom they oppressed before, and carried on their old designs in the former reign. *I shall here give your* lordship some reflections of that noble member of your most honourable House, they being very *á propos* to the indemnity pleaded for by our late manager's friends and accomplices. It was not easy, says his lordship, to discern the hidden treachery to the king's interest, in seeking a thing so seemingly harmless as a general indemnity. But the designers knew the mischievous consequences of it, they understood that it would amount to our king's forsaking, or rather renouncing some of the chief declared causes of his coming in arms. He had called God to witness, that he came to execute justice upon those evil ministers of the late king's, who had subverted the government to introduce popery and slavery.

Here I cannot help observing, that the ministers of King James's tyranny had not betrayed and insulted us in so flagrant a manner as the late managers. They had not entered into private treaties with the French king; nay, some of them refused to do it, when Monsieur Bonrepos come over to persuade them to it; they had not renounced the treaties between England and all other nations of Europe, and given up their liberties to the power of France. They had not, in a word, been guilty of such general and such fatal offences, though in particulars they also erred most enormously. His lordship continues, The disaffected party knew the act of indemnity would prevent the terror in futurity of exemplary punishments upon the greatest traitors, which ought to have been one of the greatest securities of our liberties and lives against the evil ministers of our princes. They foresaw it would dishonour both king and parliament, who had declared divers barbarous murders to be committed upon persons of honour, and worthy defenders of our liberties, while their murderers should stand indemnified, and possest of some of the greatest authorities in the kingdom. They were well advised, that it would secure the worst instruments of the former tyrannies to be ready to continue the like mischiefs, and to insinuate themselves into the king's councils, upon pretence of their being experienced in government, and always zealous for monarchy.

Having obtained this bill of indemnity with these traitorous views, it not only spirited all the enemies to the government, by seeing the greatest living in defiance of justice, but discouraged its friends in their design of taking just measures for securing their liberties for ever. It also increased the number of the disaffected party, and gave

them power by their wiles and artifices to obstruct whatever was offered in parliament for the good of the king and kingdom.

It was not long after that a bill was brought into the House of Commons, to exclude all such persons from the magistracy in corporations, who had been principal betrayers and surrenderers of charters; which would have been a punishment for the inferior offenders, and have brought those men into the magistracy that had opposed King James's practices, to subvert our religion, laws, and liberties. To this the now indemnified faction objected, that such a bill would create a multitude of enemies, and keep up such quarrels and feuds as would set all the cities and towns a-fire. So impudent were they as to advise the king to influence some members of parliament to oppose the passing of this bill, which being lost, most of the offenders in King James's reign kept their places in the corporations, governed elections, and returned such members, as made it their business to bring the government into continual difficulties in favour of King James and France. There have two acts passed lately which have quite another tendency than this Corporation Act, and may doubtless be improved to the advantage of the late managers, if they go off thus, and their very guilt may one time or other be their merit.

The next error this indemnified party made the court commit, was in the affair of the lieutenancy. There was a lord lieutenant of a county, who, being about to draw up a list of his deputies, was told by too good authority, that his list would not be approved, if he left out those that had been put in by King James, though they had too much served his interest: That he must not regard what they had been, and what they had done under King James, if they would then take commissions from King William. And accordingly the greatest part of the deputy-lieutenants were of the same stamp with the London lieutenancy, where those who most complied with King James to destroy the liberties of the city were put into that commission, made colonels and captains; nay, the frenzy went so far, that several officers, who had been put in upon the Revolution, and had been the greatest friends to it, were turned out to make room for the indemnified men; who, under pretence of being the most zealous champions of the crown and church, engrossed for a while the credit of the court, and being entrusted by them, made that use of their trust, which one might expect from men of arbitrary and persecuting principles, betraying the government wherever they were employed, to restore popery and slavery.

I might give a hundred instances of the treachery to King William, but 'tis so fresh in most of our memories, that it would be as needless a task as an unpleasant one. 'Twill be sufficient to name some of the lieutenancy of London, to judge of what stamp they were in other places. No less than sixty of that lieutenancy were of the indemnified party, men that had been surrenderers of charters, and betrayers of the city-liberties; men that would have been all unqualified, had the Corporation-Act passed, which the indemnified very wisely obstructed and prevented. I shall give a list of some of those whom the ministry put into that important commission, by which the jacobite interest was strengthened, and without which it had then languished, and died in that city.

William Dodson,	Ralph Box,	William Withers,
Robert Bedingfield,	John Midgley,	John Genew,
Thomas Blackmore,	Richard Beauchamp,	Anthony Gregory,
William Lewen,	Peter Floyer,	John Moore,
John Webb,	Percival Gilborn,	Richard Alie,
Edward Herne,	Law. Coles,	George Newland,
John Kent.	Samuel Gerrard,	Thomas Langham,
Richard Hoare,	Samuel Ongley,	Robert Brough,

Samuel Clerke,	Richard Hamond,	Richard Weedon,
William Woodroffe,	Abraham Joggard,	John Knapp, &c.

Now to shew they were of the indemnified party, I need only mention what is said of them in a paper entitled, Reflections upon a Petition of some of them to the Parliament. These are the men, says the author, that care not what becomes of their country, so King James comes in again: They long to be at their old trade of making work for the hangman. You may pick up several of them in the famous trials of the Lords Russel, Colonel Sydney, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, Mr Papillon, Mr Bateman, and those barbarous prosecutions of Oates, under Jeffereys. And what was the effect of trusting these men again? Why, the very first year they came into play, they presented the petition abovementioned to the House of Commons, humbly desiring that Sir Thomas Pilkington might be removed from being lord mayor, Sir Leonard Robinson from being chamberlain, Sir William Ashhurst, Sir Humphry Edwyn, and others from being aldermen; as the prayer of that petition sets forth, after several false allegations, in these words:

"Wherefore your petitioners having by these evil practices, all their ancient rights and privileges invaded, and neither mayor, court of aldermen, sheriffs, chamberlain, common-council, or town-clerk, as of right they ought to have; and being elsewhere without remedy, humbly pray such relief in the premises, as shall consist with the wisdom and justice of this honourable House."

I shall not go about to prove the falsities in this petition, it having no relation to my purpose. I find it done already to my hands in the before-mentioned reflections upon it; but must observe, that these indemnified men having taken heart by their impurity, instead of a defensive entered upon an offensive war with the friends of the Revolution; and instead of being punished for their past offences, demanded the punishment of others for their zeal to King William and his government, that being in effect the only fault they could find with them. Every one knows the influence the London lieutenancy has upon electors both of members of parliament and magistrates, and the employing these men having had the same ill consequences in such cases as is to be expected from the like influence, thus it came, that the parliament was composed of an unnatural medley of Williamites and Jacobites; and the latter, though the minority, by the assistance of their friends without doors, found means to obstruct the measures of the government by delaying supplies, or giving deficient ones, by raising unnecessary debates, and putting the king's friends on all manner of difficulties. The insolence of these indemnified men, both within doors and without, kept the jacobite party alive, which otherwise must have sunk for ever under the justice of the Revolution.

I beg leave here to repeat to your lordship a passage or two of a writer of those times, in a treatise, entitled, An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Obstructions of Publick Affairs: Because we there may see what was the consequence of the lenity of the then government, and what the behaviour of the persons whom it spared.

"This brings us to another consideration," says my author, "of the ungrateful use and advantages that the factious party among us have made of the indulgence and forbearance that has been shewn them. 'Tis a common saying, that 'tis a pity fair weather should do any harm. I am sure 'tis so in government, whose greatest and most charming attribute is clemency. But in new establishments, if the sword of justice be kept perpetually sheathed, malefactors will become insolent, they will be inclined to think the government looks upon itself to stand upon courtesy; that it is precarious, and dares not take notice of the most open affronts. Their insolence long since was sufficient demonstration to discerning men, of what designs were hatching, which

would be worth while to trace from the twilight to the broad day of the present discovery of the plot."

How seasonable are these considerations at this time! What could be parallel to the insolence of the late managers? Did they not triumph over our understandings as well as liberty and safety? Did they not insult us with menaces, when we upbraided them with their favouring the Pretender, and enjoin us to believe they were for his present majesty, when they had sworn in their secret cabals to bring in the impostor? Their plot was then a twilight, 'tis now a broad day; and may we not be assured, that if they and their abettors meet with the same lenity the Jacobites their predecessors did at the Revolution, the government will meet with the same difficulties and danger, and its friends with the same treatment.

The act of grace upon King William's accession to the throne was so contrary to his true interest, that the Jacobites despaired at first of getting it; and some of them laughed at the court for giving it them, when they had got it; saying, they doubted not to serve the exceptions that were left in the act, as they had done those that were flung out; make them useless by their interest with the ministers; and truly they did so in a great measure. A few persons were frowned upon, but not a man punished either in body or goods: Insomuch that I heard a man of good sense and experience in business say, he would have laid a wager upon Jeffereys's head, had he lived, against any other man's, that he would have the seals before him. I cannot think that however; but considering that when afterwards Mr Prideaux brought his case into parliament, and could not have justice for 15,000l. Jeffereys had extorted of him in the west, one may with reason question whether that infamous judge would not have fared as well as Kirk and others, whose hands were dipt in English and protestant blood as well as his. Among the rest, there was a vile fellow, Sir Nicholas Butler, whom King Charles the Second took out of an anabaptist conventicle, to employ him as a lion, and from a quack raised him to be an under-minister to his prime plot-makers, whom King James knighted, and made a privy-counsellor upon his turning papit, who had had a finger in almost all the enormities of those two reigns; and, conscious of his guilt, durst not shew his head for a year after the Revolution; but, finding the coast was clear, and nobody called to an account, he returned peaceably to his house at Edmonton, and died in his bed, as much against his own expectation as other men's.

It was this unseasonable and unreasonable clemency of the ministry at that time which encouraged the French to brave us in our harbours. They could not want intelligence of our weakness, when any Jacobite could so easily procure it, and so safely transmit it to them; and if they did not invade us it was probably more out of distrust of those traitors, than fear of their enemies. For having deserted King James himself, it had been no wonder if they had abandoned them, if they could have done their business without their help; the Jacobites, I mean those who pretended to be protestants, being for the most part composed then of such persons as feared punishment, or expected preferment. The disappointed fell in with the disaffected; and though in their resentment they might promise much, and do much too, yet France did not care to trust them, though she made use of them to embroil and retard King William's measures.

The Scots, in the affairs of the Revolution, did two things, in which they shewed themselves true lovers of their country, and to understand her constitution and interest. I beg your lordship's pardon for digressing a little from my subject, which I shall come to again immediately. One was that, instead of making James abdicate, they declared he had fore-faulted the crown; and the other, their vote to disable all persons from places of trust and profit that were not men of revolution-principles. This vote, had it had the royal assent, would have ruined Hamilton's faction in that kingdom; they being supported purely by the credit they had with some of the Scots ministers, and by creeping themselves insensibly into the ministry. The vote itself is very well worth your perusal, and is as follows:

"The king's and queen's majesties, considering that the estates of this kingdom have by their vote declared their sense and opinion, that such as have in the former evil government been grievous to the nation, or have shewed disaffection to the happy change, by the blessing of God now brought about, or have been retarders or obstructers of the good designs of the said estates in their meeting, are not fit to be employed in the management of the affairs of this kingdom, do, with the advice and consent of the estates in parliament now assembled, statute and ordain, that no persons, of whatsoever rank or degree, who in the former evil government have been grievous to the nation by acting in the encroachments mentioned in the articles of the claim of right, which are declared to be contrary to the law; or who hath shewn disaffection to the happy change, by the blessing of God now brought about, by acting in opposition thereunto, since the time that the king and queen now reiging were proclaimed; or who hath been a retarder or obstructer of the good designs of the said estates; viz. the securing the protestant religion; the settling the crown; the establishing the rights of the lieges, and the redressing their grievances, by acting contrary to these good designs, since the time that they became publick by vote and acts of the meetings, be allowed to possess, or be admitted into any publick trust, place, or employment under their majesties in this kingdom."

How this vote came not to be passed into an act may be easily imagined; and the Scots soon saw King William's ministers would hinder it *for fear of the example.* Such a bill in England would have kept 150 members out of the House of Commons, and almost half as many out of the Lords House; members that were most faithful to the French interest, as may appear by the lists of those that voted against King William's being made king: And for this reason a Scots gentleman, speaking of the above-mentioned vote, says, it was most censured by some of the English from an apprehension, that what of this nature passed into an act at Edinburgh, might have been drawn into precedent at Westminster. The same gentleman, speaking of King William's boundless mercy, has these reflections upon it, so just, that I cannot help repeating them. "Now having mentioned his majesty's grace, I'll venture to say, that, after all the mercy he hath exercised towards his own and his people's enemies, there is not one either converted to his interest by it, or that reckons himself obliged to him for it: But, instead of attributing their impunity to his majesty's grace, they ascribe it to the pusillanimity of the government; and in the room of being brought over to serve him, they are emboldened to go on in their conspiracies against his person and dignity." What follows is so true, that I cannot but hope it will have some good effect on your lordship by applying it to the late managers: Nor will they ever account themselves indebted to his mercy, till he hath made some of them the objects of his justice.

Having already made mention of the errors of King William's ministry, in keeping suspected persons in the militia commissions, let me remember you now of one dangerous consequence of it among many others. In the year 1692, when the French were forming an army at La Hogue to bring over King James from Normandy, an order was sent to the deputy-lieutenants of Surrey to raise the militia of that county; but those worthy gentlemen thought fit to abscond, to avoid the putting that commission in execution; and yet when 'twas complained of, and others recommended, the latter were also objected against by the courtiers, as men of warmth and party-men; I must confess, when the honour, interest, and security of the government are in question, I desire to be esteemed in such cases a man of warmth and a party-man, and that my duty and affection to my king and country may flame out in zeal. There was a bold Briton dedicated a little tract to King William in the year 1692; in which dedication he presumes to give his majesty much honest, though plain advice; and this among the rest.

"Let the insolence of your enemies be rebuked, and rebels and traitors to your government be severely punished, and not courted and caressed; for in the present state

of affairs, all mercy to your enemies is cruelty to yourself and friends; and it encourages your enemies, and disheartens your loyal subjects, to see these insolents brave the government unpunished, and your treacherous ministers soliciting the pardon of every condemned traitor, and making their court to King James at the price of your safety, is most provoking to every good man: Besides, it looks like your having a doubt of your own right and title to the government, to be thus backward in asserting, it and is so interpreted by the Jacobites."

It is the nature of the criminal faction to be noisy and clamorous; and they will, like true bullies, look big even while they are beaten. They will sometimes talk of the church, and sometimes of their numbers: And never fail bragging of their land-interest under the burden of ten thousand mortgages. Upon which I cannot help going out of the way a little to mind what poor shifts they were driven to last parliament, to get landed-men to stand for them. As Sir G. M. whose land was in twenty counties, to patch up a three hundred a year; and C—ll—r, whose land was in Drury-Lane, meaning a pension from the players; yet was he made a member by the recommendation of B——k and one of the twelve: For these men vary their tones as the weather sets with them; and having no principles, it cannot be expected they should keep to any; but they can bounce and bustle, and turn every thing to their advantage. If they are prosecuted, the church is in danger, for your lordship may live to find that Harry Gambol will be as much the church as Frank Scamony. If they go off with impunity, they are innocent, or the government impotent. And the persuasion of the ministers after the Revolution, that they might be gained by good usage, or would be dangerous under punishment, was the false step on which the faction insensibly founded a strength in and out of parliament, which often brought the constitution into the utmost peril.

The ministers did not only continue the leaders of the indemnified party in the lieutenancy all over England, they had also the commissions of the peace put into their hands. The matter, I find, was discoursed of in a treatise published by a noble peer, the Earl of Warrington, soon after the invasion of La Hogue was prevented by Admiral Russel's beating the French fleet. "I see so much treachery in the whole management of the kings affairs," says his lordship, "that I have scarce patience to think of it. The whole administration is put into such hands, as would make a man believe, that a design is deeply and strongly laid to bring back King James; most of the justices of the peace throughout England, (whose faithful execution of the laws is the strength of the government) are now such as would certainly be ready to bid him welcome; and many of them are so scandalous in their very morals, that the queen was constrained by proclamation, to order the execution of the laws against debauchery among themselves." Every body knows, what a sway the justices of the peace bear in the country, and how they influence elections. There are few of them who pretend their power is less than it is, or indeed do not endeavour to make it more formidable than useful to the publick. By this means the importance of their station is thrown on their person: And that has a glaring with the people; which makes them sometimes to value their merit, as much as they fear their power. Thus do they bias their judgment, and dispose them to be under their direction in all things. For an instance of which, I could name a man to your lordship, who, with a very poor fortune and capacity, has been able to carry ten or twenty freeholders to Brentford with him, at an election for knights of the shire; when his neighbour, worth 40,000l. could not make a vote but his own. The late managers were so sensible of this, that they obliged their purse to turn all the gentlemen in England out of the commission of the peace, who would not come into their French measures. If here and there a gentleman of revolution principles was continued, he had four or five of his tory-rory neighbours to keep him company; and the people, knowing he had no interest at court, but precariously kept in the commission, were no more influenced by him than by a consta-

ble. How does your lordship think a man of Mr C——n's estate could carry it for so populous and rich a country as that of Sussex, had there been above five whig justices of the peace, and three deputy lieutenants in the county? The same may be said of most of the shires in England. This was the occasion that so many addresses were sent up; wherein was great affectation of not mentioning the prot. testant succession, which they industriously endeavoured to have rendered as disagreeable a word as a coffin. Your lordship, I know, will not wonder, that a person, who was turned out of commission in the army for disaffection to King William, should be put by the Purse into that of the peace in the late management. I can't imagine what need there was of such an open defiance of the protestant and English interest, unless it was that the gentleman in York-Buildingswanted a *Back* in his neighbourhood.

Some people are apt to neglect these things, as if the matter was indifferent, whom the militia and public peace were entrusted with; as if it was all one, whether with friends or enemies to France; as if such men could not do much hurt, or not enough to make the country uneasy about it. For my part, I don't believe the country would be at all uneasy to have an honest, sober, good-natured gentleman put in the room of a blustering, persecuting *Brave;* and a man of 1000l. a year put in the place of one of 100l. I never found but the clergy, in my neighbourhood in the country, as often as they had business with him, were as ready to run to a whig justice as to a tory: And one of Sacheverell's brethren and admirers confessed to me, that they had always better usage from the former. This at least the gentlemen, who were displaced by the Purse, may expect, that they shall fare as well for standing heartily by the protestant succession, by the confederacy, by the Duke of Marlborough, and the wise administration during the war, as those who were so mutinous for a separate peace, and so cold in the interests of the house of Hanover. To imagine that forbearance will make converts, or that men of warmth may do prejudice in the prosecution of justice, will be attended with the same effects, as the healing measures of King William's ministers were; of which we have mentioned the consequences: The enemies to the constitution will be encouraged at all times to attempt its subversion; looking on its friends as a base, dastardly people, afraid of every thing but a Frenchman. Great was the clamour of good Englishmen after the Revolution at the steps then taken, the fatal moderation of the government, and the employing its enemies; but those that made it were blamed for their too much zeal: When the consent of a kingdom, says one of their accusers, speaking of the Indemnity Bill, has drawn a veil of oblivion over past miscarriages, it is then ungentleman-like, if not odious, to have too good a memory. I shall doubtless be thought one of those ill-bred Britons, for remembering what the late managers would have done for us: That they would have deprived us of the inestimable blessing of our present sovereign, and have set a popish king on his throne; that they would have sold us to France, and enslaved us and our posterity for ever; not to mind your lordship of the peace, the twelve lords, the treaty of commerce with France and Spain, the Catalans, the tyranny of the commission of accounts, and the insolence of the whole faction: How ungentleman-like is it to twit them in the teeth with such *Picadillos?* But, thanks be to God, they have no act of grace, to give them a right to the good breeding that was in fashion five-and-twenty years ago; and the heads of the party have almost ever since been putting us in mind of their great affection to King James's son and the French interest. That they themselves ever had it in their power to endanger the constitution, is another effect of the lenity of King William's reign, and the credulous good-nature of his friends; one of whom wrote a tract in vindication of their easiness with respect to the indemnified party, and blames the men of warmth for want of Christian charity. "They would introduce a maxim," says he, "than which nothing could be more unjust, nor more unfitted for the condition of human life, which is a state of weakness and recollection, that no subse-

quent behaviour can expiate for any past failings. They only contemplate and expose the frail side of those they don't affect, and won't allow the balance to be laid for them, of the good and evil they have done, to make a proportionable abatement according to prudence and equity. This was a very hard case. But what allowance would the act of grace-men have made? Why truly, no less than to have all the illegalities and cruelties of King Charles and King James's reign abated for the one consideration, that the criminals had sworn to King William purely to have an opportunity to betray him.

As to the late managers, I am very willing that their account should be fairly stated, and the good and the bad put into the balance: It will be found to be just like Staff's in the Medley.

Debtor.	*Creditor.*
By sinking the public credit in King William's reign, reckoning the effect it had on the bank, East-India Company, navy-bills, ordnance-tallies, upon all the funds, five millions and a half. By ditto since that time, according to the lowest computation, the same sum. In both eleven Millions.	By services in the late king's reign .... a London bank. By ditto in the present new scheme. Amounting in both to 00000,00

Balance to be accounted for —— 11,000,000.

To which account must be now added, the Peace, the Dozen, the Catalans, the Commerce-treaties, and the like; and let the good be put into the scale with the bad, the latter will not be a feather the lighter. For the late managers, when they declared for France and the Pretender, did only in an open manner, what they had been doing clandestinely ever since the Revolution; there being hardly a debate in parliament from that time to this, wherein the chief of them did not distinguish themselves by opposing the interest of their country.

It was not two years after the Revolution, that the Harleys, the Fo——ys, the P——ns, the W—ns, the Har—ts, I know not for what reason, but their private pique and interest, quitted the whig party, in which they had been bred, and fell in with the tory; and ever since, your lordship will find them in all the black lists with the Seymours, the Musgraves, &c. watching all opportunities to embroil the affairs of the government, in order to bring about the grand design of subverting it, which they had so nearly accomplished.

When the voluntary association was offered in the House of Commons, upon the discovery of the assassination plot, in the year 1695, you have William Bromley, Esq. Simon Harcourt, Esq. Francis Gwyn, Esq. Lord Hyde, Francis Grevil, Esq. Thomas Strangways, Esq. Sir John Levison Gower, &c. among those that refused it.

When the dispute about the disbanding the army came up two or three years after, and Sir Christopher Musgrave, who said in King James's parliament, it was a deplorable thing the king had no greater army than 19,000 men, would not let King William have 8000; these were the men that so strenuously stickled for disarming that king, and not letting him be in a condition to prevent the French king's seizing upon Spain. You have almost all of them in the list of those members who voted against the court, and consequently at that time against their country.

These were the men that supported J. How, when he affronted King William by calling him felon. For what did he do less, when he said the Partition-Treaty that

king made, was a felonious treaty, though it is a much better one than the treaty of Utrecht, after the expence of seventy millions, and the loss of 500,000 men's lives? That the Harleys were the foremost of the faction, we very well remember; and there was not a vote for the French interest, which had not the assent of every one of the late managers, who were old enough to sit in the House of Commons: Nay, no sooner was St John qualified by his age, but he listed himself with them; and one of the first votes he ever gave in parliament was for violating the rights of the people, in voting the imprisonment of the Kentish petitioners, who had petitioned the Commons to enable the king to begin the last war. They discovered, says the ingenious author of *Jura Populi Anglicani*, a plain inclination to leave France in the possession of all the Spanish dominions. And is not Robert Harley a ring-leader in this tory party? Is not his brother E—— a leading member? Does not he attend all ordinances, and as constantly every week-day frequent the service of the church (for his is a church-party) in St Stephen's chapel, as he does the conventicle every Lord's day? Are not the F——s, Win——tons, St John, H——y of Wey——th, Br——ston, R——yl, and others of that leven, members of this fraternity? Again, 'tis not to be wondered that the imprisonment of the Kentish petitioners should have the voices of the major part of the House of Commons, when (besides the great inclination discovered by the Speaker [Harley], Sir Edward Seymour, Bartholomew Shower, Mr John How, Mr Hammond, Mr Harcourt, and others, pressed violently for it: And all with a view to prevent that glorious war to which they put such an infamous end; when, by using still the church's name, they had thrust themselves into the ministry. So far did these ill instruments go, that when the Elector of Bavaria, on the King of Spain's death, sent over an envoy to King William on purpose to promise he would keep Flanders till the war was declared, if the court of England could then get the parliament to declare for it, that they fell upon those who were of that opinion, and by their piques and squabbles hindered the king's taking quick and vigorous measures, forcing him upon a necessity to dissolve the parliament that was then sitting; and before another could meet, Flanders and Italy were lost, and the war they would have prevented made absolutely necessary.

These very men did afterwards fall in with the hated *Tack* to confound matters in the last war, and were all of them to a man Sacheveral's champions; that indeed was their only merit. By that means did they acquire the power which renders them so guilty. I am so ungentleman-like, as to remind your lordship of these things, that you may see how incorrigible they are, as well as how criminal; and what little hopes there are of doing any good by forbearance with them, they so fatally abused the moderation of King William's and the best part of Queen Anne's reigns; and will abuse whatever moderation they meet with in any other.

Should the people of Oxford so far defy the justice of our laws, as to chuse Sir Con. Phipps to be one of their representatives, would it not be a sure sign of the inveteracy of the faction; and that they would every where be represented by the king and kingdom's enemies, if they were as much masters in other places as they are at the university? But let them snarl and rail in corners; the general joy and satisfaction of the people in the present government will not be long disturbed by these murmurers. All good Britons will chearfully acquiesce in his majesty's measures; his wisdom being the greatest security of their happiness; and I can see no manner of danger in punishing those that have been in a confederacy with France to destroy our own liberties and the liberties of all Europe, but a great deal in letting them go off with impunity. I know very well that there will be a disaffected party, and perhaps some half-witted disgusted hero may think it his interest to countenance them; perhaps some hot-headed angry clergyman may also cry aloud and spare not, as Sacheveral, Welton, Higgins, Trap and the rest of them, have done for these three or four years, of the church's danger.

But your lordship knows that pretence, ever groundless and seditious, was grown so stale that the faction was ashamed to make use of it in the latter part of the last reign: Besides, the nation having been tricked by it into clamour and confusion in King William's reign, and into ruin afterwards, can we imagine, they will give an ear again to such vain and factious insinuations, for the sake of half a dozen criminals, whose principles and morals are a scandal to the pure church, whose name they have only in their mouths, without ever having her interest in their hearts?

The guilty being punished for an example to their abettors, I agree with your lordship, that it should be all our endeavours to suppress party, and unite in loyalty to the king, and love to our country. Perhaps the number of the criminals is too great to remember every one of them. But if two private men should dare to take on them a commission to treat with the common enemy in a clandestine manner, contrary to the engagements of the most necessary alliances: If two or three bold ambitious men should, in opposition to the sense and interest of all Europe, except France and Spain, to our honour and safety, abandon our confederates to destruction, should weaken and bully our best friends, and caress and strengthen our professed enemies; should trample upon our constitution, should make new law-givers, to skreen themselves from the law; and all this without having their reward, I can't see what crime a man can commit against his country, and not hope to be enriched and ennobled by it, instead of being condemned and punished.

It is not a hundred years ago that a treasurer who had been made a lord, was unlorded, and his estate and dignity made answerable for his mal-practices; as was the case of the Earl of Middlesex. And I could give many instances out of ancient history of the wise severity of the Greeks and Romans towards the betrayers of their country. That Roman who should have pitied a Roman, punished for contriving to betray Rome to Carthage, would surely have been thought to have deserved, and probably might have suffered the same fate. The heads of such traitors did not only pay for their treason, their whole race was involved in their ruin, their palaces demolished, and corn sowed on their foundations to bury even their very memories in their rubbish; their posterity renouncing their names, and every one thinking himself accursed, that had the misfortune to be of their family.

We have the most glorious prospect of a great and flourishing kingdom, of as much happiness as the late managers threatened us with misery. And shall those managers enjoy peaceably the blessing of that reign, which they would have intercepted, and given us instead of it a popish king, and a French tyranny? One cannot be too ungentleman-like on this occasion, nor too often remember them of their treasonable projects against the protestant succession. I am so far from thinking that to let the laws exert their vigour against such criminals, would make any one, but their fellow criminals, uneasy, that I take it to be the only means of their quieting the minds, not only of all good subjects at home, but of all our good friends abroad; and the only way to recover our interest and reputation in Europe, by shewing the world, that it was not the British nation who deserted their confederates, and betrayed their best friends, but five or six tricking enterprising managers, who having by their wicked arts usurped the management, had no other way to support themselves in it, but by sacrificing our interest, honour, and safety to their avarice and ambition. If they had been men whom the allies could have trusted; if their characters had not destroyed all confidence in them, perhaps they might not have so soon sent their emissaries to France to beg a peace of the vanquished: But whether their having made a scandalous and ruinous treaty necessary to their preservation will extenuate the guilt of it, and plead for a second indemnity-bill in their favour, I shall leave to your lordship to determine, there being nothing else to be said for them.

As the greater offenders ought not to escape the hands of justice, so should an eye also be had upon the less. It was the neglect of the pulpit and press, which brought matters to such a fatal pass after Sacheveral's trial. No sooner was the queen dead, and the king likely to come in as peaceably as he did, but the distinguished trumpeters of the town began to alarm them with fear of church-peril: Smith of St Sepulchre's particularly insulted the protestant succession; and intimated to his auditory, that the successor was not in the interests of our religion. And since his majesty's arrival, Sacheveral made an harangue of the like tendency: The beginning of his sermon was to set forth what crimes, what wickedness men had been guilty of to acquire earthly crowns. It was plain, that his dissatisfaction in the removal of his patrons from the posts they had usurped, was insinuated as a very great crime. This point he touched with much fervency in his frothy way; but in the latter part of his sermon, where he was to urge how much more industrious men ought to be to obtain the heavenly crown, he was as flat and insipid, as if he had been speaking of a thing which he was sure would never fall to his lot.

Your lordship will say to this, there is no help for it; and that we have paid too much for endeavouring to roast a clergyman. I doubt not, if the state would vigorously enjoin all the diocesans to do their utmost to put a stop to seditious preaching, it would have the desired effect: And those diocesans who distinguished themselves by the neglect of such injunctions, would be too much exposed to the resentment of an injured government and nation, to try the experiment. It is certain, the late managers did not put their power to a worse use, than in making the condemned doctor rector of a parish bigger than most cities in England: His carriage in it has indeed answered his character, and he is abhorred and despised by much the greater part of his parishioners. But to pin such a worthless wretch down upon them for life, to give him an opportunity to torment them as long as he lives; (for as to corrupting them, there is not much fear of it, his practices preventing any attention to his precepts;) this was a work none could have done but those who cared for neither men's bodies nor souls, so their vile passions were pleased by it. This bad man's promotion will encourage all thoughtless hare-brained clergymen to aim at distinction, by defying the government: An evil, for which a speedy remedy ought to be found out by our spiritual fathers; and truly, if they can't find one, 'twill give us but a mean opinion of our ecclesiastical constitution, which is so imperfect that it cannot redress so flagrant a grievance.

Equal care should be taken of the press: It is already hard at work to beat a new alarm, and fright the rabble into mutiny. The late managers were so far from sending Damere and Purchase, the leaders of the rebellious mob, to the gallows, to deter others from the like treasonable crimes, that they made Damere the queen's waterman, and suffered contributions to be raised for them at the door of the House of Commons. This encouragement keeps up the spirit of rebellion in the factious multitude; and that spirit is inflamed by the libels hawked and bawled about the streets; such as, Stand fast to the Church, Trick upon Trick, The State-Gamesters, A Cat may look upon a King, and the like. True, those half-penny papers have nothing in them but the title, and that's enough to produce the mischievous effects intended by it: For 'tis not only to get those scoundrels who cry them bread, some of them have confessed they were hired to bawl their sedition about the streets; and we all know that the Faction have engaged them to cry nothing that makes against them. They will not touch a whig paper, though they are sure to get as much by it. This grievance has been neglected ever since the Revolution, and Mr Johnson foretold what would be the consequence of such neglect so long as that time, offering a method to redress it without

infringing the liberty of the press; for which as I pleaded in the worst of times, so shall I also contend in the best.'

The meddling with hawkers and ballad-singers may be thought a trifle; but it ceases to be so, when we consider the crying and singing such stuff, as vile as it is, makes the government familiar, and consequently contemptible to the people, warms the minds of the rabble, who are more capable of action than speculation, and are animated by noise and nonsense. There was just such a cry of sedition when the doctor was condemned. The ministers despised it so long, that they were themselves despised by it. Some of them saw the error at last, but 'twas too late. The mob were prepared for violence, and they were hooted and bawled out of their ministry. The greatest mischief arises from the small papers, and their being noised about the streets: It is the quickest and surest way sedition has to take. Pamphlets work slowly, and the operation of one pamphlet is often spoiled by that of another. Besides, the publishers of them are to be come at, and the printer and publisher being as much accountable for the offence they give as the author, the state will know how to find out and chastise the offenders. Their liberty therefore ought not to be abridged, but those that abuse it to be punished. If there is not due and speedy care taken in these matters, the Faction will most certainly grow upon the government. The consequence of which would be fatal enough, if it only screened the chiefs of it, the late managers, from punishment.

I have mentioned to your lordship a certain and ready way of putting an end to half penny sedition and street politicks; and your lordship having promised me to mention it to those whose duty it is to watch over such things, I hope that, or some other method will be put in practice to deprive the enemies of the government of this their last and most pitiful resource.

A Secret History of One Year, by Robert Walpole, Esq. 1714.

This Tract is not to be found in Mr Coxe's list of Sir Robert Walpole's publications, nor in that given by his son the Earl of Oxford in the Royal and Noble Authors. It may be considered as in some degree a reply to that which precedes it. At least this account of the revolution politics, is given upon a more lenient principle, vindicating King William, both on account of

' The alledged grievance, which is always felt most severely by the party in power, was bitterly complained of by the whig ministers at this time. " Yet did they continue, with great industry, to disperse scandalous and seditious libels and pamphlets, to infuse jealousies into the minds of the weak and unthinking multitude, and to revive the groundless impudent clamour of the danger of the church; such were their Stand fast to the Church; Where are our Bishops now? The Religion of King George. No Presbyterian Government. The State-Gamester; or the Church of England's sorrowful Lamentation. Æsop in Mourning; the Duke of Ormond's Vindication. The Lord Bolingbroke's Vindication. No Lord-Protector, or the Duke of Marlborough's Design defeated, &c. Their ballad-singers at every corner of a street roared out senseless, brutal scandal and falsehood, and had the ears of the stupid, giddy-headed rabble that had been in motion ever since Sacheveral's trial. Sir William Humphreys, lord mayor of London, exerted his authority and caused the hawkers that cried these libels, and sung such ballads, to be committed to the house of correction, and had his majesty's royal approbation in a letter from the Lord Viscount Townshend, secretary of state."—OLDMIXON's *Hist. of England, fol.* p. 581.

the Act of Indemnity and his conciliatory conduct towards the tories. It does not seem at all probable, that Walpole should at this crisis have thought it proper to advocate these principles.

THE circumstances of the Revolution 1688, and the turn of affairs which has now happened in Great-Britain, since the death of the late queen, are founded on such a visible analogy of causes and effects, that they may well bear the same name, viz. the Revolution.

The occasion of the Revolution in 1688, is summed up by the writers of these times in these words, viz. That the evil councils of the former reigns had introduced several illegal practices in the administration, and had brought the laws, liberties, and religion of these kingdoms into great danger, from the encroachment and invasion of arbitrary power, popery, indefeasible divine right of a pretended successor, &c.

It is not the business of this tract to determine, one way or other, the justice on both sides of the complaint, the author being not to act the politician here, but the historian. If I pass my judgment, it shall be after I have first related the facts as they lie before me in the course of time, and in the manner, as near as I can, in which every thing has been transacted.

We have many histories of the Revolution, but very few of them go on with the account of what was done in the year immediately after; or, if they do, they give no full relation; perhaps they were not able to do it, not having opportunity to see what was done within doors.

From this ignorance of authors, two things have happened: First, that the enemies of the Revolution have taken the liberty to censure the late King William, as acting on principles of self-interest and ambition, designing from the beginning to depose his father, and set himself up in his stead; all which things those who knew the king, have much reason to believe he was innocent of; and that all the steps which elevated him to the throne, were such, as were not only fortuitous and unforeseen, or at least unexpected by his majesty, but what he had no reason to expect, and what it was not possible he should.

Secondly, From this ignorance of writers, posterity is brought to censure King William, for what some call a criminal clemency, in not pursuing the chief ends of the Revolution, viz. To deliver the nation from the tyranny, and to punish the persons guilty of it, which, say they, as it was the chief end of inviting him over, so it is expressly promised by him in his declaration.

In giving an account of some transactions in that year, these two points will necessarily be cleared up, but the last especially; and this may be calculated for the use of those people who are willing to bring the parallel down to the present time.

I find many people areafraid lest the present government should fall into the same universal mistake, and by forgetting to do justice upon the ministers of state, who have carried on the uneasy administration of the four last years, should give them an opportunity to play the same game over again, and to bring us into the same dangers of popery and the Pretender as we were in before.

To fortify the government in their resolutions against this, they wisely lead us back to the Revolution of 1688, and shew us how fatal it was to the king and kingdom, that judgment was not executed upon the criminals of the preceding reign, viz. upon those who had concurred with King James, &c. in his arbitrary designs, and who had adhered to him to the last.

I shall join with them in this complaint, as I do likewise in the inferences drawn from it; adding only this, that the like justice should have been executed upon those who after the Revolution, being by the goodness of his majesty entrusted with the

publick administration, betrayed the king and kingdom; for publick ministers, when they prove unfaithful, may be said to abuse not only the clemency and favour of their prince, but to abuse their country also, who may be said to put trust in them by the prince's recommendation.

I being thus writing for an impartial distribution of national justice, I must be allowed to wave the enquiry into the distinction of whig and tory in general, and to give a true, though secret account, of what happened at court immediately after the said Revolution of 1688. Those people who, for the good of their country, are zealous for doing justice on state offenders, will know what use to make of, and what inferences to draw from the history, the matters of fact whereof I am assured no one will dispute.

It was on the 6th of February 1688, that I think the Revolution might be said to be compleated, by passing that eminent vote in the House of Peers, viz. For filling up the vacant throne with the persons of their deliverers, and putting the crown, by authority of the estates of England assembled in convocation, upon the heads of King William and Queen Mary. The day was eminent for being the same day that King Charles II. died, the same day that Queen Anne was born, and for that King James came to the crown, the same day that he lost it.

The difference in circumstances between that Revolution and the present seems to lie in this only, viz. That the king came there before the settlement of the succession is the cause, and his majesty's accession to the crown is the effect; there the coming of the person of the king was the cause, and the settlement of the crown was the effect. I mention this, because it is what Britons ought never to forget, viz. That the first revolution has not been the type of this only, but the parent of it; and that King William restored the nation to that liberty, by which the settlement of the succession in the protestant line of Hanover has been made able to take place; as this will be acknowledged by all those who are friends to the present establishment, so I shall take occasion to shew them, that no mistakes of the late king in his reign can be justly censured, but that such censure would in effect weaken the heads of the present interest; but of that I shall speak by itself on another occasion

The chief objections against the management of the king consisted in two parts; 1. That he suffered Amaleck to escape; I use the Objector's words, that is, that he suffered an act of indemnity to pass, to pardon all those who by his declaration he ought to have brought to justice; and, 2. That he employed Jacobites; or, to put this also in their own terms, that he received those very people into his favour, who were the tools of King James, and employed and entrusted those who had betrayed their country to a popish prince, and concurred in giving up the liberties and religion of their country to slavery and superstition.

I do not say, but many of these things may in the letter of them be true, neither shall I make any apology or defence for the same, but shall relate to the publick, *verbatim*, what I received many years ago from a venerable head, who perhaps was an ear-witness.

It was upon the occasion of the disputes which happened towards the latter end of King William's reign, that very great meetings of noblemen and gentlemen were held at a certain publick place. The design of their meeting was, in order to uphold the interest of the king, against a new party then started up at court, who had formed themselves upon the interest of the high people, and were called, according to the old court distinction, the country party. The handle to, or subject of these debates, was the dissolving the parliament, and the entering into a new war against France, looking back a little on the act of resumptions, and disbanding the army. It was at one of these meetings that the following things, or something like them, happened to be discoursed of. A noble lord in the company speaking with some warmth of the ill treatment which, as he thought, the king met with in these matters, the discourse naturally led

us all to reflect upon the persons who were the principal promoters of these bills; and entering into the character of some of them, it would not escape us, that such and such, who were quoted by name, were persons who owed their friends to his majesty's clemency, and who, had it not been for the Act of Indemnity, had taken an effectual course with themselves to have prevented the mischief they were then a-doing, by flying beyond sea to avoid the justice of the parliament.

"Yea," says a noble lord, "if they and twelve or fourteen more, which he named also, had been made examples of, the king had never been thus handled; and, if his majesty had not immediately put himself into the hands of those very men whom he ought to have put into the hands of the executioner, he had not been brought to suffer these ignominious things."

He went on with some heat to shew the error which the "king committed at the beginning of his reign, in treating these men with lenity instead of justice, and with kindness instead of severity." He told us "that the king did not know the English nation; that they were not to be won with kindness, any more than to be crushed by oppression; that the English temper is only to be managed by justice; that a government here must no more mix too much mercy with their administration than tyranny; that the people will equally oppose them in both; that they were not equally unlawful indeed, but that they were equally dangerous to the prince; with this difference also, that the first was most shocking and hardest to bear; for that as *ingratitude* was the worst sin one man could commit against another, so it is always the most *afflicting* to a benevolent disposition, and in the end the most provoking and hardest to be forgiven."

He told us h had "often represented this very thing to his majesty in the beginning of his reign, and that he had opposed the passing the Act of Indemnity with all his might; that he told the king in *totidem verbis*, what he had told us just now; but that the goodness of his majesty's disposition over-ruled him in all that affair; that one day, speaking very seriously of it to the king, his majesty smiled, and told him again he was too censorious; that he (the king) could not entertain such thoughts of the English nation; that he was resolved to oblige them too far to make it possible they should ever requite him ill; but that it was not his business to make any of his subjects despair; that it was in his power to punish, whenever they should forget his clemency; that to fall upon them with the utmost rigour was to add too much weight to them, to suggest them to be considerable; that he should fear their strength, and think it prudence to destroy them, lest they should destroy him; that he had such confidence in the affection of all his people, that it was below him to fear a few disaffected party-men, and that since he was above their power he had no desire to make any man miserable; that if they abused his mercy, their sin would be doubled, and he should punish them afterwards with the greater satisfaction; that he had fully made good his declaration, putting the publick justice in a condition to chastise them all; that he had no where tied himself up to severities; that King James had made himself the scape-goat, had taken upon him the sins of the people, and was gone into the wilderness; that this step had altered many of the measures proposed in the declaration, and this in an especial manner; that dethroning the whole party was doing the nation a general justice, with which he hoped they would be satisfied; and that for his own part, since he was now to be king, he desired to be king of all his people, and not to begin his reign with blood, besides he saw them all submitting to him; if they had stood out, had fought with him, and been the further occasion of any slaughter, or ruin to the country, by their opposing, then indeed he should have been inclined to have brought the heads of them to justice; but as they had universally submitted, and as soon as King James was gone laid down their arms, restored the nation to an unexpected tranquillity, he thought they had a claim to his clemency, as a town besieged, surrendering at discretion, though the lives of the garrison are at mercy by the law of arms, yet they are ge-

nerally spared, and the conqueror contents himself to make them prisoners of war, the taking the town, not the blood of the garrison, being the end and design of the siege.

With this discourse and such like, which his majesty frequently repeated, his lordship told us he was effectually silenced; and indeed, that it was a full satisfaction to him that the Act of Indemnity was both reasonable and safe; "which, however, his majesty could not prevail with many people to pass, till he declared positively one day in council that he would not come into severities, adding, that he would give all his subjects an opportunity to deserve well by their future conduct, and to make amends to the nation by reforming what had been amiss, rather than by suffering for it, telling them, he hoped they would be satisfied with his coming, which had rescued them from popery and slavery, and restored their liberties, without obliging him to enter into the publick resentments, and to punish crimes committed before he had any thing to do with them: That there was a great many men who had offended from a mistaken notion of duty to their prince; and though it was true that the command of a king to a subject does not justify that subject in any illegal action, yet, as in felony, the wife was not executed for the crime in her husband's company, because she is supposed to be influenced by her husband's authority, much more might the authority of the sovereign misguide many, and that at least such deserved pity, though they were really and justly guilty, and it would be a hard matter to distinguish those who had been thus drawn in from those who were originals in the late disorders, and that, at the worst, too much clemency was the least error, and therefore his majesty was resolved to pass an act of grace; that he could have done it by his own preparations, but being willing it should come in a parliamentary way, he had resolved it should come from him to the two houses, and be passed there in due form." Also his majesty caused an act of indemnity to be brought into the House of Lords, from himself on the 10th day of June 1690, as by the journals of the House may appear.

When his lordship was going on to vindicate the king in this manner against the opinions of those who were reflecting on this act of clemency, it led the company necessarily into that part which I mentioned before, viz. Of the king's employing and entrusting the administration in the hands of those men whom he ought by the tenour of his declaration to have delivered up to justice.

I omit purposely to give you the detail of the argument used by the warm people at that time for the affirmative, viz. That justice on the guilty is compassion to the innocent; that examples are necessary to be made in *terrorem;* that the calamities the nation was brought into, and the danger they were in of more, called loudly for resentment, and that to shew mercy to such men was denying justice to the country, contrary to the express words of *Magna Charta,* and so omitting to shew this wholesome severity has been the encouragement to the same people to carry on the same wicked designs under other disguises, not only in that king's reign, but even now, which has brought us almost to the same condition we were in before, and made it necessary to do almost all the work over again, &c. which in the same conversation were most of them mentioned, and which are now again made the subject of complaint in some pamphlets, calculated for the present occasion; and to prevent any forbearance being now shewn to the members of the late administration, I say, these things I omit, that I may give account of what followed: A certain grave gentleman, well known, if it were convenient to publish his name, valued then by all the company for his learning and wisdom, as well as for his quality, being also, as I have heard, a member of parliament, and of the council at that time, having heard with patience all that his lordship urged in this case, and especially what he had repeated from the mouth of his late majesty King William, applying himself to the lord who had spoken immediately before, delivered himself to this purpose: First, he said, that he humbly conceived the dispute now among them might be much shortened, if the matter of fact were historically stated; that although he was satisfied their lordships could not but know the truth

of what he was going to speak, yet that possibly it might not occur to them just at that time particularly, as to what steps the king had taken, and what hands his majesty made use of in the administration of publick affairs, before the time of which they were speaking, and therefore it was needful to look back into, not the particulars only, but also into the time and seasons in which every transaction of that reign took place; that there needed nothing but a little chronology to set all these things to rights, and to vindicate the king effectually, as well from the charge of an unseasonable clemency, as from that of employing the enemies of his kingdom, wherefore he begged they would be pleased to look back, with him, to the first twelve months after the Revolution, that is to say, after King William and Queen Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England, &c. for he conceived the Revolution to be finished when the king's reign began.

It must be allowed, my lord, said he, that the king, though well acquainted with the affairs of Britain for a foreigner, yet for the office of a king was a stranger to many things, which he found it necessary to be informed in, for his government in the administration; and particularly his majesty found himself at a loss in not knowing the characters of men, which, in short, he could no other way come at than by the recommendation of others; nay, so far was his majesty from a general knowledge of the just characters of the nobility and gentry of Great-Britain, that he had frequently the misfortune, when some were recommended to his service, to be obliged to enquire even whether they were English or Scots. The inconveniences to his majesty, which followed this want of the knowledge of men, were very great, and in particular, that he frequently employed and advanced men, whom he afterwards found were not worthy of his favour, and whom he soon found reason to dismiss from his service, with no little dissatisfaction, as I shall have occasion to shew presently; and, secondly, those people, on whose recommendation his majesty depended in extraordinary cases, had too many opportunities to make their market of the royal favour, and, raising their fortune by imposing on the king, had frequently less regard to the honour and interest of their sovereign, in their putting people upon him, than to the profit which they made of their recommendation; this often made his majesty complain, as he did in his answer to the parliament's address, about the affairs of the Darien company in Scotland, viz. That he had been ill served; his majesty added, he was not insensible of this defect, even at the first entrance into his affairs, and consulting with the ablest men for council, not only of his foreign retinue, but perhaps the ablest in Europe; at that time Duke Schombergh and the Earl of Portland delivered themselves to this purpose, agreeing perfectly well one with another in their advice, viz. That as his majesty could not personally know the character of all the nobility and persons of quality, who, it was likely, would seek employment in his new administration, he could not take a surer rule to judge whom it was fit to trust, than that of observing who had been most vigorous in the opposition to the old measures, and particularly not those only who had suffered most of the rigorous and illegal persecution of the abdicated king, because in them personal revenge might be thought to have some share in their acting, or personal interest for the recovery of their fortune, and making themselves whole after the losses they had received; and therefore, although they might be thought to act sincerely for the Revolution, yet it might not be from such just and disinterested principles as others: But that therefore these men were to be first pitched upon, who had shewed themselves patriots of their country, by their acting volunteer in the Revolution, though no particular motion from their personal interest were to be found; and that these might justly be supposed to seek the good of the publick, from the mere love of the liberty, religion, and interest of posterity.

He went on to shew that the king, who was too wise a man not to give the due weight to such a counsel, proceeded according to this rule most exactly. He told them it appeared by the proclamation of the great men in his majesty's court, the list

of which was to be seen, and where it would be found that the king, according to the advice given him as above, put those men first into employment who had first and most early appeared in opposition to the illegal measures of the preceding government: "And I must tell your lordship," said he, "with submission, that it is a very great mistake to say that the king immediately employed the same instruments in carrying on his government of the nation, which had been the agents of King James's tyranny in destroying the constitution, for that none of these were employed at all, until his majesty had first tried the fidelity and capacity of the other: In this, my lord," continued he, "I have no more to do than to appeal to your lordship's memory, and the history of these times, whereby I am sure I shall be justified in saying to your lordship, that the king put the whole administration of civil affairs into the hands of three persons, since called whigs, before he shewed any countenance or favour to the other; but," said he, "it is true, my lord, that the case differed something in the military part, which was not occasioned by any want of pursuing the same measures, but from a particular national misfortune, viz. That by a long and profound peace, there were not men to be found in the whole English nation, qualified for general command; and though it is true that this might be owing partly to the error of the preceding reign, when men of English principles had for some time been discouraged, and those few that had been found, had been closetted out of the army by King James, yet that so it was in fact will not be contended."

He observed however, by way of digression, here, "that the king did not, for the want of such officers, put arms and forces into the hands of the officers of the popish army, but gave regiments to such men of fortunes and families among the nobility and gentry, who had appeared for him, and who were willing to accept of commands, being all men zealous for the Revolution; and supplied the places of general officers, with such experienced foreigners as he had brought with him for that purpose, many of whom lost their lives in his service; and after this raised the English gentlemen, who took service under him, to such dignities and preferments in the army, as the course of their service and merit of their behaviour called for."

Some of the gentlemen he named, who were honoured with regiments in the first troops raised; as the Duke of Devon, Duke of Bolton, Lord Delamere, Sir Rob. Peyton, Sir George Hewit, Colonel Earl, now lieutenant-general; Colonel Wharton, brother to my Lord Wharton; Sir Henry Ingoldsby, Sir Ed. Deering, and the like, all eminent and zealous promoters of the Revolution; some of whom, as he observed, had lost their lives in the pursuit of it; as Sir George Hewit, Colonel Wharton, Sir Ed. Deering, Sir Alb. Cunningham, and many others.

Some indeed of King James's colonels were continued in command, said he, but they were only such as had abandoned his service with their regiments; as Lord Cornbury, Sir John Lanier, Colonels Laughton, Coy, Kirk, and others.

But to return to the statesman, said this relator, no sooner was the king settled upon the throne, and that it became necessary to form the household, and fill up the great offices of the state, but his majesty, as I observed to your lordship, threw himself into the hands of the Revolution party; and albeit that many of those who had left King James, had deserved very well of the king, by their appearing in season, to discountenance the popish army; yet his majesty did not so immediately cast his eyes upon them, as upon those who had been sufferers under the mal-administration, and as made a stand against the encroachments of arbitrary power, as much as in them lay, both church and state. These his majesty advanced into offices and dignities in the first part of his reign; to these he committed the first administration of publick affairs; these ruled the state, the church, the bench; and, in a word, his majesty put himself and the kingdom wholly into their hands, the very first step that he took in government.

"I am not blaming the king," says he, "for his conduct, for nothing could be more

natural to a wise discerning prince, than to believe that those men who had suffered so deeply under, and made such loud complaints against the mal-administration of the king that was then fled, should be the most likely to preserve the constitution, and to assist him that was then king, in a legal, just, and impartial governing the same kingdom; it could not enter into his majesty's thoughts, that ambition, partiality, corruption, self-interest, neglect of the publick, could be found in the hands of these men, who had with such zeal, and at so much hazard, asserted the rights of the people against the same enormities in the preceding reign; and had men acted according to the dictates of common sense, it could not well have been otherwise."

He went on then to name a complete list, which he had ready on his tongue, of all the great officers, ministers of state, judges, bishops, privy councellors, &c. whom King William, at his first accession to the crown, placed, as is usual in such cases, in the household and in the administration; whose names I cannot set down, or indeed remember at this time, but some of them are as follows:

Mr Harley, after Lord Townsend, Admiral of the Fleet.
Duke of D———, Lord Steward.
Earl of Wiltshire, Gentleman Usher to the Queen.
Lord W———, Chancellor of the Dutchy.
Earl of D——, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.
Lord W——, Comptroller.
Lord Lovelace, Captain of the Band of Pensioners.
Mr Hampden, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Delamere, First Commissioner of the Treasury.
Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State.
Lord Sidney, Secretary of State.

Admiral Herbert,
Earl of Carbery,
Sir Michael Wharton,
Sir Thomas Lee,
Sir John Chickley,
Sir John Lowther,
William Sacheverell, Esq.
} Commissioners of the Admiralty.

The Lord Coot, Treasurer to the Queen.

Lord Delamere,
Lord M——,
Lord Godolphin,
Sir Henry Capell,
Mr Hambden,
} Commissioners of the Treasury.

Dr B——, Bishop of S——.
Dr Hughes, Bishop of Oxford.
Mr Pollixfen, Attorney General.
Sir George Treby, Solicitor General.

Lord Booth, brother to the Lord Delamere,
Sir Richard Temple,
Sir John Warden,
Sir Robert Southwell,
Sir Rober Clayton,
Sir Patience Ward,
} Commissioners of the Customs.

And many other of the like stamp, in other offices of trust and profit.

After having thus run over the list of names, in which were many more than I can recover at this time, he went on to ask his lordship, "whether these were not all such

men as he had dismissed? and whether they were not all of them such as had a share in inviting of the king over, and as had eminently appeared against King James? To which when his lordship had assented, as in justice he could do no other, he asked his lordship, if he knew how many of these noble and worthy persons his majesty was obliged to dismiss again, within three years at most, for the most scandalous and unexampled conduct that has been met with in any age, at least within the memory of things? And how the king was treated, his councils betrayed; his court made a market to buy and sell the employments and trust of the kingdom; his forests and woods rifled and plundered; the government exposed; and the whole Revolution itself endangered under the administration, and by the conduct of some of these men."

His lordship was silent at this smart enquiry, and after some pause, replied coldly, "he had heard something of it." "Nay, my lord," says the first relator, "was you not present at Hampton-Court, when the king himself told us, he did not think it had been possible that men of such characters could act in such a manner? and do you not remember the occasion?" To this his lordship replied, "that he did indeed remember the king was very uneasy, but he did not charge his memory so much with particulars."

"Nay, my lord," replied the relator, "do not say you forget. I cannot think things of such a nature can slip your memory, for you have often expressed your abhorrence of such doings; but I know you are willing to bury the remembrance of them, for the sake of the persons, who were otherwise men of honour and of fortunes; some of them being in their graves, nothing should be remembered to their prejudice: But, my lord," said he, "the question at present relates to other and greater persons; and we are obliged to vindicate the one which is attacked, though it be at the expence of the other, because justice is due to one as well as charity to the other; the honour of the king, who is living, is concerned in the reproach, and his majesty ought no more to suffer, than those persons who now are so; if the enquiry is ungenerous upon the dead, it is owing to those who have first insulted the king, and made these reflections be absolutely necessary to his majesty's vindication.

"But, my lord, that I may steer a middle course between these two extremes, I beg leave to repeat some of the matters of fact which obliged his majesty to change hands so soon, and which, by the frequent complaints which came before his majesty so often, made him shew his displeasure; and albeit I may hint at some few, yet I shall forbear, as much as possible, the names of any, and the rather because I am satisfied," says he, "your lordship knows the person by the story.

"He then asked his lordship, if he did not remember a complaint against Sir T—— S——d, for that a gentleman had bought of my lord a place in the household, and paid 250l. for it; and that when he came, by appointment, to be introduced, there was no such employment ever heard of. That another had bought and paid for a place of considerable value, upon information that the person who had the place before was dead, who was so far from being dead, that he had not been indisposed in the least, or absented one day from the duty of his employ; that when the great lord was told of the thing, he pretended to know nothing of it, and sent them back to Sir F—— S——, who had received the money in his lordship's name; who shuffled it back again to my lord, and he to a third, till the people were ruined by the want of their money and long attendance."

"His lordship did not deny these things, but said they were but an example or two; that there would always be mistakes and little by-steps, among the courtiers of every side, one as well as the other. This moved the ancient person to tell his lordship, that had the examples been few, he would have been of his mind, that it was not worth notice, and that it would have justified his repeating them; neither would it have been a sufficient reason why the king found himself obliged to discard and throw out the persons who acted in such a manner; but it was well known to his lordship that these

things were grown to such a height, that the very court became scandalous, and the enemies of the Revolution began to open their mouths, and that with just reason; that his majesty was justly provoked at it, and taking up a resolution both to resent what was past, and to prevent the like, he found it so universally to affect those, who for the former reasons he had thought to be his best friends, that it exceedingly troubled him, and at last brought him to the necessity of displacing some of the most eminent.

"He told his lordship, that for the reasons mentioned before, he would not name the person to every action, but that in general his lordship might remember how far the whole court was corrupted, how almost every thing but the king himself, and some thought that exception needless, was bought and sold; few places given, or favours obtained, but for money; and oftentimes places sold, and the possessors turned out, without any offence, to make good the sale, and then trifling occasions found out to dispossess the new purchasers, to restore the old ones, and get more money; places sold two or three times over, and then abatements obtained, before men could get their money again; he instanced in the band of pensioners in the government of Ireland, after the settlement of it, in the household, in the treasury, and in several other cases, too long to be repeated.

"He went on to recite some particular cases, which, for the reputation of some men living, I forbear to repeat; how the king was imposed upon to advance whoever those men directed, and what price they made of their favours to those who they were obtained for; how at last they came that length, that if his majesty did not gratify them in every thing they desired, they would obligingly threaten to leave him; telling him, how necessary they were to him; how great their interest was in the country; they had, in short, the face to hint, that they not only made him king, but that they kept the crown upon his head; a thing which the great genius of the king could not stoop to: It was no wonder that his majesty watched his opportunity to let them know they were mistaken, and that he could reign without them."

When he had gone through this part of the complaint, he proceeded to mention the conduct of those great men to the king in person, how they continually importuned him for additional places, threw back upon him as an argument, or rather a reproach, their former services and sufferings; and that one came to that pitch as to tell his majesty, almost in plain terms, that he had never been king but for him; and that he did not think himself suitably rewarded, though he possessed at that time about 3000l. per annum in places; and had so sensible an influence, and became so popular by the king's favour, as to have the court of the mob made to him, and to obtain the name of King of Hearts.

He then asked his lordship, if he did not remember how upon the continued importunity of the said King of Hearts, his majesty became so uneasy, that he told him one day, "He would be glad that lord would put all his demands into one head, that he might see if the whole kingdom could satisfy him." That upon the first thing that ever his majesty thought fit to deny to another great lord, he returned short upon the king, that he was very sorry his service was not agreeable to his majesty, and begged his majesty's leave to retire into the country; to which the king, to his surprise, assenting, he withdrew with scarce restraint enough upon his passion to preserve him in his duty: How upon this lord's disgust, another came to his majesty, and made him the like complaint: To whom his majesty returned nothing but this; that seeing that his lordship was going from the court, it would be proper to leave his key behind him.

His lordship smiled at the hearing all this, and only replied, two or three times as he went on, that Sir —— had a good ill-natured memory.

The relator proceeded to what I did not expect to hear; "but," says he, "your lordship knows very well, that this is not all; for that some of these men did not content themselves to treat the king in this manner, but went yet farther, viz. to carry their

discontents to some private consultations, for the forming another revolution, and to let the king know, that it was more in their power to make him uneasy than he thought of. Your lordship is not ignorant who they were that went this length; nay, more than that, who was the man, who discovered this wicked part first to the king, and what acknowledgement his majesty made to him for it.

"But I have gone far enough," says the relator; "the indemnity having buried all these things in forgetfulness, I shall not uncover the carcases of the deceased, any farther than necessity obliges me; besides," says he, "your lordship knowing all these things to be true, I need but just name them, that also being sufficient to answer the complaints of those people, who object against the king's employing Jacobites, and passing an act of indemnity. For, my lord," says he, "you may here see the true reason (1.) why the king was obliged to employ other people, and (2.) why many of those who came over with him, and were forwardest in the Revolution, were so soon his majesty's enemies, and flew in his face, opposing all his measures, and giving him all the uneasiness possible, that is to say, that having treated him in such a manner as above, and having thereby made themselves intolerable to him, they filled our ears with complaints of the king's employing other people, which it is evident his majesty did not, till having first employed these, in all the most considerable posts of the government, as well for profit as for trust, they had taken so many ways as I have now mentioned to inform him, that they were not to be depended upon, and that, however they might deserve well of the government by suffering, they would never deserve well by doing; that however they had been ill used under the old government they did not thereby appear qualified to be concerned in the new."

His lordship seeming to resent the first part of this discourse, could not be brought to do so to the last, which made the relator re-assume his discourse. "I forgot, my lord," said he, "to hint to your lordship, that there was one thing done by these men, which gave the king great distaste in the beginning of his reign, which was their continued pushing at pluralities of places; that albeit they were as above put into all the great posts of honour, trust, and profit, in the government, yet they were continually pressing and importuning his majesty for more places, not only for their friends, as is before noted, but for themselves. This your lordship knows his majesty had a particular aversion to; and," added he, "your lordship cannot but remember, how warmly his majesty expressed himself on that head, once on the occasion of the Lord Sidney, pressing for a certain addition to his places, he had been made a peer, and secretary of state, and had the first regiment of guards given him, together with a grant of Greenwich Park and house, and several other things, but desired to be master of the ordnance also, which he did obtain afterwards, yet his majesty stood out a long time, and particularly told his lordship, that he had many reasons which made him averse to emulations of places; that he thought it looked as if they were not saving, but devouring the kingdom, as if they had made a conquest and were falling on the prey; that it straightened him also in considering other people, who, he had reason to say, had much merit, and ought to have some expectation also; but besides, he thought it would in the end create jealousy and uneasiness in the people, and that if they did not think hard of him, (the king) they would be sure to do so of the gentlemen themselves; that they would be reproached with aiming at aggrandizing themselves, and seeking their private advantages, not the publick good; that heaping many offices upon one man, was generally of evil consequence to the person, and brought with it the enmity of those who went without them, and exposed men to many reflections, not to mention the inconveniences which attended the government itself from such a practice.

"It seems, my lord," says the relator, "these things, however pungent, did not affect my Lord Sidney, so as to make him abate his importunities, or that his majesty tied himself up so strictly, as to deny his lordship what he then sought; nay, he obtained after that to be deputy or viceroy of Ireland. But the king having declared himself so

openly at that time, and afterwards on another occasion of like nature, was a means to prevent the importunities of a great many courtiers, who were, before that, resolved to lose nothing for want of asking for: After that time they ceased pushing at that rate they did before; which was very much to his majesty's satisfaction.

"The noble lord, I have mentioned, joined with this latter part of the discourse with great freedom, and said it was true: The king had some difficulty with his courtiers upon that head; and that the importunity of some men, for heaping place upon place, were very scandalous and offensive; and indeed, says his lordship, I think it is one of the worst things that attends any court, but especially this of England, that men, when they deserve well of their prince, and of their country, know how to do any thing better than how to be satisfied with such rewards as are suitable to their services, and to their merit; but the favour of their prince is thought to be an advantage which they ought to make use of to improve their estates only, and to make a prey of their country, pushing at every thing they can make themselves masters of. This scandalous practice," continued he, "has often been the ruin of the greatest favourites; and never fails to fill the people with discontents and uneasiness, at least at those favourites, if not at their masters; as was the case of Cardinal Woolsey and Henry the Eighth, the Earl of Leicester and Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Somerset and King James the First, the Duke of Buckingham and King Charles the First, and of many others both before and since.

"Nor, said his lordship, does it fall out thus, but the publick reproaches affect the sovereign himself: Who albeit the error lies in the avaricious favourite, grasping too eagerly, where a good and gracious master is loth to deny him any thing; yet the publick murmurings oftentimes are pointed at the said sovereign himself, who is thought wanting to his crown and dignity, in not restraining his bounty, and in not limiting his favours by the dimensions of the persons merits, which oftentimes is narrow enough, rather than by his own royal goodness; the favourite," continues he, "has but small regard to the reputation of his master's judgment, as well as to his own, who will accept of any exorbitant grant which he must know is superior to the character he bears, and to the services he has been able to perform, because he knows it will open the mouths of the people against his said master, as well as against himself, and therefore," says he, "it was that many people blamed the late Earl of P——d for contriving a grant for himself so great, that the House of Commons took umbrage at and addressed the king not to pass it. It is true, said his lordship, the Earl of P——d had deserved very well of the king, and also of the whole nation, and no man would have thought hard, that he should be rewarded with something very considerable; but when the demand came to that height, as to seek what neither the crown ought to bestow, or any subject less than the heir apparent to receive, (viz.) the revenues of the principality of Wales, this seemed to reflect so much on the modesty of the person to receive it, that it was very ill taken by abundance of people, it brought envy and hard thoughts with it on the earl; and I have heard," said he, "some sought to improve it to a reproach upon the conduct of the king himself."

After these things had been thus largely discoursed, and many people of the secret history of those times laid open by this gentleman, which I omit, because it does not relate to the subject which I am now discoursing of, but perhaps may be useful on a farther occasion, which may follow this part. My lord having finished his discourse of pluralities of offices in the state, turning to the gentleman mentioned before, said his lordship, "but, Sir——, pray give me leave to ask you one brief question, What do you infer from all that has been said? Do you hereby argue, that King William ought to have employed those men in the administration, who had been guilty of the malversation of the preceding reign; or do you repeat this invidiously, by way of reproach, upon the memory of the persons, or party, who were immediately concerned? If either

of those is what you aim at, I have something farther to enquire, but first desire you will explain yourself: The gentleman replied, without the least hesitation, thus: "Your lordship cannot infer that either of these is the meaning of my discourse. I think it is very evident, that the publick are under great mistakes about the conduct of the king and people, and go away with reproach in their thoughts upon his character, conceiving prejudice in their minds against his majesty's prudence and wisdom, if not against his sincerity, for want of remembering what was done by him before the time in which what they speak of was transacted.

"It cannot reasonably be imagined, that a prince of such penetration as was King William, could be so overseen as to put the government of the kingdom *immediately*, pray my lord observe the words, I say, immediately, into the hands of that very set of people, who had endeavoured to dispossess him of his power; this had been to have built up with one hand, and to have pulled down with another; and to have put a mark of infamy upon the Revolution itself, and to have acted against himself: And truly, my lord," said he, "it has seemed very wonderful to me, that so inconsistent a notion should have prevailed so much on the thoughts of men, to the prejudice of his majesty's wisdom in a thing so secret, and which your lordship and so many thousands now living are witnesses to; 'tis not therefore the question," added he, "whether the king did well in employing these men; but whether he did not, before one of them was employed, put himself and the whole administration into other hands, and whether he was not obliged by their ill conduct, their avarice, their engrossing pluralities of places, their corruption, extortion, and other bad practices in the government. If this part is true, as, I believe, I have made evident to your lordship, then, my lord, all the reflections that are made upon the king for employing King James's old instruments fall to the ground, and this is one part of what is intended by looking back to these things.

"But, my lord," says this relator, "there is yet another material thing couched in these things, which though your lordship is apprized of, yet there may be many people who know nothing of it; and this relates to the charge which some froward men bring against his majesty, for passing a general pardon, in which, besides what your lordship has observed from King William's own mouth, of his majesty's desire to put all his subjects into a condition to make amends for their former miscarriages, and give them opportunity to deserve well of him for the future; I say besides, I wish your lordship would recollect your memory in the particulars following:

"1. Whether in that part, which I mentioned just now, relating to the conduct of some of those people who his majesty first entrusted, and wherein I hinted that they entered into dangerous consultations for the shewing their resentments, some of them had not brought themselves into a condition, which made them stand more in need of a general pardon, than even Jefferies himself, or any of the people, who, they say, were the instruments of King James's arbitrary government.

"2. Whether the general pardon, which was issued by the king, immediately following the Revolution, was not a condition of the private accommodation made between the king and these men, who, having been made sensible of their error, and being in the hands of the most generous prince in the world, were received into favour, contrary to their expectation as well as to their merit; and whether that pardon, however it seemed to be, for King James's people and reign, was not obtained by some of these very men, whose party, not knowing the occasion, made such loud complaints of the unreasonableness of the king's clemency, clamoured for justice upon offenders, little dreaming who ought to be the first that should have felt the effect of it."

My lord seemed surprised at this part, and would have been thought not to have heard of it before; but the relator gave him a circumstance, and three names of the great men, which I must not repeat, which made it evident to the company, that his

lordship was too well acquainted with the case, to need any information, upon which his lordship appearing in some confusion, said, they were things not to be spoken of.

The relator, as if he thought himself a little injured in that restraint, asked his lordship's pardon for differing with him in that point, because he said the king was censured for that very action, which the crimes of those men extorted from his clemency; and his majesty kept the secret to his own prejudice, he did not think any man that had a value for his majesty's honour and character, should suffer it to be buried with him, and that were he to go to the bottom of these matters, which could not be in a private conversation, he could let him know, that the treatment which his majesty received from these men was such as was inconsistent, not only with their duty, but even with their principles, on which the Revolution itself was founded, and that he wondered to hear any man that knew these things, should blame the king for employing other hands; that for his part, the only thing that he could blame the king's conduct in was, that he suffered these things to be hushed up, and buried his resentment in silence, which, said he, your lordship knows very well, was not for want of a sense of the ungrateful and dishonest part of it, but from a wise reflection upon the consequences of it, which must have been fatal to the persons, and must have left the Revolution naked and friendless; the king not knowing in that surprise, what sort of people to take by the hand next, he foresaw a furious war coming on the English nation, which was unsettled; several that have appeared for the Revolution had yet opposed the placing the crown on his head, and protested against it in the House of Peers. The French were powerful both by sea and land, their fleet equal to the English and Dutch, though joined together; their land forces, made up of veteran troops, almost as numerous as all the standing forces of Christendom. Ireland was in a tumult, King James preparing to land there; the protestants distressed in the north of Ireland, and driven out of all their strength, but Londonderry and Inniskilling; the Highlands of Scotland not reduced, and the army on that side no match for them; these and many other things moved his majesty's prudence to cover his resentment at the conduct I have mentioned, and to hasten out a pardon, that all sides being made easy, the whole body of the people might stand upon even terms, and have an opportunity put into their hands to deserve well of the king, and those that had been culpable might have an occasion to retrieve their mistakes by better conduct. If any of these made use of the king's clemency, to encourage them in new designs against their country, their guilt was the greater; but I cannot see how the king can with justice be reproached, the circumstances in which his affairs stood being considered; if his clemency was too great, it was in not relating the conduct of those men, as much as in not punishing King James's people.

"But, my lord," said this gentleman, "the subsequent conduct of the king will farther clear up this matter, and will prove past contradiction what I have already observed; for that when his majesty had found reason to change hands, and dismiss many of those people, who, as I said before, had been first entrusted, and had used him so ill, he did not even then make an effectual thorough change, but put in men of the same stamp as those were who were dismissed, having an aversion always to the hot men of the other side; neither was it till the year 1691, which was almost three years after the Revolution, that they came into any considerable posts; nor had it been so then, if the ill conduct of the other people had not brought them to lose ground, and given their enemies opportunity to form that which is now called The Country Party; which country party," said he, "have ever since built themselves up by the mistakes of the other, found means to make themselves necessary to the king, for the carrying on his affairs in the House of Commons, where they began to be formidable."

His lordship criticized here upon the time, and told him he thought he was mista-

ken as to the periods of things, for that the king took in several of the people they were speaking of much sooner than that; but, says he, Who did he punish?

The relator replied, "that his lordship had given a very good answer to that question himself, in the words he had quoted from the king's own mouth, and that he needed not a better authority, viz. That King James had made himself the scape goat; and that he need not put his lordship in mind, that the scape goat in the old law was to bear the sins of the people, and be turned into the wilderness; which suffering was accepted by heaven instead of a punishment upon the people. So that it was evident his majesty's meaning was, that King James having suffered the loss of his crown, and the dispossessing his supposed posterity, and the banishment of himself and family from his dominions, was a sufficient sacrifice for all those who adhered to him: That besides this, some who fled with the king were prosecuted to a final banishment from their country, and have continued under that sentence to this hour; and the Lord Dartmouth and Lord Jefferies were kept prisoners in the Tower to the time of their death, though without any prosecution; which however is a kind of putting to death: So that his lordship could not say there was no punishment, though there was not much blood spilt."

As to the chronology of his discourse, he told his lordship that he referred to the history of the times they were talking of; and that the taking the people his lordship named into service stood thus:

Sir John Trevor, sworn of the privy council, not till after he was chosen speaker of the House of Commons, viz. January 1, 1690.

The admirals were not appointed till after Lord Townshend (though the man that had brought the king over) had, as was generally believed, failed of his duty, and, as the king believed, had betrayed the Dutch admiral into the hands of the French; or, for want of courage, abandoned him. The new admirals were Sir John Ashby, Sir Richard Haddock, and Mr Killegrew; appointed August the 9th, 1690.

The first great remove of revolution officers was made April the 25th, 1691.

Colonel Kirk, one of King James's officers, after faithfully relieving Londonderry when Colonel Richards had basely neglected it; and after faithfully and gallantly behaving at the Boyne, July 1, 1690, was not made a general officer till the 31st of August, 1691.

The Earl of Rochester, Ranelagh, Lord Cornwallis, and Sir Edward Seymour, notwithstanding the indemnity, were not received till March the 6th, 1691, and the rest in their order; so that, as he said, the administration of the government rested in the hands of the Revolution party above two years; but that, said he, which was farther to be remarked was, that the king did not take those steps in those removes, till the other people had by their mismanagement so disgusted the kingdom, that their interest declined manifestly, as appeared in the House of Commons, from which change it was thought the king guided most of his measures; and therefore he said, his lordship, if these things were examined more nicely, would not find that he had been mistaken in his reckoning at all.

His lordship seemed not willing to enter farther into this discourse; but told him, he did not think to have spoken so much of these affairs at that time; that he was sorry to hear some part of his discourse, being in hopes many of those things had been buried in oblivion; that it was true, it was very frequent in the mouths of the people, that the pardon granted by the king was a favour only to the jacobite party, and he had often joined in it, not calling to mind that particular circumstance, which though it had some truth in it, yet had never made much noise, nor did he think it could be of any use to revive it.

The relator replied, he was as willing to forget mistakes as his lordship, and would be as cautious of repeating these things as possible, except when he heard the king re-

proached as a breaker of his engagements, and as one disregarding his own declaration; and that then he could not in justice restrain himself from so clear a vindication of his majesty's conduct, which he thought was his duty as a subject.

After this the business of the day calling them off for some time, we had no more of that discourse; but at our next meeting, there being not a sufficient number of the company met to go upon their affairs, the discourse of these things was demanded, wherein the whole secret of the famous debate, about breaking the army, was taken notice of; in which this relator gave a surprising account of the first consultation on that affair, and how the greatest part of those who fell upon the king on account of a standing army, were of the number of those very men who were most intense in the Revolution; and many of them such as the king having first employed, he had been obliged to dismiss again for their ill conduct.

There he gave us an account of the answer which his late majesty gave to those officers of the army, who offered him to turn the parliament out of doors, and make him an absolute king; and how the king generously chose, however unkindly he thought himself used, to give up all his friends and all his forces, rather than to make the least encroachment on the liberties of the subject.

He gave us also a secret history of the offer made by the select number of English gentlemen to his majesty, for the raising the 10,000 men for the Dutch by private subscription; that at the beginning of the last war the States-General being insulted by the French, pressed so earnestly for that supply, according to the treaty made with them in 1676, by King Charles II. and that his majesty had in vain moved it three times in the House of Commons.

He told us on what foot that project was laid, who were the persons concerned in it, who was sent over to Holland about it, what answer was given to it, and why it was not accepted at that time.

He entered into a particular scheme of the king's measures for the new war, and how his majesty thought it ought or ought not be carried on; and especially the king's reasons for, and opinion of, the recovery of Spain.

He gave us a plan of the design his majesty had laid for a South-Sea company, by a conquest on the continent of America, as well on the Gulph of Mexico, as on the coast of the South-Sea; upon the foot whereof that clause was inserted in the Grand Alliance, that whatever the English conquered in the Spanish West-Indies should be their own.

But as I have not room for these things in this short tract, and also that they do not relate to the transactions of the one year, to which I am confined by my title, I reserve these things, and several others equally instructing, to a farther occasion, if a second part of this affair should be thought fit to be published.

To conclude this brief history, I observe, that it should seem, if these things are true, that in this age we are under very great mistakes concerning the true state of affairs in the first years of the Revolution of 1688, and conduct of King William in the beginning of his reign, but that we are quite wrong in all our notions of the behaviour of these men, whom we esteem famous for their concern in that great transaction of the Revolution of 1688; and that many of them did not act with that disinterested view for the good of their country, as they are generally supposed to have done.

That aggrandizing themselves, engrossing favours, multiplying places, and carrying on party interest, appeared to be the sum of their designs; and that many of them too much pursued these things, at the expence of their country's tranquillity, if not at the expence of their own morals.

That the scandal raised upon the conduct of the king, for having pardoned those for the concern they had for the management of affairs under King James, is altogether unjust; and that there is more in that affair than the world has been made acquainted with.

That by these unjust managements, the great opportunity of crushing the evil spirit of division and dissension in England, and fixing us all in a peaceable and unanimous concurrence with, and subjection to, a just and glorious king, was lost.

An Index to the Report of the Secret Committee: By which, in a short View, the Reader is presented with the Substance of it. In a Letter to a Friend.

When George I.'s parliament was assembled, one of the first steps was to appoint a secret committee of twenty members, to enquire into the negociations which had preceded the peace of Utrecht, and the commercial treaty with France. Robert Walpole was chosen their chairman, an honour which, in consequence of his illness, was transferred to Stanhope. In about two months they produced their report, of which Tindal gives the following account:—

"The committee of secrecy having finished their report, which was drawn up with indefatigable pains by Mr Walpole, that gentleman, as chairman, on the 9th of June, acquainted the House, That he had a report to present, according to their order, but was commanded by the committee to make a motion before he read it. That there were in the report matters of the highest importance. That, although the committee had power to send for persons, papers, and records, they did not think fit to make use thereof, believing it to be necessary, in order to bring offenders to justice, that some persons should be secure, before it is possible they should know what they are to be examined to; and lest they should have notice, from what should be read, to make their escape, he was commanded to move, that a warrant may be issued by Mr Speaker to apprehend certain persons, who should be named to him by the chairman of the committee; and that no members may be permitted to go out of the House. The warrant being ordered, and the doors locked, several persons were named to the Speaker by Mr Walpole; particularly Mr Matthew Prior and Mr Thomas Harley, who were taken into custody of the serjeant-at-arms. Then Mr Walpole read the report, which lasted from one o'clock till about six in the afternoon, when, a motion being made by the friends of the late ministry, that the further consideration of it should be adjourned till the next morning, it was carried in the negative by two hundred and eighty-two voices against one hundred and seventy-one; and ordered, that the report be now read: Upon which, the clerk of the House having read till half an hour past eight, the further consideration of it was adjourned till the next day. The report consisted of, 1. The clandestine negociations with Monsieur Mesnager, which produced two sets of preliminary articles; the one private and special for Great-Britain only; the other general for all the allies. 2. The extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht. 3. The trifling, and amusements of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, by the connivance of the British ministers. 4. The negociations about the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy. 5. The fatal suspension of arms. 6. The seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the allies, and favour the French. 7. The Duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general. 8. The Lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negociate a separate peace. 9. Mr Prior's and the Duke of Shrewsbury's negociations in France. 10. The precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht. The committee also offered to the House what they found material in the papers referred to them concerning the Catalans and the Pretender, and a letter from the Earl of Oxford to the queen, with an account of public affairs from August the 18th, 1710, to June the 19th, 1714; and they concluded with taking notice of several glaring inconsistencies, which are obvious, by comparing the late queen's declarations with the measures which her ministers presumed to take in carrying on those important negociations."—RAPIN's *History of England, Tindal's Continuation, vol. iv, p.* 426. *fol. London* 1747.

In consequence of these voluminous reports, which it took nearly two days to read over to the House, Oxford was suspected, Bolingbroke fled, and Prior was imprisoned.

SIR,

SINCE you are pleased to desire from me an account of the committee of secrecy's report about the late peace, &c. I think the best way of satisfying you, is to give you a summary index of the most remarkable passages, that you may readily know where to turn to them in the report itself, which is of such importance, that no true Briton ought to be without it: and I am satisfied, that every honest man will think it ought to be conveyed to posterity, as one of the most valuable legacies that can be left them.

To begin then.—You will find, (pag. 1.) that the late ministry being sensible their own papers would expose them, have taken care to destroy or carry off several books, letters, and papers referred to in others that have been found, which occasions our being left in the dark as to some of their very material correspondencies, and by consequence interrupts the thread of their black history during their four last years; yet Providence has been so kind to us, as to preserve enough to prove that they betrayed the queen, their country, and our allies in the basest manner that ever was heard of.

It appears by a paper, called, The first Propositions of France, signed by Monsieur de Torcy, April 22, 1711, N. S. marked number 1. in the Appendix, that France designed from the beginning to retain Spain and the West-Indies, to create jealousies among the allies, and to make a separate peace.

It likewise appears, that these French propositions were transmitted by Mr St John, April 27, O. S. to the Lord Raby (now Earl of Strafford) the queen's ambassador at the Hague, that they might be communicated to the States Pensionary, with assurances from her majesty, That in peace and war she would act in perfect concert with the States.

It appears, pag. 2. That notwithstanding these assurances, the States had no notice from our ministry of the negociations that were carrying on for above five months together betwixt England and France, till after the special preliminaries were signed by our ministers, and the seven general preliminaries were also concluded by them, and sent to the States.

That Mr St John ordered the Lord Raby, in the queen's name, to hasten home, because our ministry expected very soon to have many intrigues upon the *tapis* to confer with him about; adding, that Britain had gone so much too far in weaving her interest into that of the continent, that it would prove no easy task to disentangle our affairs, without tearing or rending.

Lord Raby declares, he will venture and undertake any thing to serve the queen, that he may be boldly trusted with the real intentions, and would never grudge any danger and pains to serve her. And, pag. 3. he desires this frank declaration might be communicated to the Duke of Shrewsbury and Mr Harley.

It does not appear upon what pretence such solemn assurances to the Dutch were dispensed with as soon as made; for all transactions betwixt England and France during this time are entirely suppressed, except two or three papers; only in the Lord Strafford's instructions, October 1, 1711, these transactions are said to have been carried on by papers sent backward and forward, and much time spent in it. The first paper found, is of July 1, called Private Propositions sent to Mr Prior from England, which is number 2. in the Appendix; and it is proposed that the secret should be inviolably kept, till divulged by mutual consent.

The next paper is called Mr Prior's Authority, signed at top Anne R. and at bottom A. R. not countersigned, without a date, and the contents are, "Mr Prior is fully in-

structed and authorized to communicate to France our preliminary demands, and bring back an answer;" he had also orders to see if France had full powers from Spain.

In all things that concerned the allies, the English proposals are as dark and general as those of France; and the English ministers said in a conference with Mesnager, "That the principle upon which they treated all along, was, that France should consent to adjust the interests of Great Britain in the first place, that the queen could never depart from it, and that it was absolutely necessary to remit the discussion of the particular interests of the allies in general conferences."

By this it appears, that the minister of France was instructed to treat of the interests of the allies, which the English ministry would by no means consent to, but were determined to carry on a separate negotiation with France, contrary to the eighth article of the Grand Alliance, and thereby put the negotiation into a method more advantageous for France, than she had proposed, or could hope for.

Pag. 4. It appears in the very infancy of the negociation, "That the trade of the world, and the entire Spanish monarchy, are given up by the English ministry, contrary to the repeated addresses of parliaments, and the declared sense of the queen, for mere verbal assurances, that the crown of France and Spain should never be united."

Mr Mesnager, upon his arrival here, had frequent conferences with our ministers, and full powers, dated August 3, 1711, to treat and conclude with them, or the ministers of any of the allies then in war with France, that should have anthority to do it.

The lord treasurer, lord chamberlain, Lord Dartmouth, and Mr St John, met Mesnager, September 1711, in the evening, at Mr Prior's house, by order of a committee of council, where Mesnager delivered the French king's answer signed, to the demands sent from England; which demands and answers were signed as the secret preliminaries betwixt Britain and France, September 27, 1711, by Mesnager for France, Lord Dartmouth and Mr St John for Britain.

Mr St John, in his letter to the queen that same night, sent a warrant and full powers to be signed by her, in order to pass the great seal next day; by which the Earl of Oxford, Duke of Bucks, the Bishop of Bristol, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Earl Powlet, Earl of Dartmouth, Henry St John, and Matthew Prior, Esqs. were to be constituted plenipotentiaries to treat with Mesnager.

The queen signed a warrant under the signet, directing the lord-keeper to put the great seal to an instrument, commissioning himself, and others therein named, to treat with Mesnager. This warrant is dated the 17th of September, though it is manifest by Mr St John's letter, it was not thought of till the 20th. This ante-dating seems designed to justify the ministers in meeting and concurring with the queen's enemies, previous to the warrant.

Page 5. But what is more strange is, that after Mr St John had represented it to the queen as the unanimous opinion of her ministers, that full powers must immediately pass the great seal, to authorise them to treat with Mesnager, these powers should be laid aside, and the preliminaries be signed by Lord Dartmouth and Mr St John, by virtue of a warrant directed to them two only, signed by the queen at top and bottom, and countersigned by nobody.

Those ministers, included in the powers which were not passed, seemed conscious to themselves of the danger in privately meeting with the ministers of France, till this separate negociation was brought to maturity, and avoided to become parties, when the treaty was to be signed and executed.

This great care for their own persons, and little regard for the honour and interest of their queen and country, appears through this whole separate negociation; there being not one paper of powers or instructions countersigned by any minister, but the queen's name exposed to cover all.

It appears by the judicious reflections of the committee in this and the next page,

that these special preliminaries sacrificed the general interest of Europe, and that the demands in them made for Great Britain were inconsiderable in themselves, and since rendered ineffectual: That nothing possibly could be said less with regard to the succession; the queen is not to be owned till the conclusion of the peace, not a word of removing the Pretender, nor any engagement not to support him in any attempt upon the nation. The article of commerce so doubtfully worded, that France only could make advantage of it; that of Dunkirk so worded, as must needs bring great prejudice to our allies, and little advantage to us: That the assiento-contract was calculated only for private advantage; that the allowance of 15 per cent. upon our manufactures sent to Spain, was given up by our ministry, who confessed themselves to be imposed upon; yet love to peace induced them to take such things for real securities, which they owned to be none.

Page 6. They gave the French what they desired as to Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland; and, contrary to the eighth article of the Grand Alliance, gave the trade of the Spanish West Indies to France, and accepted of articles by powers from King Philip: Yet afterwards they publickly disowned their intentions of leaving him any part of the Spanish monarchy. And though they pretended that the queen would never depart from settling the interests of Great-Britain in the first place, they declared by these preliminaries, that the King of France should not be obliged to make them good, till a general peace was signed. These were the terms upon which our allies were forced to accept of such a peace as France thought fit to impose upon them, and that our ministers might be enabled to engage the queen to make the conclusion of the general peace easy to France.

Thus our ministry brought the queen to this fatal dilemma, that she must either go on in the measures of France, or the French had it in their power, by exposing such a notorious breach of national faith, to divest the queen of all her confederates.

Page 7. The French attempted to improve it for that end; for three months before these articles were signed, M. Torcy had writ to Holland, that the French had begun a negotiation in England.

That same day the special preliminaries betwixt us and France were signed, another set of general preliminaries on the part of France, which are No. 7. in the Appendix, were signed by Mesnager only, to be sent into Holland, as the foundation of a general peace, after the lord treasurer had licked them over to make them more palatable abroad.

N. B. These were the preliminaries which Count Gallas was forbid our court for finding fault with, and getting published.

The same day, a separate article was signed in favour of the Duke of Savoy by Mesnager. Lord Strafford's instructions for returning to Holland, were dated Oct. 1, O. S. 1711; and though a separate treaty had been thus signed by us, he was to urge the confederates to hold fast together; and if the Dutch ministers should express their apprehensions of any such private agreement, he is ordered by evasive answers to avoid giving them satisfaction concerning it, and at the same time to deliver them the preliminaries signed by Mesnager, as the foundation of a general peace. This alarmed the Dutch, who declared them not sufficient; and they sent M. Buys to entreat her majesty to alter her resolutions. But, page 8. Mr St John, in his letter to Lord Strafford, Oct. 9, shewed it was to no purpose; "For certain it is," says he, "that her majesty has so far determined upon her measures, that those will deceive themselves, who imagine, by delay or other artifices, to break them."

Mr St John, at the same time, gave intelligence of all the queen's counsels to France, particularly of my Lord Strafford's instructions; and though the States gave in a paper, which is No. 9. in the Appendix, that would have moved any set of men not already determined, yet Mr St John, in his letter to the Abbot Gaultier, Oct. 29, No. 10. in the Appendix, and in one to M. Torcy of the same date, No. 71. in the Appendix, as-

sures them; that the queen continued firm to have the conferences opened on the articles signed by Mesnager; said it was absolutely necessary the French king should give her majesty such explications of his intentions in respect to the particular interests of the allies, as he shall think proper, to engage them to come more easily into the general negotiation; and that he might assure himself, the queen would make no other use of that trust, but to advance the negotiation.

Mr St John adds, "I assure you, if the king offer a plan of specifick preliminaries, the queen will never communicate it to her allies; and that if Gaultier returned with these marks of confidence, our parliament would be as much inclinable to peace as ever it was to war." Here our ministry, after seven months treating with France, beg that they may have some intimations at least of what France designed for the allies.

The French king's return is dated Nov. 18, 1711. No. 11. in the Appendix, accompanied with a letter from M. Torcy to Mr St John, telling him, his majesty wholly depends upon the secrecy and good use you will make of the entire confidence he testifies to the queen; and the King of France extols her firmness, and his great pleasure in the new marks of her resolution.

Pag. 9. The French king, not satisfied with having Spain and the West Indies for his grandson, proposes to strip the emperor of his dominions in Italy. Nothing had at this time been demanded by our ministry of France concerning the Netherlands; and if the Dutch would not accept of this scheme, they were to be punished with the loss of their trade. Mr St John, in his letter November 25, thanks Mr Torcy for communicating this scheme, promises to keep it secret; that the utmost efforts should be used in England to fix the pretensions of the allies, and that they would endeavour to finish the treaty so soon, as not to be exposed to another campaign.

In the general instructions to our plenipo's, they are ordered to insist upon it, that the reasonable satisfaction expected by the allies, and which the French king promised, cannot be obtained, if Spain and the West Indies be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon; though by the sixth and seventh articles of the special preliminaries, Append. No. 4. Philip is owned as King of Spain, and is to grant us the Assiento-trade for thirty years.

Our ministers, in their general instructions, were ordered to concert measures with those of the allies, and did so at first. Upon which, M. Torcy complained in his letter to Mr St John, and desired they might have precise instructions to concert with the French plenipotentiaries, as the king had ordered his to establish a strict intimacy with the queen's.

At the first general conference, Lord Strafford declared, that the queen had received the general propositions as a foundation for a treaty, but they were binding to France only; to which the French ministers readily assented: But the allies were kept ignorant of the special preliminaries agreed on between us and France, which on all occasions had been publickly disowned.

Pag. 10. The 11th of February 1711-12, the French delivered a specifick explanation of the general preliminaries signed by Mesnager, Numb. 13 in the Appendix; wherein he makes his first offers in the name and by virtue of powers from his grandson as King of Spain. This was received by the allies with the greatest indignation, and made our plenipo's so uneasy, that they sent for farther instructions.

Mr St John comforts them, told them Mr Harley would set out in a few days, fully instructed in all the queen's views and desires; but he was too useful to be spared, till the House of Commons was perfectly secured to the queen's interest and the peace, which he thought they were absolutely now. Mr St John acquainted M. Torcy with the same, and that Mr Harley was to be sent with the queen's final instructions to her plenipotentiaries. He referred M. Torcy to M. Gaultier for a more large explanation of Mr Harley's commission, and what the queen hoped the French king would do, to

co-operate with her. All matters relating to the Pretender were referred to Gaultier and Torcy commends the conduct of our court in managing the Commons, and particularly their making them know that the nation was abused by its allies; and the French king assured himself, that those who managed the queen's affairs with so much capacity, knew how to curb the passion of the turbulent party in the upper house.

Pag. 11. The allies drew up their respective demands at Utrecht, to communicate them to each other, and agreed to insert a clause for a just and reasonable satisfaction to all the rest. C. Sinzendorf insisted, that the restitution of the Spanish monarchy should be expressly mentioned, which the Dutch agreed to. This puzzled our plenipo's, who were the only ministers that did not mention Spain and the Indies, but only insisted on a just and reasonable satisfaction for the queen's allies.

The French refused to give in their answers in writing, and were supported in it by our ministers; though, to cheat the allies, they joined in the like demand. The States refused to treat on any other terms; which Lord Strafford tells Mr St John, was the last convulsive pang of an expiring faction; and that the French would give in no answer in writing, till they saw all things agreed betwixt their court and ours, well knowing their business was not to be done at Utrecht, but by a negotiation directly betwixt London and Versailles.

About the beginning of April, the French plenipotentiaries communicated to ours a plan for a general peace, with marginal notes in a distinct column, of what they were told would be absolutely necessary, but under the highest obligation of secrecy to discover nothing of it to the rest of the allies. This they took as a great mark of confidence, engaged the allies should know nothing of it, and sent it with the same caution to Mr St John; though no doubt it was concerted here, and sent by Mr Harley to Utrecht, and by Gaultier to France.

Pag. 12. Mr St John ordered the plenipo's to tell the Dutch, that the queen would allow them Dendermond and Ghent, quit her pretensions to Ostend, and settle their trade to Spain and the West-Indies as at the death of the late King of Spain, except the Assiento; and to tell them in plain terms, that her majesty will take her measures according to their answer.

The summary of the whole proceeding at Utrecht appears to be this: A congress was necessary to be opened, that the allies might in appearance have the opportunity of treating and adjusting their several pretensions. Our ministers were by instructions to act in concert with the allies, but really acted in concert with the French. The allies could not be hindered to give in their specifick demands, but the French were to gain time by necessary delays, while the negotiations were carried on directly betwixt England and France; or rather all the terms prescribed by France, and all particulars relating to the interest of the allies, were transacted betwixt the ministers of England and France, under the highest obligations of secrecy. The Dutch are pressed to come into the queen's measures, without being acquainted what they were; and because they would not consent to they knew not what, orders are sent to the Duke of Ormond to engage neither in siege or battle; and the great projects being ready to be executed on the other side of the water, the queen declares herself, from their conduct, to be under no obligation whatsoever to the States-General. And thus the alliance betwixt Great-Britain and her principal ally is declared to be dissolved, before any thing was finally agreed on betwixt us and France, or we had the least security for our own trade, or any other advantages that were to accrue to us.

Pag. 13. We have no account of the debates betwixt our court and that of France about the renunciation; which first came from England, and was made an article in the private propositions sent over by Mr Prior; but hitherto the sense of France and Spain upon that article was not so much as asked. So that it is surprizing the ministry had gone such lengths in promoting the measures of France, without the least precaution concerning the monarchy of Spain, wherein they confessed the interest of Great

Britin was more immediately concerned, than in all the other articles of the peace togeher.

But though our ministry valued this renunciation so much, M. Torcy honestly told them, as appears by the letters in the Appendix between him and Mr St John, from Number 15 to 22, That the said renunciation would be null by the fundamental laws of France, according to which the most near prince to the crown is of necessity the heir thereto; that this law is looked upon as the work of him who hath established all monarchies, and we are persuaded in France that God only can abolish it. No renunciation therefore can destroy it; and if the King of Spain should renounce for the sake of peace, and in obedience to the king his grandfather, they would deceive themselves that received it as a sufficient expedient to prevent the mischief we propose to avoid.

But notwithstanding what M. Torcy had so strongly urged about the nullity of the renunciation, Mr St John replied, that we are persuaded in Great-Britain a prince may depart from his right by voluntary cession, and that he in favour of whom that renunciation is made, may be justly supported in his pretensions by the powers that become guarantees of the treaty; and that the queen commands me to tell you, that this article is of so great consequence, as well for yourself as for the rest of Europe, for this present age as for posterity, that she will never agree to continue the negociations, unless this expedient she has proposed be accepted, or some other equally solid. The rest of the debate is in p. 14.

P. 15. This correspondence between the two secretaries for preventing the union of France and Spain, was carried on from about the middle of March to the 18th of May, 1712, and ended at last just as it had began; King Philip making the renunciation, which the French minister so truly told us was null of itself. It is also observable, that no care was taken to render effectual the two only expedients that were ever proposed, for adding any degree of real security to the renunciation; which were, to have it solemnly accepted by the states of France, and to have it confirmed by a general guarantee of all the powers of Europe engaged in the present war. The first was asked indeed, but upon the refusal of France entirely given up by our ministry; the second was made impracticable by our method of negociating, and our treatment of the allies. For a few days after this answer from M. Torcy, Mr St John ordered our plenipo's to declare to the States-General, that the queen was now under no farther obligations whatsoever to them, who with the rest of the allies were to be guarantees of this treaty.

Though our plenipo's proposed to Mr St John, that King Philip should renounce the regency as well as the crown of France, for himself and his posterity, no endeavours were used to obtain it.

The lord treasurer seems to have been concerned in all this negociation, and kept a correspondence with M. Torcy; who, in a letter to Mr St John, expresses his concern for my lord treasurer's indisposition, and said it was very important that those, who, like Mr St John and him, had the principal share in the work of the peace, should have the glory of finishing it.

On the French king's promise, that he would oblige his grandson to accept the alternative of the two kingdoms, communicated by M. Torcy, Mr St John the next day sent orders to the Duke of Ormond to avoid either siege or battle. He also acquainted M. Torcy with it by M. Gualtier; and in a letter to Mr Prior, says, the moment that he read the queen that letter from Torcy, with the French king's said promise, these her orders were dispatched to the duke, and she prevented the French from even making the demand. "I will not say," (adds Mr St John) "that this order saved their army from being beat, but I think in my conscience that it did."

He acquaints M. Torcy, May 12, 1712, that though they had no answer from Madrid about the renunciation, it was necessary the queen should communicate to the

parliament the terms on which a peace might be made. He tells what steps the queen was resolved to take, provided the French king would make them practicable for her. Here he tells him the chief heads of the speech the queen made to the parliament the 6th of June following.

Page 16. That she had agreed on a suspension of arms, to prevent any obstruction to the treaty by the events of the campaign.

Though we were daily told, that the advantages we had obtained for trade was the inducement that engaged us in those measures with France, and that the queen had laid it down as a principle, which she would not depart from, that the interest of Great Britain should in the first place be adjusted, yet no mention is now made of our trade with Spain; and the postponing of a settlement of our general trade by commissaries on both sides at London, was not demanded by France, but voluntarily offered by Mr St John.

M. Torcy acquaints Mr St John, that King Philip had renounced the succession of France; that the King of France expects the queen will make the declarations she had promised, and settle a suspension of arms; which if not immediately done, since the allies talk of investing Quesnoy, we may find ourselves indispensably drawn into some great event, which he hopes will be prevented by the secretary's care and prudence. And though in the answer to the queen's demands nothing material was granted for our trade in North America, that the evacuating of Dunkirk, and admitting an English garrison, is not agreed to; and the receiving a Dutch garrison into Cambray was absolutely refused, which was proposed as a condition of the cessation of arms; Torcy hopes, that as this negociation had been carried on *bona fide* and a mutual confidence, of which they had seen the good effects, the queen would repose an entire confidence in his majesty, without insisting on demands, which may serve only to create jealousies.

Mr St John answers, on the 6th of June, that though the King of France had not answered the queen's demands, according to expectation, which were the conditions on which she was to make such decisive declarations, yet she would not defer going that day to parliament, and make all the declarations that were necessary to render the nation unanimously inclined to the peace: That she had not indeed mentioned to them the suspension of arms, but commands him to acquaint M. Torcy with the resolutions she had taken about it, and insisted upon the renunciation as the capital point of the negociation, for which her majesty would rather depart from almost all the points agreed upon, than to leave that to any uncertainty; *therefore if the king consented to that, and the surrender of Dunkirk, you have only to sign and send to the Duke of Ormond, who at the same time will declare to the allies, that he has orders to act no farther against France. At the same time he acquaints him, that Lord Strafford was going back to Utrecht, with such instructions, according to your desire, as will put the queen's plenipo's in a condition to keep no longer those measures, to which they have hitherto been obliged to submit; but from henceforth they may openly join with those of France, and give law to those who will not submit to just and reasonable conditions.*

Pag. 17. There is a letter from Lord Strafford of April 30, 1712, to Mr St John, advising to a cessation of arms, and that the queen should be resolute in it. *He is pleased that the French are better posted and stronger than we, that our armies marching to Paris this summer is stopped; complains of the temper of the Dutch, and is afraid that those who delight in war should make some desperate attempt.*

The articles of suspension were signed by Mr St John the same day the queen made her speech to the parliament.

Next day he wrote to M. Torcy, expressing his confidence in the French king's good faith, presses the hastening of the peace, and says, it will frighten the Dutch to be

told the queen will act no longer against France; and if they do not hasten to agree, it will lay a burden on their backs, which they are not able to bear.

The orders from Mr St John of the 7th of May to the Duke of Ormond follow next, which being at large in his grace's Conduct, it is needless to mention them here.

Pag. 18. It is observed, that his instructions, signed by her majesty, ought to have been his grace's rule, till countermanded by equal authority, he having no general direction to follow such orders as he should receive from a secretary of state. The duke had assured the Pensionary, that he would carry on the war with vigour, and act in confidence with the allies, especially the Dutch; which assurances were received with the greatest professions of duty and respect to her majesty, and the Dutch had given the like orders to their generals.

Mr St John, on April 25, O. S. before it was known whether France had proposed the alternative of the two monarchies to the King of Spain, hinted what part the duke was to act; and May 10, ordered him not to engage in any siege or battle.

The 25th of May the duke wrote first a private letter to Mr St John with his own hand, promised to obey and to keep the secret; but in his publick letter, takes no notice of his orders to avoid action, but commends his troops, and said, if there were opportunity of a battle, he should not decline it.

Pag. 19. He gives an account of what he did to avoid being suspected by the allies of his correspondence with M. Villars, and acquainting him with the confederate designs; that M. Villars answered, he had the king's orders, and the queen's consent to write to him; and whatever glory was to be acquired against a general of such known valour, he never received more agreeable news, than that they were to be no longer enemies.

It is observed, that there cannot be a better representation of the favourable opportunity lost to the allies, and of the deliverance secured to the French, than the letter of the Dutch deputies to the Duke of Ormond, June 4, Numb. 26. in the Appendix.

Pag. 20. It is observed, that though the French refused to comply with the demands sent from England, as the condition of the suspension of arms, which saved their army, and delivered their king from the apprehensions for the events of the campaign, our ministry lowered the terms, by accepting what could be of no advantage to England, but was of the highest importance to France.

That it was a very extraordinary order, and our ministers seemed to be in extraordinary haste, to deliver up all into the hands of France, when they ordered our general to act by the advice of the French court, and the orders of their general, whose duty it was, by force or stratagem, to gain any advantage he could over the allies.

Pag. 21. Gives the same account of the duke's correspondence with M. Torcy and Villars, that he gives in his Conduct. It is observed, that the unexpected resolutions of the foreigners in the queen's pay, not to abandon their allies to the mercy of France, disconcerted the measures of our court for a short time, and gave the queen a sensible displeasure; but Mr St John wrote to M. Torcy, that she was unalterably resolved not to yield to any difficulties, and that unless they obeyed the duke's orders, she would take it as a declaration against her, and pay them no more.

Pag. 22. That if Dunkirk were surrendered, she would immediately conclude a separate peace with France, and leave the allies a time to submit to such conditions as should be agreed on betwixt her and the king of France.

Mr St John sent this letter inclosed to the duke, and said, it was not fit to be seen by any but himself and M. Torcy; and ordered him, as soon as he had notice of orders being sent for the surrender of Dunkirk, to declare a suspension of arms with France.

This was agreed to by the French king, on condition the queen should immediately make a separate peace, keep no measures with her allies, but leave them time to sub-

mit as above; and he consented to a general cessation, as had been proposed by England, till the treaties could be finished.

Pag. 23. The duke refused to march with Prince Eugene, told him he would march off with the queen's troops; and receives a letter from M. Villars, requiring an account of the motion and strength of the confederates, that he might lose no time to fight them. The duke complied with this next day, told him that he had separated the queen's troops, with such of the foreigners as would obey him, and had stopped the pay of those that would not; which had brought such a burden on the emperor and Holland, as they would not be long able to support. That same day M. Villars invited the duke to encamp on the king's territories as his ally, and next day the duke proclaimed the cessation.

Page 24. It is observed, that had all the foreigners in the queen's pay abandoned the allies, they must have been exposed to be cut off, or taken prisoners at discretion by the French, and the queen's troops might have had the privilege of being last destroyed; but those who had more honour and conscience than thus to abandon the allies, were punished with the loss of their pay and subsidies, which was all our ministry could do against them, for thus disappointing the measures of France.

Lord Strafford put this turn upon Prince Eugene's march, that it had obliged the queen's troops, for their own safety, to declare a cessation. He says, it was better that the Hanoverians separated from us than otherwise, for by this time he may see the wrong advice he has followed, since all must lay the blame of the separation upon him. And in an account of a conversation with the Elector of Hanover's general, July 16, 1712, his lordship declared, the queen had neither made peace nor truce, though this was near a month after the articles of suspension were signed. His lordship at the same time alledged to the said general, that the queen's troops were exposed by Prince Eugene's march; and that general answering, that if they had been attacked, they were sure of the protection and assistance of the Hanover troops, Lord Strafford replied with contempt, if would be a very odd thing when an elector of the empire should be a sufficient protection to Great-Britain. His lordship, in his letter to Mr St John, Dec. 4, 1712, endeavours to ridicule the elector, as the greatest hero for the war.

The cessation of arms being of infinite advantage, and absolutely necessary to France, our ministry gave early into it, if they were not the first advisers of it; and as all their measures tended to advance the interest of the queen's enemies, they could not fail to be zealous for the suspension, which contributed more to these views than any occurrence during the whole negociation; but as they all along wanted appearances, and consulted them more than any real advantages to the kingdom, they thought it necessary to annex some conditions to this important article, that might pass upon the deluded people as a justification of this unprecedented treachery.

Page 25. The demolition of Dunkirk was always so popular, that nothing could strike the imaginations of the people more. This they thought, well improved, would recommend the peace, or at least justify the cessation; and as the nation had nothing more at heart than the disposition of the Spanish monarchy, the renunciation was industriously cried up, and the queen declared from the throne, that France and Spain were thereby more effectually divided than ever. These two articles were made the conditions of the cessation. The latter France easily agreed to, because they knew it was void by their fundamental laws: For the first they came very unwillingly into it, but our ministry resolved to purchase it at any rate, as what would most easily amuse the nation; therefore to obtain it, they not only granted a cessation, but a separate peace. But if we consider what England gained by this cessation, we shall find Dunkirk supplied by a new canal more beautiful to France, and formidable to us, than Dunkirk ever was; and for the renunciation, they fairly told us, that we should deceive ourselves, if we thought it would prevent the union of the two monarchies.

The Dutch having surprised Fort Knock, they formed the like design on Newport or Furnes. The Duke of Ormond knowing this, writes to Lord Bolingbroke, Oct. 21, 1712, that the Marshal de Villars ought to be informed of it, in requital of some informations which he had given the duke; and his grace desired, the thing might be managed with the greatest secrecy.

The cessation being made, M. Torcy calls on Mr St John, by his letter of July 19, for concluding the peace in a few weeks, since the conditions with England were agreed on, and the intentions of the king for the confederates known and approved by her Britannick majesty. Then he proposed the adjusting of the suspension by sea, that no troops, ammunition, or provisions, shall be imported into Catalonia, Portugal, or any other place where the war continues; and that the suspension of arms might also be published there, without waiting till it be settled at Utrecht.

Page 26. All this is agreed to; and Mr St John, in his letter of July 12, is for the queen's not losing a moment. He proposes the kingdom of Sicily for the Duke of Savoy, whose interest the queen had more at heart than any of the allies; and hopes the French king will act in concert with the queen in this matter, to bring the Duke of Savoy into all our measures.

The French had actually offered Sicily to the emperor, says the Bishop of Bristol, in a letter to Mr St John, April 26, 1712, and the Duke of Savoy did not relish the proposal of being king of Sicily, but wondered that the French king, who had been beaten ten years together, should carry off the prize, which the parliament had so often declared to be the just and unavoidable cause of the war, says Lord Peterborough in his letter to Mr St John, Sept. 24, 1712. And in another of Nov. 16, he said, nothing could express the duke's uneasiness after this offer; but to calm and fix his royal highness in the measures of our ministry, the earl was ordered to present a memorial, telling him, that by refusing the offer, he must fall out with the queen and her ministry; and if he accepts, England and France would protect him by their fleets against all insults. This not only robbed the emperor of another considerable ally, but might have engaged us in a war with him: And thus our ministers made us guarantees for conditions advantageous only to France, but never endeavoured a guarantee for the protestant succession, though it had been addressed for by both houses of parliament.

Page 27. The defeat of Lord Albemarle at Denian, July 24, was one of the fatal consequences of the cessation. M. Torcy sends immediately an account, July 26, of this agreeable news to Mr St John, and says, the King of France is persuaded that the advantage which his troops have obtained, will give the queen so much the more pleasure, as it may be a new motive to overcome the obstinacy of the allies; and hopes the queen will effectually bring them to reason, in agreeing immediately with the king, the last measures to be taken for finishing this work. She has the means in her own hands, if she will make use of Ghent and Bruges, which her troops possess, and especially of Ghent; for it depends upon whosoever is master of that place, to make all the designs of the enemy's general miscarry, and to give law to the Dutch.

M. Villars did also give the Duke of Ormond an account of the news, ascribes the victory to the separation of the brave English, insults the allies as common enemies, and desires his grace to transmit this account to the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, and to make a thousand compliments from him to Lord Strafford.

M. Torcy farther proposes, that the queen should put a stop to Count Staremberg's projects in Catalonia, that her troops in Tarragona should not let the Germans into that place; and that orders might be sent from France, as the shortest way, to our men of war in the Mediterranean, to suffer the French ships, then returning from the Levant, to pass unmolested; which was complied with.

Lord Strafford, in a letter to Mr St John, July 17, 1712, advised, That the Duke of Ormond should send a party to march through some of the Dutch towns, to see

whether they would refuse them passage; if they did, that might authorize us to do a thing very agreeable to the queen's troops; adding, that the duke was very hearty in every thing, but really under difficulties by those about him. And in one of July 21, he says, what he mentioned in the former, was the duke's marching to Ghent, that he was now within two days march of it. The English were entire masters of the citadel, and the gates of the town; and had orders to be upon their guard, not to be surprised by the Dutch troops in the town, or any sent from other places. This, says he, is a *coup de parti* for the States, who did not expect it, else they would not have behaved themselves with the *hauteur* as they lately did. The thing was so secretly managed, that till we had marched a day's march on this side the Scarpe, the Dutch and our friends did not perceive our design; which as soon as they did, their surprise and uneasiness were equally great.

The Duke of Ormond having given an account of this march to Lord Bolingbroke, his lordship commended his conduct in a letter, July 18, and said, that it answered in every point what they would have wished; and that the news of Dunkirk could not have been followed by any thing more agreeable, than that of his march to Ghent.

Page 28. Lord Bolingbroke, in a letter of the 22d, says, "That taking possession of Ghent and Bruges, had improved her majesty's views, and he doubted not but it would have a good effect upon the conduct of the allies." Bolingbroke in a letter of July 17 to Torcy, repeats what he had demanded for the Duke of Savoy; said, "It would be important to have his concurrence both in the suspension and treaty between Britain, France, and Spain, which probably would be made without the other allies: That Savoy's declaring for us will be a decisive stroke, and the more necessary, because the King of Prussia had not answered the queen's expectations." July 18, he tells M. Torcy, with great satisfaction, "That the Duke of Ormond has since seized Ghent and Bruges, and that the queen, embracing every opportunity to do the King of France a pleasure, had ordered Admiral Jennings to suffer the French ships from the Levant to pass freely." Thus our ministry gave up the honour of the queen, and the interest of their country, to the dictates of France, in an open manner. Though a suspension of arms in Flanders is the only thing yet declared, Ghent and Bruges are taken from the allies; and though a general cessation by sea and land was not signed till the 12th of August, N. S. Lord Bolingbroke, on July 18, O. S. sent positive orders to our admiral not to intercept the French ships.

M. Torcy, in a letter of July 18, presses the conclusion of the separate peace, desires the Duke of Ormond's troops might continue in Flanders, to make a good use of the towns he was in: And, as the French king could not consent to the Duke of Savoy's having Sicily, except the Elector of Bavaria had the Netherlands, besides his electorate, that the army under the Duke of Ormond might render this very practicable; and as the queen had done a great deal for her ungrateful allies, it would be her glory to do this for a prince of the elector's merit.

This our ministers could not consent to, because the allies had yet an army in Flanders, able to defend their conquests: Lord Bolingbroke hopes this would not be insisted on, because it might be the source of quarrels betwixt England and France, whose strict union and indissolvable friendship had been the view of all our measures so long: Therefore the queen's ministers think, when the King of France has made all reasonable efforts for his allies, he must do something for the love of peace, and a particular interest should yield to the general. "You cannot," says Lord Bolingbroke, "but feel the force of this argument, because you know that this negociation was begun and carried on upon a supposition, that the queen must desist from many conditions, which in rigour she was obliged to procure for her allies."

Page 29. He urged the immediate conclusion of the peace between England, France, and Spain, and insisted upon Sicily for the Duke of Savoy.

The French king agreed to this, upon an ample proviso for satisfaction to the elector; and that a peace be concluded between England, France, Spain, and Savoy. This issued in a design of sending Lord Bolingbroke to France, where he says, in his letter to M. Torcy, "he hoped, under the auspices of the Abbot Gualtier, to salute him at Fontainbleau in a week's time."

The report turns back from these great negociations directly betwixt France and England, to those kept up for form at Utrecht. The States, alarmed at the Duke of Ormond's orders to engage neither in siege nor battle, desired satisfaction from the British plenipo's concerning a matter, wherein they thought religion, liberty, and all that was valuable concerned: And were answered by the Bishop of Bristol, June 3, N. S. according to orders from the queen, that she thought herself under no obligation whatsoever to the States. This declaration was grounded upon their behaviour: But 'tis observable, that this order to the bishop is dated a very few days after the duke's orders not to engage in siege or battle. And in the same letter the bishop gives an account, that M. Consbruck, the emperor's minister, desired to know of him the particulars wherein the care of the emperor's interest did consist; but he was not able to inform him. The Dutch sent an express to their minister at London, with a long and most moving letter to the queen against this proceeding, which is Number 36. in the Appendix; but obtained no answer. Mr St John, in his letter of June 30, O. S. thought the plan of peace, which the queen was to lay before her parliament in three days after, and the proceeding of the Houses upon it, would be a more seasonable and decisive answer to the States, than any he could return. He directs the bishop, in his letter of June 11, to discourse the confederate ministers upon that plan; but first with those of France, to know whether they were willing to give this communication to the allies, and in what manner. The bishop, in his letter of June 28, N. S. says, "the French ministers declared they had no such orders, and refused to declare that the particulars in the queen's speech were their master's offers to the allies, even after the Dutch had consented, July 12, to accept the contents of her majesty's speech *pro materia tractandi*, if the French would at the same time acknowledge them to be their master's offers." But instead of this, the French demanded of our ministers to know the queen's mind upon several parts of the general plan brought over by Gualtier, Number 11. in the Appendix, which are not explained in the queen's speech; that their king expected it, and that he was not to be excluded from making some demands for the Elector of Bavaria, and that Lisle was also to be restored to him.

Pag. 30. When Mr St John communicated the queen's speech to the bishop, which was June 11, N. S. he ordered him to tell the Dutch ministers, that the queen thought a suspension of arms, in the Netherlands at least, to be absolutely necessary; though that very day the cessation was signed by M. Torcy, and had been signed by Bolingbroke five days before.

The bishop, in several following letters, gave an account of the general dissatisfaction and inexpressible consternation of all the allies; that they represented our proceedings as the unavoidable ruin of Europe, religion, liberty, and the faith of treaties. He knew not what he might expect from the unmeasurable rage of the people: The Dutch were uneasy to know what was to be their lot, but he told them with the greatest truth he knew it not. Mr St John, in his answer of June 20, says, "we are not surprised at the clamours and rage of the Dutch, which we foresaw, and were prepared for; that the bishop was in no danger, his character being sacred in a double manner. They kick and flounce like wild beasts caught in a toil, the cords are too strong for them to break: They will soon tire with struggling, and grow tame." Lord Strafford, in his letter of July 9, says, he is glad the pay of the foreigners is stopt; it will make them humble; sharp handling does better with these people than the best words.

June 24. Mr St John writes to the bishop, bids him lay the blame of all upon the

Dutch, and tell them, that her majesty was ready, for the common interest, to forget what was past, and to join with them in the strictest terms of amity and confidence; though four days before, he had assured M. Torcy in the queen's name of a separate peace. And though this was a thing settled on both sides betwixt him and M. Torcy, yet he orders our ministers at Utrecht, in a letter of July 16, to proceed on another foot, and to lose no time for settling a suspension betwixt Britain and France by sea and land, and then to call upon the allies to treat on the foot of the queen's speech.

Pag. 31. They are ordered to press the allies for categorical answers; so that if they complied, the scandal of a separate peace would be avoided; and if they did not, the blame was to be charged on their obstinacy.

We return to Lord Bolingbroke's journey to France. His instructions signed by the queen July 31, are in the Appendix, Numb. 35. to settle the suspension and peace; to insist that the Duke of Savoy may have his barrier and the kingdom of Sicily; to settle the renunciation; to make the Elector of Bavaria King of Sardinia, and to get his dominions in the empire restored, except the Upper Palatinate. When satisfied in those points, he was to treat of the articles relating to Great-Britain, to know the real ultimatum of France upon the several parts of the general plan: And when the peace between England and France was signed, a time for the allies to come in must be fixed, with liberty to obtain better terms for themselves. He was not restrained from concluding, if his endeavours proved ineffectual for Britain; but was positively forbid to conclude, if he did not obtain the terms demanded for the Duke of Savoy.

When Lord Bolingbroke arrived in France, he signed with M. Torcy a general suspension of arms for four months, the 29th of August, 1712, N. S. as he says in his letter, but dated the 19th, according to the treaty, which is Number 29. in the Appendix.

Page 32. We return again to Utrecht. On the 30th of August, our plenipotentiaries acquaint Lord Bolingbroke, in their letter of September 2, N. S. that they had told the ministers of the allies, that if the terms for them fell short of the plan in her majesty's speech, 'twas their own fault, who had rendered things difficult and uncertain; that they obtained the consent of the allies to confer with the ministers of France about renewing the treaty, but parted without coming to a conclusion, because the French insisted on Lisle as an equivalent for Dunkirk. They also demanded Tournay, and would not part with Maubeuge and Conde. Our ministers alledged, this was contrary to the queen's speech, by which the Dutch were to have the entire barrier as demanded in 1709, except two or three places; and they acquainted Mr St John, that those of the Dutch who were most for a peace, resolved to have Tournay and Conde; and if that were refused, they would either come to any terms that France offered, or continue the war at all hazards. Lord Bolingbroke in his answer approves their laying the blame upon the Dutch and the other allies, and says, "France would have yielded Tournay, though much against the grain, but if she refused it now, the fault was entirely their own."

Page 33. He adds, that he could not give them proper instructions in this matter, till it were considered by the lords of the council; but recommends to them the keeping the Dutch in hopes of her majesty's good offices, which will prevent their taking any desperate resolution; and told them, that since the French insisted to have Count Rechteren disavowed for the affront to Mesnager, before any further treaty, it would for some time put off the decision of that great point.

Lord Strafford, by letters of September 13 and 16, says, "the States are mightily sunk with their misfortunes, and knew not well what to do; but insisted upon Tournay as so essential to their barrier, that they had none without it; therefore he wishes they might have it in exchange for Ypres; since he could assure them of it, he believed they would submit to the plan of the queen's speech." And in a letter to Mr

Prior of October 4, 1712, he says, "If we had a mind to make Nick Frog sign with us, we might, he is ready to do it for Tournay; which, if we sign together, we cannot well refuse him; but I expect you will cut that matter short, and I long to hear from you."

Page 34 and 35. The dispute concerning Tournay arose from the French ministers being express in demanding the restitution of it. The British plenipo's conceiving this to be inconsistent with what the queen had declared, refused to open the conferences till they had further orders. "This occasioned great warmth in the cabinet council," says Lord Bolingbroke, "but instead of endeavouring to preserve this town as part of the barrier, which he confesses was so intended in the queen's speech, he proposes an expedient how France might have the town, without the queen's being a party in what would contradict her plan, viz. That the French king should say he did consent to the said plan, but since the Dutch refused it, had rejected the suspension of arms, it was but just he should be recompensed for the charge of the campaign by the restoration of Tournay." In this expedient Lord Bolingbroke was not single, but seconded by the lord treasurer; and France made use of it accordingly; but however the States were so firm and resolute, that they retained Tournay, though they purchased it by coming into the peace without any further demands.

There being something relating to our commerce and North America to be adjusted, Lord Bolingbroke advised our plenipo's to revive the differences betwixt Count Rechterne and Mesnager, that they might gain time, and keep the Dutch in suspence as to their tariff.

Page 36. Lord Bolingbroke writes to Mr Prior, Sept. 19, in France, to this effect: That Cassart's invasion upon our Leeward islands gave a theme to the whigs, and served to awaken passions, that were almost lulled asleep; that we never expected they would attack our colonies, when we were knitting the bands of friendship. Had this been suspected, our fleet should have kept him in awe. Compare this conduct with the queen's, which saved their army from being beat. We depended so much upon the good understanding, that we avoided to fortify our squadron, and forebore to execute designs, which perhaps would have annoyed the French and Spaniards more than any thing that has fallen out during the war.

Sept. 29. Lord Bolingbroke gives a further account to Mr Prior of his services to France, in substance thus: "I have got the affair of the Griffin compounded for 35,000l. to the captors, though she was plain prize; and I could have proved that the pass sent over hither was one of those I delivered at Fontainbleau, four days after the Griffin was in Sir Thomas Hardy's power, though Abbot Gaultier was ready to swear he received it some months before." From whence it appears, though this pass was none of them, that passes had been granted some months before the suspension was concluded.

The latter end of October, Mr Prior was sent by the French king to England; and, by what appears, without leave from the queen. He was thought fit to be entrusted with the great secret, of prevailing with the queen to obtain by her credit what the French king demanded for the Elector of Bavaria; and brought a credential letter to the queen, with very endearing expressions, Append. No. 38.

He was sent back about the middle of November, with new instructions to propose a neutrality in Italy, &c. and a copy of the queen's last instructions to her ministers at Utrecht about the peace, that he might act conformably; and carried a letter from the queen to the French king, Append. No. 39. 'Tis dated November 14, 1712. "As your consummate wisdom (says she to the French king) hath taken the resolution that is most proper to fix the terms of peace, I will not lose a moment to hasten the conclusion of it. I assure you the great facility that you are willing to lend towards it out of a regard to me, shall be made no other use of, than to be employed without any

delay to re-establish the public tranquillity, according to the wishes of us both. By the orders that I give to my ministers at Utrecht, it will appear I do all that's in my power in favour of a prince whose interest is supported by your generosity. The consideration of your friendship will be a very prevailing motive to engage me a-new in his interest, and in that of his family, as occasion shall offer for the future. I send back Mr Prior, who, in continuing to conduct himself in the manner that shall be entirely agreeable to you, does no more than execute to a tittle the orders which I have given him; and among all the proofs of his duty and zeal for my service, I expect in a very particular manner that he should take all possible occasions to repeat to you the esteem and perfect regard that I have for you, and my earnest desire to live with you in a sincere and perpetual friendship."

Notwithstanding all this kindness to France, and that the treaty was ready to be concluded, yet, contrary to agreement, as Lord Bolingbroke owned, they disputed with us about the fishery of Newfoundland, and the cession of Cape Breton. The queen, in her instructions to the Duke of Shrewsbury, gave up Cape Breton, on condition the French king would quit the right of fishing and drying on Newfoundland, reserved to his subjects by the articles signed at London, 27 Sept. 1711, O. S. Append. Numb. 4.

Page 37. The French notwithstanding obtained what they demanded in Newfoundland, and Cape Breton was quitted to them, though her majesty, in her instructions to the duke, claimed Cape Breton, as part of Nova Scotia, which by this treaty was to be restored to her.

It was agreed, May 29, 1712, That Britain and France should treat one another as *gens amicissima*. Upon this foot, the tariff of 1664 granted to Holland, except the four species, was also to be granted to us, and it was so settled by the 8th and 10th articles of the project of commerce; but France, pretending now that this would be too advantageous for us, refused it, till we should reduce our duties as low here as theirs in France.

Lord Bolingbroke complained of this as an open violation of faith, and the removing of a corner-stone, when the French pleaded that our commerce was to be treated by commissioners after signing the peace; but forgot that he himself had proposed it the 24th of May. Being thus caught, he offers an expedient, that the French should strike out of the project of commerce the 9th and 10th articles, and instead thereof, to insert one that he drew, which is the 9th in the treaty. This was so advantageous to the French, that they readily agreed to it; but it was so justly and universally condemned here, that our parliament rejected it; yet this was the price for which our ministry sold Cape Breton and the fishery of Newfoundland.

Page 38. France, having reaped the benefit of the suspension of arms, refused to allow us that of *gens amicissima*; and our ministry being thus circumstanced, were obliged to court France that the queen might be able to tell the parliament, that her own interests were absolutely determined: For they dreaded the discovery of the contrary. Lord Bolingbroke instructed the Duke of Shrewsbury to tell the French court, that, as they desired the queen to precipitate her peace, and leave the confederates to their mercy, she must be enabled to declare her own interests settled; then her plenipo's should publickly declare that they are ready to sign: The rest of the allies must be engaged to conclude, or she will sign without them.

Pag. 39. The distraction our ministry was in, appears further by Lord Bolingbroke's letters to Mr Prior; wherein that lord says, "we stand indeed on the brink of a precipice, but the French stand there too. Pray tell M. Torcy from me, he may get Robin and Henry hanged, but affairs will soon turn back into so much confusion, that he will wish us alive again. Let France satisfy the queen, and let her immediately declare to her parliament, and at the congress, that she is ready to sign." Then he

enumerates the offers he would have the French make to the several allies, which, though he owns to be insufficient if they be not instantly accepted, our separate peace would, sitting the parliament, be addressed for, made, and approved, and the cause of France for once become popular in Britain.

If these overtures were accepted by the allies, let M. Torcy sit down and consider what a bargain would be made for France, and compare the plans of 1709 and 1712. By that of 1709, was meant the preliminaries agreed on at the Hague betwixt the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Townshend, &c. and M. de Torcy, who promised to get them ratified; but the French court did afterwards treacherously refuse it.

Lord Bolingbroke, in another letter to Mr Prior, says, "M. de Torcy has a confidence in you, make use of it once for all upon this occasion, and convince him thoroughly that we must give a different turn to our parliament and people, according to their resolution at this crisis. We are now at the true crisis of our disease: We die at once, or recover at once. Let France depart from that shameful expedient, by which they thought to bubble us out of the advantages which they had solemnly yielded, and all is well; otherwise by God they and we are undone. Send Barton back as soon as possible: The queen can neither delay the meeting of the parliament longer than the 3d, nor speak to the houses till we hear from you. My compliments to M. Torcy, let him know that if they do not agree with the queen, I may perhaps be a refugee; if I am, I promise beforehand, to behave myself better in France, than the French refugees do here. Make the French ashamed of their sneaking chicane; by heaven they treat like pedlars, or which is worse, like attornies."

The lord treasurer was in all this secret, and principally depended upon, as appears by Mr Prior's letters to him, who did not think the queen's orders sufficient, without knowing lord treasurer's particular pleasure.

Page 40. Mr Prior was more free with lord treasurer than with Lord Bolingbroke about the affair of Newfoundland, &c. Mr Prior, as well as the French ministers, thought some points insisted on by our plenipo's at Utrecht to be unreasonable; he doubted not but he had adjusted the affair of Newfoundland to lord treasurer's satisfaction, though he mitigated it a little to Lord Bolingbroke. He hoped the queen would send such an answer to her plenipo's as would cut off all delays; but desired this might not be canvassed in council; and says, he had promised the king such an answer from the queen as he desires.

Mr Prior says to the lord treasurer, your friend M. Torcy is in the last concern, to find the Duke of Shrewsbury's instructions so strict in a point that France cannot give up; begs lord treasurer's positive and distinct orders about it. Says, the Duke of Shrewsbury also desired his orders to finish, and that if the points of Newfoundland, and the tariff of 1664, were settled, the peace may be sent next day, viz. Jan. 24, 1712-13. N. S. to be signed at Utrecht. He begs he may be able to say, he has the immediate commands of the lord treasurer, which does all business here. And in his letter, Feb. 4, promises to follow that lord's private instructions. This was very extraordinary, that a minister, having the queen's instructions, should desire to be released from them by private ones from the lord treasurer; so that to him it seems we owe the giving up of the Newfoundland fishery, and being treated as the *gens amicissima*, for the 9th article of the Treaty of Commerce, which our parliament condemned.

Page 41. The business of North America and commerce being thus determined, France pressed a separate peace with us, and our ministry here agreed to it, while our plenipo's in Holland were in the utmost perplexity and consternation, because the French refused many things which the Dutch took to be agreed on, both by her majesty's speech, and Lord Strafford's declaration. Our plenipotentiaries complained of this to Lord Bolingbroke, who answered them with great joy, Feb. 28, that the French had complied with what the queen had demanded, and therefore she positively com-

manded them to execute the treaties of peace and commerce between Britain and France; for the queen would on Tuesday tell the parliament she had made peace with France. He repeated those orders the 7th and 20th of March, O. S. that the peace should be concluded with that precipitation which her majesty ordered.

Though the demands of no other prince or potentate were at this time regarded, yet the demand of a principality in the Spanish Netherlands of 30,000 crowns per ann. revenue, was insisted on for the Princess Ursini, as a condition, *sine qua non*, of the general peace. While the queen, says Lord Bolingbroke, did not look upon the degradation of Hanover as a matter of any importance.

Page 42. Our plenipo's were still averse to sign, made new complaints of the proceedings of the French, who pushed them to sign separately, when so many of the allies were ready to join; they likewise alledged, they had not sufficient power to do it, and were apprehensive of the consequences of doing it alone.

Lord Bolingbroke ridiculed their objection, sent them new powers, and lord treasurer put the last hand to it, by a letter to Lord Strafford, March 31, N. S. to this purpose: "I felicitate your excellency on the success of your zeal, true love to your queen and country, and the repose of all Europe. The danger now is, lest we be shipwrecked in sight of the port. The nation is five hundred to one for peace, the warriors are drove from their outworks, their last retrenchment is delay; which operates so much, that the ferment begins to work, and it will be impossible to answer for the turn the House of Commons will take, if further provoked by delays; they feel how many hundred thousand pounds this needless protraction costs them for the army and navy. Merchants lie off, and will not come into port. The faction encourages their friends to hold out, and wait for some unhappy accident, that may unravel all; the members will grow ill-humoured to be kept idle so long in town; all that has been unsettled for many days, is not worth one day's charge. France has acquitted herself, the only step is now at Utrecht."

Upon this our plenipo's signed, April 1—11, several of the allies dropped in one after another; and the Dutch, when in vain to hold out longer, signed about midnight; so that the emperor and empire were left alone, because they would not submit to such a dishonourable peace as England and France had carved out for them.

Page 43. Our ministers, in the negociation still to be carried on with Spain, allowed them, in the 15th article of peace with that nation, a right to fish in Newfoundland, though contrary to our treaty with that crown in 1670, and to the advice of the Board of Trade, Jan. 13, 1712-13, and to the act of the 10th and 11th of King William. This seems to be owing to lord treasurer, who intrusted Mr Gillingham, an Irish papist, in the management of the trade with Spain, and to correspond with him about it.

Page 44. Our ministers admitted also an essential alteration in the Treaty of Commerce signed with Spain, by three explanatory articles; by which our merchants are to pay 29 per cent. instead of less than 10 they paid in the reign of King Charles II. of Spain; yet the great seal is affixed to these articles.

The queen employed Mr Crow to treat with the Catalans to submit to King Charles III. on promise that she would support them, and get the privileges they enjoyed under the house of Austria restored to them. Appendix, Number 46, 47.

Page 45. Lord Peterborough and Sir Cloudesly Shovel had the like commission; and Mr Harley, when secretary, drew their instructions for a declaration, adding threats if the Catalans did not accept on these promises: Appendix, Number 49. No want of fidelity or zeal was ever charged on those people; but on the contrary, they had the applauses of the allies, and the like, with renewed assurances from every British general and minister: But when the separate peace was made, Lord Lexington had

very defective instructions about the poor Catalans, of which, though he was also defective in the execution, the King of Spain refused to comply with them.

Page. 46. Lord Lexington writes to Lord Dartmouth, that he had finished his negotiation about the Catalans, he hoped to her majesty's satisfaction. Our court shewed no dissatisfaction either with this way of negotiating, or the fruitlessness of it, but order another defective memorial about it; and all the King of Spain would do, was to promise them pardon upon submission; said, they deserved little from him, and that his and the French army were marching to reduce them. Count Sinzendorf urged also, when he was to evacuate Catalonia, that the people might have their privileges, but was refused. Lord Dartmouth wrote about it, and Lord Lexington presented a memorial about it in a more pressing manner, saying, the queen's honour and conscience were concerned in it, and she would adhere to it; but the King of Spain positively refused it. Lord Lexington writes, that things were not upon the same foot in Spain as before the suspension, and that the King of Spain told him, we know that peace is as necessary for you as for us, and you will not break it off for a trifle.

The first fatal step to the ruin of the Catalans, was, that Lord Lexington, contrary to his first instructions, was ordered to own Philip as King of Spain, before one article of peace or commerce was agreed on with them. This enabled him to refuse what he thought fit.

Page 47. That point of owning King Philip was given up at the desire of the French court, and Mr Prior and Lord Bolingbroke urged it should be so. Lord Bolingbroke charged the refusal of it on Lord Dartmouth's mistaking the queen's meaning, and bid Mr Prior represent it to the French court, saying, it was absurd to do otherwise; and for God's sake, dear Matthew, hide the nakedness of thy country, and give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish to the blunders of thy countrymen, who are not much better politicians than the French are poets. Lord Dartmouth acquiesced, and sent Lord Lexington orders accordingly.

Lord Bolingbroke writes to our plenipo's at Utrecht, that it was not the interest of England to preserve Catalan liberties, which was the power of the purse and the sword; the King of Spain would give them beneficial employments, and a trade to the West-Indies, which are infinitely of greater value to those who intend to live in a due submission to authority. Lord Lexington treated them as rebels, and urged it as an argument for peace with Portugal, that the Spaniards might use their troops to end the rebellion of the Catalans; Appendix, Number 53.

When the evacuation of Catalonia was forced on the emperor, his ministers insisted on preserving the liberties of the Catalans, Majorcans, and Yvicans; the queen promised her good offices for it in the most effectual manner, and the French king promised to join with her, in which those ministers acquiesced. When our treaty with Spain was ripe, by which the Catalan liberties were to be abandoned, Lord Lexington signed it, with a protest against that article at the same time he signed it, as he wrote before he intended to do, that the queen might be at liberty to reject it.

Lord Lexington was again ordered to present another memorial for the Catalan liberties in very strong terms as before, but he had signed the treaty before-hand, and said to the Marquis de Bedmar, he was sorry he must do what he knew to be against the king's sentiments, but must obey orders, and gave in the memorial.

Page 48. The marquis answered, that this matter having been debated, and the treaty signed, the king did not see that any thing further was to be done in the matter. This treaty was negotiated by Bolingbroke, and ratified by the queen. The King of Spain, finding our ministers so much in his interest, that the queen's honour and conscience must be sacrificed to his desires, proposes that the queen should assist him against the Catalans; Appendix, Numb. 56. Lord Lexington said, he believed the queen would be unwilling to do that; yet the night before he left Madrid, at the desire of the French ambassador and princess Ursini, he wrote a deceitful letter to the

Catalans, advising them to submit: and this letter was privately to be sent by the Spanish general, as if it were without his knowledge, by one who pretended to be a deserter. Appendix, No. 58.

Lord Lexington's secretary says, this letter was writ, that if the Catalans complied, the queen might have the mediation; and if not, the court of Spain would see how ready she was to serve them: Appendix, No. 59. The Catalans refusing, Sir Patrick Lawless, in Sept. 1713, presented a memorial to our court about it, Appendix, No. 60. and desires a squadron to force them.

Page 49. Sir James Wishart is sent with a fleet accordingly, as appears by his instructions, Appendix, No. 61 and 62.

It is observed, that though the queen promised to obtain the Catalans their liberties, yet Mr Prior acquainted M. Torcy, she was assured they would submit, without mentioning their ancient privileges, Appendix, No. 63. M. Torcy eluded the French king's promise, by saying, he had little interest with the court of Spain: It is also observed, that Britain was engaged to support the privileges of Majorca, when Sir J. Wishart had orders to attack them.

When these designs were forming against the Catalans, Lord Bolingbroke writes to Mr Prior in France, that by their agent the Marquis Dalmasses, who was not taken notice of here as a publick man, it appeared a reasonable accommodation might be made with those turbulent people; he called them so, because they told the Spanish general, they would rather die than be slaves; but if their liberties were confirmed, they would open their gates, and receive him with gladness. Appendix, No. 64.

The lords addressed, April 3, 1714, the queen to interpose for the Catalan liberties; she answered, she resolved, when she made peace with Spain, to interpose, and to prevent, if possible, the misfortunes they were exposed to, by the conduct of those more nearly concerned to help them.

To allay the indignation of the people against the ministry, a demand for the Catalan privileges was put down in the Lord Bingley's instructions; but he was never sent, and Lord Bolingbroke wrote to Sir James Wishart not to appear before Barcelona till further orders; and to M. Grimaldo he sends a kind and friendly complaint, as he calls it, that the Catalan privileges had not yet been granted.

Page 50. Sir James Wishart complained that his orders were ambiguous about attacking Barcelona; supposes the Catalans may refuse advantageous conditions, if they find he is not to act by force; therefore he desires his orders may be clear, and promises punctual obedience. When Sir James arrived at Cadiz, a list of his ships were sent to Madrid; but the Spanish court hoping to bring the Catalans to their terms, by Mr Orry, a Frenchman, took no notice of Sir James, because they would rather owe the submission of the Catalans to France. Orry having no success, the Spanish court were a little more civil to Sir James, and exempted his fleet from paying any duty for provisions. He pleaded that the duties so exempted might be allowed to himself, but finding it did not amount to much, he forbore demanding it, and hoped Lord Bingley would procure him some marks of favour from the court of Spain, since this expedition was so much intended for their service, and that his pay from home did not bear half his charges. The Catalans refusing to submit, without being granted their privileges, the French king, contrary to his promise, sent the Duke of Berwick with his troops against them; and Sir James sent Captain Gordon, and two men of war, with threatning letters, in the queen's name, on pretence that the Catalans disturbed the commerce of her subjects, took and plundered their ships, and used the men barbarously, for which he demanded satisfaction on pain of what might follow.

Page 51. The deputies answered, that only one of the ships mentioned, laden with salt, was brought into Barcelona, which, being besieged, they might do by the law of nations; that they gave the captain the full price, had paid other English ships that

came into their port with provisions, more than they could have got any where else, and had forbid the molesting of any English ship on pain of death, even though carrying provisions to the enemy; adding, that they had the utmost deference for the queen, desired to live in good correspondence with his noble and generous nation, and would obey his excellency's orders with all affection and respect. Appendix, No. 68.

The government of Barcelona wrote also to him, that he knew they received Charles III. on promise of protection from the allies, and particularly from England; that for seven years together they had served the English as much as possible, by furnishing troops and considerable sums without interest; that though they had pleased themselves with thoughts of being always subject to King Charles III. yet by the ordinary vicissitude of human affairs, the French and the Duke of Anjou's troops were masters of all the principality except Barcelona and Cardona; where they committed the most execrable hostilities, without sparing age or sex: That Barcelona had been blocked up for a year, that 14,000 bombs had ruined most of their houses; that in twenty-four hours they expected to be battered in breach, and could not express their affliction to see the inhabitants in danger of becoming victims to the enemy's cruelty. Therefore they fly to the Queen of Great Britain's protection, by the inclosed letter to their envoy at London; and, in the mean time, beseech his excellency from their souls to mediate for a suspension of arms, since the congress at Baden for a general peace may still determine this affair. They doubt not his mediation would procure them relief, since his squadron is superior to that of the enemy; which they hope his excellency will not refuse them. If Catalonia has merited any thing by its services and conjunction with the English nation, this was the time to receive the fruits of it: That it is worthy of his excellency to comfort the afflicted, and not to deny them this favour in their great necessity.

How Sir James was affected with this moving letter, appears by his sending, without the queen's orders, a part of his ships, at the Spanish secretary's desire, to protect the Spanish flota then coming home, because the Spanish men of war were employed before Barcelona. Appendix, No. 70.

The Catalans thus abandoned contrary to faith and honour, appealed to Heaven, hung up at the high altar the queen's solemn declaration to protect them, underwent the utmost miseries of a siege, where multitudes perished by famine and sword; and how many have since been executed, and how many persons of figure are still kept in dungeons, is too well known.

Thus was our nation abused with repeated assurances by our ministry, that every thing was doing for the preservation of that unfortunate people, while at the same time they were betraying them.

Page 52. It is observed that Abbot Gualtier is frequently mentioned, who without a character was in England during most part of the negociation, and often sent backward and forward. He had not only a share of the public business, but of what required more than ordinary privacy, and was transacted verbally; so that the French and English ministers mutually refer to him. As nothing was more dangerous, and required greater secrecy, than the Pretender's affairs, all this passed through his hands, and was conveyed by French couriers, who were continually going and coming.

Mr St John, in a letter to M. Torcy, March 3, 171-12, refers that abbot to explain the subject of Mr Harley's commission beyond sea; and what the queen hopes the French king would do to co-operate with her.

Several letters and papers are wanting, which, by circumstances of time and matters, appear to be of moment and consequence, and it is not to be expected that those who have been so careful to suppress matters of less importance, would leave any thing behind them that was openly and directly for the Pretender; yet there are several things

which are a plain indication of the tenderness and regard there was had to his person and cause: As follows.

There is a paper found in Lord Bolingbroke's closet, dated Versailles, September 24, 1711, endorsed as other office-papers usually are, signifying that the pope's nuncio, in an audience from the French king, made this declaration; "That the court of Rome being fully informed that France was endeavouring a peace on the most advantageous terms possible, and being persuaded that if peace were made, England would not suffer the French king to keep the Prince of Wales in his realms, the court of Rome offered him an asylum at Rome, or any other part of the ecclesiastical dominions." To which the French king answered, "That an asylum for the Prince of Wales would be no obstacle to the peace; for in this case an article for the Prince of Wales would be inserted in the treaty."

June 7, 1712. The Bishop of Bristol writes to Lord Bolingbroke, "That M. Consbruck, one of the emperor's plenipo's, told him, he took it for granted, that one great end of all this management on our part, was to bring in the Pretender: And the apprehension of this, one of the Dutch ministers owned in private discourse, to have been the fundamental reason of all their conduct of late."

All the nation expected the removal of the Pretender out of the dominions of France, and the queen declared this was taken care of, as an additional security to the protestant succession; yet he was permitted to reside in Lorrain, to the great surprise of the nation; upon which the parliament addressed the queen, that she would insist upon his removal from Lorrain, his residence there being equally, or more, dangerous to Great-Britain, than his abode in France. Her majesty's answer, that she would repeat her instances, occasioned in the House a becoming resentment, that the Duke of Lorrain should presume to entertain him, in defiance to her majesty's application.

Yet it appears, that the manner of the Pretender's removal from France, and his settling in Lorrain, was not only with the approbation, but by the direction and appointment of the English ministry: For Mr St John, in his letter to M. Torcy, May 24, 1712, O. S. says, "He hopes, that with the general repose, we shall see revived, in a few weeks, a good understanding betwixt the two nations, which may become to each other the most useful friends, for the same reasons they have been the most formidable enemies. The queen commands me to tell you, that she hopes, when you send an answer, we shall have an account that the Chevalier has begun his journey."

Page 53. M. Torcy replies, June 10, "You may assure the queen, the Chevalier is ready to depart at a moment's warning, did he but know where he was to go, and might be in safety. I know no prince who is willing to receive him, for fear of displeasing the queen, or other powers. It will be absolutely necessary, that there should be some explanation upon this subject, which I desire you to make me by Abbot Gualtier, if you don't judge proper to do it yourself."

June 7, 1712. Mr St John, in a private letter to M. Torcy, says, "The Abbot Gualtier will write to you about the Chevalier." But in the copy of the same letter to Lord Strafford, there is no mention of the Chevalier.

June 22, 1712. M. Torcy writes two letters to Lord Bolingbroke; in the publick letter, there is nothing of the Pretender; but the private letter concludes thus: "I have the honour to send you a letter under the king's hand for her Britannick majesty, and I refer you to what Abbot Gualtier shall say about the departure of the Chevalier."

August 21. Lord Bolingbroke being then in France, to finish what of consequence was undetermined, writes to Lord Dartmouth, "That the Chevalier has fixed his departure for the first of the next month, N. S. he is to retire to Bar, and the Duke of Lorrain is to ask of the emperor, and other princes, security for his person while there."

Yet it appears, that the Chevalier was still in France, December 28, 1712, N. S. for

Mr Prior writes then to Lord Bolingbroke thus: "Another point, on which the French court is very solicitous, is, that the Chevalier's being in France obstructs the peace, yet he cannot go to Lorrain, till the emperor's passports secure him there. Your lordship, by the perusal of the papers, will see the state of that case. The court of France say, it is impossible on their side to do more than they have done; and hope we shall have interest enough with the emperor, to obtain such passports as may secure the Chevalier, and the Duke of Lorrain who is to receive him."

Mr Prior, on the 29th, writes to my lord treasurer on this head, and says, "The monarch is much troubled, lest the young man should fall into the hands of hussars or barbarians; and M. D'Aumont, I presume, has orders to speak to our ministry upon it. As to the dowry," adds he, "I shall not only be dunned to death, but hanged; for the dowager sends messengers to me, which you in England do not think extremely lawful to receive; but if it is to be paid, pray let it be done in a handsome manner, that may shew the charity of the queen, and the generosity of her lord treasurer."

The papers referred to in Mr Prior's letter, shew what the Duke of Lorrain had done, at the desire of the French king, to obtain safe guards from the allies for the Chevalier: He says, "The queen already granted her protection to him, and he believed they had no more to do, but to apply to the emperor and the States-General."

Thus it is evident, Gualtier was to manage the Pretender's affairs verbally with our ministry, who did not think fit to commit it to writing, and that the place where he might reside in safety was to be prescribed by England; that this was not to be fixed till Lord Bolingbroke went to France; and his lordship writes from thence, that the Chevalier was to go to Bar; and this is agreed to by our court.

Page 54. Nov. 6, 1713. Lord Bolingbroke writes to Prior, "The queen having repeated to the Duke of Lorrain the instances so often made to the French king to remove the Pretender out of his dominions, I am directed to acquaint you with it, that you may speak to the minister of Lorrain and others, and let them know, that it is inconsistent with the amity betwixt the queen and their masters, to receive, or protect in their dominions, a person who disputes her majesty's title: And that you may see this is the collective sense of the whole nation, as well as the queen's command, I send you the addresses of both houses."

This was but a bare compliance with the addresses; for in four days after, Lord Bolingbroke writes to Mr Prior by the Baron de Forstner, who he says had been twice at our court, as envoy from the Duke of Lorrain, was extremely well with Mr Prior's friends on this side, and doubted not he would be a welcome acquaintance to him. Lord Bolingbroke recommends the interest of the Duke of Lorrain to Mr Prior's care, about the Montferrat, &c. since Mr Prior was enough apprized of the duke's expectations, and of her majesty's earnest desire, by any means she can, to contribute to the advantage of a prince who deserves much better usage than he has on many occasions met with.

It is observed, that the first letter by Lord Bolingbroke for removing the Pretender from Lorrain, was the 6th of November, and that the parliament addressed for it in July 1713, which was four months; and that there was little effect to be expected from such representations, which were known to be contrary to the sense of our court.

M. Torcy delivered a memorial to Lord Bolingbroke at Paris, in August 1712, about Dunkirk; wherein he says, "It may perhaps come to pass, for reasons easy to be foreseen, that England shall repent having demanded the demolition of a place, and the destruction of an harbour, which might be of great use in conjunctures, which perhaps are not very remote."

The sense of this may be guessed at, if we observe, that immediately upon the death of the late queen, the Pretender published a declaration, page 55, which the Duke of Lorrain acknowledged in his letter of December 6, 1714, he received from the Pretender himself, wherein is this remarkable passage: "Yet, contrary to our expec-

tations, upon the death of the princess our sister (of whose good intentions toward us, we could not for some time past well doubt; and this was the reason we then sat still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death) we found that our people, instead of taking this favourable opportunity, had immediately proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, to our prejudice, contrary to the fundamental and incontestable law of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of settlement can never abrogate."

Next comes the Earl of Oxford's letter, writ by his own hand to the queen, June 9, 1714, with a brief account of publick affairs from August 8, 1710, to June 8, 1714. He says, this account was given by the queen's command; and begins with his own advancement to be chancellor of the Exchequer, August 8, 1710. He alledges, "There was then no money in the treasury, the bank refused to lend Lord Godolphin 100,000l. on very good security; that there was eleven millions owing to the navy, and other branches of service; the civil list was in debt about 600,000l. and the yearly income too little for the expence 124,495l. 2s. 4d. at least."

Page 56. "That in a few days the greatest remittance was made to the army that had ever been known, notwithstanding the opposition of those in office, that were enemies to the change of ministry; so that nothing but great patience could have overcome those difficulties.

"As soon as possible (and notwithstanding the clamours then raised, it was the only proper time) a new parliament is called, which met first, Nov. 27, 1710. And he had prepared the funds before the parliament met (as he did always after) not only for the service of the year, but to ease the nation of above nine millions of debt. This gave great reputation abroad, and enabled to treat advantageously of a peace, but drew rage and envy upon him; and some of his fellow-servants told him, if he would not get money himself, he ought to have let his friends share 100,000l. which would not have been found out in nine or ten millions.

"To this principle was owing the unhappy expedition to Canada, which he opposed, but too late. February 1710-11, there began a division among the tories in the House, and Mr Secretary St John listed a separate party for himself: But in a meeting at Mr St John's, with the Duke of Shrewsbury, Earl Powlet, and Robert Harley, Lord Rochester took pains to calm the spirit of division and ambition.

"Robert Harley had then a violent fever, and at his first coming abroad, May 8th, met with a misfortune which confined him many weeks; during which, the transactions are too publick and black for Robert Harley to mention.

"The close of May 1711, the queen was pleased to confer undeserved honours on Harley, and the 29th put the treasurer's staff into his hands. The 4th of June, after he was sworn treasurer, 28,036l. 5s. was demanded of him for arms and goods to be sent to Canada; He scrupled it; but Mr St John and Moor came to him in a passion about it; and in a fortnight after Mr St John signified the queen's positive pleasure to have that money paid: And producing a warrant signed by her majesty, it was paid. Robert Harley discovered the secret after the return from that expedition, viz. that the publick was cheated above 20,000l. This was never to be forgiven the treasurer; and Lord Chancellor told him, they said, No government was worth serving, that would not let them make those advantages, and get such jobs. The treasurer was forced to use all his skill to keep the House of Commons from examining this affair."

Page 57. June 12, 1712, "The first session of last parliament ended. From this time to the beginning of next session, the treasurer was taken up in negotiating the peace in all courts abroad, and calming quarrels Mr St John had against Lord Dartmouth, Lady Masham, and the treasurer himself.

"The second session of last parliament began December 7, 1711, attended with great difficulties and dangers, by the practices of the discontented here, and the de-

signs carried on by Mr Buys, Prince Eugene and Bothmar; in which concurred the emperor, and other princes and states who gained by the war."

N. B. This was the time when the Baron de Bothmar delivered his memorial.

"This, says lord treasurer, put her majesty under a necessity to preserve the whole, and to take a method which had been used before to create some new peers. So many having been taken out of the House of Commons, who used to manage publick affairs, Mr St John was desired to stay in the House that sessions, and the queen would create him a peer, and take care he should not lose his rank.

"The second session ended June 21, 1712, and notwithstanding Bothmar's memorial, and all other attacks from abroad and at home, every thing was put upon a good foot, and the malcontents began to despair, as appeared by the Duke of Marlborough's retiring abroad, and other particulars.

"The session ended, the queen made Mr St John a viscount, as she had promised; which put him in the utmost rage against the treasurer and Lady Masham, without sparing the greatest, though he was told how much he had got place; for had he been created with the other lords, he must have come after Lord Trevor. The treasurer bore all the storm with great patience; Lady Masham was often witness of Bolingbroke's outrageous speeches; and Moor told the treasurer, that Lord Bolingbroke owed him a revenge on that head. Lord Bolingbroke was sent to France, though there was not much occasion for it, to put him in good humour; which it did till October 1712, that new knights of the garter were made; this created a new disturbance, and Bolingbroke uttered outrageous expressions against all then made. He was much against Duke Shrewsbury's going to France, for reasons very plain, which were then in negotiation.

"The third and last session began April 9th, 1713, which was as soon as the peace was concluded, and could be proclaimed.

"During this whole negociation, the treasurer was obliged by his own hand and charge, to correspond in all the courts concerned, and often had the good luck to set right several mistakes, and to obtain some things very little expected; but the only merit of this belongs to her majesty, the credit of whose favour brought it about, and gave power to the treasurer to act with success.

"During this session, the lords of the cabinet, and others, met every Saturday at the treasurer's to carry on the queen's business, as they did the year before on Thursdays. Many offers were made, and repeated by the treasurer in order to attack former offenders, and quiet the minds of the church party; and the only reason for this failing was, because of the project laid for their new scheme, and putting themselves at the head, as they called it, of the church-party."

P. 58. "This being the last session of parliament, and some gentlemen fearing their elections, and some for other reasons, dropped the Bill of Commerce. The treasurer improved this opportunity to bring Sir Thomas Hanmer and others into the payment of the civil-list debts, incurred before the change of the treasury; though the present treasurer was railed at, he chose to bear it patiently, rather than own the true reason, that there was no money to do it with, which would have ruined all at once. This step of paying the debts put the malcontents into the utmost rage, which they expressed in both houses.

"The peace with France being over, and it being necessary to put her majesty's affairs into a more settled regulation, and to ease the treasurer of the burden and envy of such a bulk of business, her majesty approved the scheme of the Duke of Ormond's staying here to attend the army-affairs at the time of disbanding; that the Duke of Shrewsbury should go to Ireland, Lord Findlater to be Chancellor of Scotland, Lord Mar third secretary, Lord Dartmouth, privy seal, Mr Bromley, secretary of state, and Sir William Wyndham-chancellor of the exchequer. The queen remembers the rage

this caused, as perfectly defeating their scheme. Lord Chancellor said it was against law, did not treat Lord Findlater with decency; and Lord Mar and Mr Secretary Bromley met with much ill treatment.

"But the treasurer, to leave them without excuse, and to make her majesty's affairs and servants easy, wrote a long letter to Lord Bolingbroke, July 25th, 1713, with a scheme of the queen's affairs, and what was necessary for him to do, as belonging only to his province. Lady Masham came to visit lord treasurer when sick, saw this letter, and thought it a very good one. I believe the whole, says lord treasurer, would be of use to let her majesty see into the foundation of the follies and madness which have since appeared.

"The treasurer put Lord Bolingbroke in mind of the particulars which then required dispatch, and solely belonged to his province; among others, that of a circular letter upon the addresses of both Houses relating to the Pretender. This was not done in three months: His lordship wrote word it was done July 27. In the same letter the treasurer proposed that care should be taken of Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, Acadia, St Christophers, Assiento, and other things contained in the treaties of commerce. These particulars the treasurer thought had been executed, until within a few weeks he heard the contrary by accident, and that the time in the several treaties was elapsed. On June 2d, he told Mr Moor of this, and that every body in the queen's service would be liable to blame. Next day Lord Bolingbroke writes to the treasurer a letter, which begins thus:

"Mr Moor has been with me this morning, and put into my hands a paper, which he calls, I think not improperly, a charge upon me."

P. 59. "This paper contains the neglect above-mentioned in the treasurer's letter of July 25th, 1713, eleven months before; and yet these faults are now charged upon the treasurer."

So ends the lord treasurer's long letter to the queen.

The committee observe next, that large sums had been directed for special services relating to the war by signs manual, and warrants upon the same countersigned by lord treasurer; which were afterwards paid to his lordship's order, and applied to his lordship's private use, as appears by page 91, &c. of the Appendix.

The committee observing several transactions, orders, and directions given by the ministry in the queen's name, contrary to her majesty's sentiments, expressed in several messages to parliament and speeches from the throne, concerning the terms of peace, which she communicated to both Houses; compared her majesty's declarations with the measures her ministry presumed to take in carrying on these important negociations; the substance of which is as follows:

The queen first mentioned the peace to the parliament December 7, 1711, when nothing had been concluded betwixt us and France, but the special preliminaries signed by Lord Dartmouth and Mr St John for England, and M. Mesnager for France, September 27, 1711. Appendix No. 4. and the general preliminaries signed by Mesnager only, sent over by the Earl of Strafford as the foundation of a general peace; Appendix, No. 7. After these were signed, Mr St John pressed M. Torcy, that the queen might have some explication of the French king's intentions in respect to the particular interest of the allies; and says, if Gualtier returns with these marks of confidence, you will see our parliament as much inclined to peace as ever it was to war.

The French king's explications are in the answer Gualtier brought to the memorial, Nov. 1711, Appendix, No. 11. Upon which, her majesty told the parliament, Dec. 11, 1711, "That notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace. Our allies, especially

the States-General, whose interest I look upon as inseparable from my own, have by their ready concurrence expressed their confidence in me."

Though the queen was thus imposed upon, to think the States had readily concurred with her, the States remonstrated in the strongest manner against the propositions signed by Mesnager, as too general and uncertain, and dreaded the fatal issue of opening the general conferences before they knew what they were to have for their own barrier and commerce. This they told Lord Strafford in Holland, and sent M. Buys over to enforce their representations in England.

Page 60. Instead of acquainting the queen with this, or acting according to her sentiments, Mr St John in a letter, Oct. 9, to Lord Strafford, says, "It is certain her majesty is so far determined in her measures, that those will deceive themselves, who imagine by delays to break them." And, Oct. 29, "The queen remains firm in her first resolution of causing the conferences to be opened on the articles signed by Mesnager." And, Nov. 2, "That she will not finally concert a plan with the States for prosecuting the war, till they agree with her to open the conferences of peace." And, Nov. 15, Lord Strafford says, "he had told them, by her majesty's order, that she would look upon any delay as a refusal to comply with her." Thus the States were compelled by our ministers threats to consent to open the conferences, though her majesty was made to believe that they concurred readily.

The queen declared her interest to be inseparable from that of the States; but Mr St John writes to Lord Strafford, May 29, that Britain had gone so much too far in weaving her interest into that of the continent, that it would prove no easy task to disentangle them, without tearing and rending.

The queen said, "The princes and states engaged with us in war, being by treaties to have their several interests secured at a peace, I will do my utmost to procure every one of them all reasonable satisfaction, and unite with them in the strictest engagements for continuing the alliance, in order to render the general peace secure and lasting."

But her ministry, in the private propositions as sent over by Mr Prior, July 1, 1711, Appendix, No. 2. inserted an article, that the secret should be inviolably kept, till divulged by the consent of both parties.

And though France, in the first propositions sent over by M. Torcy, April 22, 1711, Appendix, No. 1. offered to treat with England and Holland either separately, or jointly with the rest of the allies, our ministers excluded the allies, and insisted that it was absolutely necessary to remit the discussion of the particular interests of the allies to general conferences. And when Mr St John pressed M. Torcy to explain what the French king designed for the allies, he assures him, if the king would offer specific preliminaries, the queen would never communicate it to her allies.

The queen in her message, Jan. 17, to the parliament, declares her plenipo's had begun, in pursuance of their instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to her allies, according to the treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the Indies. And in answer to the address of the lords, Dec. 11, 1711, said, "I should be sorry any one could think I would not do my utmost to recover Spain and the Indies from the house of Bourbon."

But that her ministers had no such thoughts, is plain from every part of the negociation; for in the first propositions sent over by Mr Prior, demands are made of the King of France, to be performed by the King of Spain, which the French king was to engage for, and Mr Prior had orders to see if the French court had full powers from Spain. In the special preliminaries signed by our ministers, and M. Mesnager, it is said expressly, the French king promises, in the name of the King of Spain, and according to the powers which he had from him, that Portmahone and Gibraltar shall

belong to us, and that we shall have the Assiento for thirty years; Appendix, No. 4. Article 4, 5, 6, 7.

Page 61. These steps had been taken by our ministers before the queen made the above-mentioned declarations; therefore it is concluded that her majesty knew nothing of them. Although our plenipo's were obliged by their instructions, Appendix, No. 12. to insist, that Spain and the West Indies should be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon, yet on Feb. 11, 17$\frac{11}{12}$, when the plenipotentiaries of France gave in their specific explanation of the general preliminaries, signed by Mesnager, the French king made his first offers in the name and by virtue of powers from his grandson, as King of Spain. March 4, 17$\frac{11}{12}$, when the confederate ministers communicated their respective demands, Count Sinzendorf insisted that the restitution of the whole Spanish monarchy should be expressly mentioned It appears by a letter from the English ministers of the 6th, that they were the only ministers that did not make any mention at all of Spain; and all that ever they did for obtaining this great point, was to demand assurances that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united; neither the method of preventing this, nor the sense of France and Spain upon it, was ever asked until the end of March 1712.

Her majesty added in her message, "The world will now see how groundless those reports are, which have been spread by men of evil intentions, to serve the worst designs, as if a separate peace had been treated, for which there has not been the least colour given."

Her majesty was advised to say this by her ministers, to clear them from the just suspicions which the world had conceived of the separate measures they were engaged in; though that they had given most just cause for these reports, is evident from what has been said. The ministry had insisted that the secret should be inviolably kept betwixt England and France, exclusive of the allies; a separate negociation had been carried on betwixt them by papers backward and forward, and much time spent in it, as is said in Lord Strafford's instructions, Appendix, No. 12. Mr Prior had been in France, and Mesnager in England, and no communication given for five months together to any of the allies of these transactions, which were depending from April 1711 to September following. When these general preliminaries were signed, which were sent over as a foundation for the general conferences, a set of special preliminaries were signed betwixt England and France, which were concealed, publickly disowned, and never appeared till this enquiry; and all these transactions had passed before the time that the queen's ministers advised her to impose so grossly upon the nation, as to declare in parliament, there had not been the least colour given for these surmises. Her majesty here declares, that the report of a separate peace's being treated, proceeded from evil intentions, and to serve the worst designs; yet after this declaration, her ministers proposed to France, agreed with France, and sent repeated orders to her plenipotentiaries to conclude a peace with France.

Page 62. The 20th of June, 1712, Mr St John acquaints M. Torcy, that the queen will make no difficulty to conclude immediately a separate peace, and leave the allies a time to submit to such conditions as shall be agreed on betwixt her and the king. M. Torcy answers, July 5, 1712, that upon condition she immediately makes a separate peace, and keeps no measures with her allies, the king has determined to send orders to permit the English troops to enter Dunkirk. July 12, Mr St John thinks the queen in a condition not to lose a moment in concluding a general suspension of arms by sea and land, and a treaty of peace betwixt her and France. August 4, 1712, M. Torcy writes, that the king consented the Duke of Savoy should have Sicily upon certain conditions, whereof this was one, that a peace be concluded betwixt England, France, Spain, and Savoy; and when the treaty drew to a conclusion, and most of the

allies were ready to sign, positive orders are sent to our plenipo's, Feb. 20, 17$\frac{1}{2}$, and repeated by Lord Bolingbroke the 28th, to conclude and sign with France. He adds, the Duke of Shrewsbury had declared, that they had orders, in case the French complied, as they have now done, to sign a peace without further delay: That his grace had also declared, that in this case her majesty would open the parliament, by telling them she had made peace with France. These two considerations, says his lordship, were perhaps the most prevalent inducements to the French court to come roundly into her majesty's propositions.

Lord Bolingbroke, in a letter to Mr Prior, says, if such overtures as these were not instantly accepted, our separate peace would, sitting this parliament, be addressed for, made, approved, and the cause of France for once become popular in Great Britain.

The 6th of June, the queen says to the parliament, "I am now come to let you know upon what terms a general peace may be made." That same day Lord Bolingbroke acquaints M. Torcy, that though the French king had not answered the queen's demands according to expectation, the queen would go that day to parliament, and make all the declarations necessary to render the nation unanimously inclined to the peace.

The queen said, that difficulties had been increased by other obstructions artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work; whereas it is notorious, that the ministers had but the day before received the account of King Philip's consenting to the renunciation, upon which only the queen's speaking to the parliament had been deferred.

The queen said, "I have not omitted any thing, which might procure to our allies, what is due to them by treaties, and necessary for their security." Lord Bolingbroke writes to M. Torcy the same day that Lord Strafford was returning to Utrecht with instructions, which would make our plenipo's in a condition to keep no longer those measures to which they have hitherto been obliged to submit; but from henceforth they openly join with those of France, and give law to them who will not submit to just and reasonable conditions.

The queen says, "nothing has moved me from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true interest of my own kingdoms;" yet Lord Bolingbroke, on May 24, proposed to M. Torcy, that the queen being much more intent on the general peace, than any particular advantages, commissaries should be appointed to settle, after the peace, such points relating to trade as required a longer discussion than the present crisis will admit.

Page 63. The queen says, "that to prevent the union of the two crowns, she would not be content with what was speculative, but insisted on something solid;" though M. Torcy had before declared to her ministers, that the expedient they proposed was a sandy foundation.

The queen says, "the nature of the proposal for a renunciation is such, that it executes itself, and that France and Spain are thereby more effectually divided than ever;" but M. Torcy had assured our ministers, that this renunciation would be null and void by the fundamental laws of France, and deceive those who accepted it as an expedient to prevent the union of the two crowns.

The queen says, "provision is made that the same privileges and advantages, as shall be granted to any other nation by France, shall be granted to us;" yet by Lord Bolingbroke's letter in January following to the Duke of Shrewsbury, it appears, that France refused to let our trade stand upon the foot of *gens amicissima;* declared the tariff of 1664, which was granted to the Dutch, except the four species, was too beneficial for us; and refused to grant it till another tariff should be made in Great Britain, exactly conformable to that of 1664, whereby our duties would be reduced, as theirs are in France by that tariff.

The queen says, June 6, "Our commerce with France was in a method of being set-

tled;" yet Mr Prior says in May following, near a twelvemonth after, "We had like to have made an Athanasian business of it at Utrecht, by that explanation, of our own way of understanding our own commerce. Their letters to you, full of surmises and doubts that all was unhinged; and their letters to us again, that explanations, however made, were only to save appearances, and signified nothing: This melange, I say, and my endeavouring to understand it, had like to make me run mad, if the Duke of Shrewsbury's extreme good sense, and M. Torcy's not only honest, but right understanding, had not redressed us."

The queen says, "the French consented to deliver up Newfoundland and P lcentia;" yet by the preliminaries, signed in September before, Appendix, No. 4. Art. 8. the French had reserved to themselves a liberty of taking and drying fish in Newfoundland.

The queen says, "an absolute cession was to be made of Nova Scotia, or Acadia;" but Cape Breton, which was always understood to be part of Nova Scotia, and is so declared in her instructions to the Duke of Shrewsbury, is expressly given up to France.

The queen says, "The trade to Spain and the West-Indies, may in general be settled as in the time of King Charles II. of Spain;" but when the project of the Treaty of Commerce came from Madrid, Lord Bolingbroke says of it, they had sent a blind, lame, mishapen, indigested monster, instead of that fair offspring which we had reason to expect from our candour.

If the other parts of the speech be strictly examined, it will appear that the ministers did so grossly deceive the queen, in order to impose on the parliament, that there's scarce a paragraph which does not contain some unfair or equivocal representation of the state of the treaty; and when the queen was advised to speak thus to the parliament, it is evident the ministers had no assurance that France would make good what they prevailed upon her to declare in so publick a manner. For, June 11, the Bishop of Bristol is directed by Mr St John to discourse with the confederate ministers according to the plan in her majesty's speech; but first to know of the French plenipotentiaries, if they were willing, and in what manner, to give this communication to the allies. The bishop answers, June 28, the French plenipotentiaries declared they had no such orders, and without them they could not do it.

Page 64. And in this refusal of owning the queen's speech to contain the French king's offers, and in absolutely denying to treat upon it, the French plenipotentiaries persevered, even after the Dutch had consented to treat upon that plan, and to accept the queen's speech *pro materia tractandi*.

The true Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. Printed in the Year 1715.

"The Lord Bolingbroke's heart began to fail him, as soon as he heard that Mr Prior was landed at Dover, and had promised to reveal all he knew; which, however, he did not make good, though he was favourably received by the king, to whom he was introduced by the Earl of Dorset; and, the same day, was entertained at dinner by the Lord Townshend, together with the Duke of Roxburgh, Mr Secretary Stanhope, the Earl of Dorset, and the Lord Lumley.

That evening the Lord Bolingbroke, who had the night before appeared at the play-house in Drury-Lane, and bespoke another play for the next night, and subscribed to a new opera, that was to be acted some time after, went off to Dover in disguise, as a servant to La Vigne, one of the French king's messengers; and there William Morgan, who had been a captain in Major-General Holt's regiment of marines, hired a vessel, and carried him over to Calais, where the governor attended him in a coach, and carried him to his house, as appeared by Morgan's examination. The next day, after it was publickly known that he was gone to France, there was handed about in writing, and afterwards in print, the following letter, said to be writ by him: Some maintained this letter to be supposititious, but the generality of the tories owned it to be true. And it plainly appeared afterwards that he had just reasons to leave the kingdom."—RAPIN's *Hist. of England, vol. IV. p.* 418-9.—The letter was never disavowed, and may now be received as genuine.

MY LORD, Dover, 27th of March, 1715.

I left the town so abruptly, that I had no time to take leave of you, or any of my friends. You will excuse me, when you know that I had certain and repeated informations from some who are in the secret of affairs, that a resolution was taken by those who have power to execute it, to pursue me to the scaffold.

My blood was to be the cement of a new alliance; nor could my innocence be any security, after it had been once demanded from abroad, and resolved on at home, that it was necessary to cut me off. Had there been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged, unheard by the two houses of parliament, I should not have declined the strictest examination.

I challenge the most inveterate of my enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or of the least corruption in any part of the administration in which I was concerned. If my zeal for the honour and dignity of my royal mistress, and the true interest of my country, has any where transported me to let slip a warm or unguarded expression, I hope the most favourable interpretation will be put upon it.

It is a comfort that will remain with me in all my misfortunes, that I served her majesty dutifully and faithfully, in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war: And that I have always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of my country to any foreign ally whatsoever; and 'tis for this crime only, that I am now driven from thence.

You will hear from me more at large in a short time.

Yours, &c.

BOLINGBROKE.

The Representation of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. Printed in the Year 1715

The celebrated Bolingbroke had the chief labour in carrying through the Treaty of Utrecht, and this Tract must be held as the defence of his conduct in that negociation It seems to have been drawn up by himself.

On the 11th day of April, N. S. 1713, the ministers of Great-Britain, of Prussia, of the present King of Sicily, and of the States-General of the United Provinces, signed their respective treaties with the ministers of his most christian majesty at Utrecht.

From that time therefore no treaties between France and any of the allies remained unfinished, except those of the emperor, and of the body of the empire, the first of which was executed at Rastadt on the 6th of the last month, N. S. And his imperial majesty undertaking therein to procure the consent of the empire to all the articles of it, the peace of the latter may in effect be reckoned to have been likewise made at the same time; although a congress is appointed to meet at Baden, where the consent of the electors, princes, and states of the empire is to be given in form, and several claims to be discussed.

Passports not having been granted to the ministers of Spain till more than fourteen months after the conferences at Utrecht were opened, the Duke d'Ossuna did not come to the congress before the 19th of April, N. S. 1713, nor enter upon any business till the arrival of his colleague the Marquis de Monteleone in the month of June.

On the 13th of July following the Treaty of Peace between her majesty and the catholic king was signed; but the Treaty of Commerce could not be finished till the 9th of December, N. S. 1713.

The peace between Spain and Portugal her majesty looks upon as good as concluded, it appearing by late accounts from Utrecht, that the project thereof had been drawn up in form, and sent to the two courts to be approved, and that the differences which remain were too inconsiderable to occasion any new delay. In the mean time her majesty has taken the most effectual care of the interests of the King of Portugal, having given to that prince on the 13th of August, 1713, of her own motion, and without any requisition on his part, a new guaranty, whereby the queen obliged herself to secure the restitution, even by force of arms, if that should become necessary, of any thing which might be taken from Portugal before the conclusion of the peace, to procure to that crown the colony of the Sacrament, or in lieu thereof, such an equivalent as the King of Portugal should be contented to accept, to obtain satisfaction to the Portugueze for what they claim to be due to them on account of their *assiento*, or contract with the crown of Spain, and to set on foot after the peace an amicable negotiation for accommodating the differences, which have arisen concerning several estates situated in Portugal, and claimed by the subjects of Portugal residing in Spain, and concerning those Spanish ships which were about the beginning of the war seized by the Portugueze: On these principles the Earl of Strafford made a solemn declaration to the ministers of Spain in February last, when he exchanged with them the instruments of ratification of the treaties between her majesty and the catholic king; that the peace which the queen then ratified did not dispense with the obligations which she lay under to the King of Portugal, as well by her guaranty lately granted, as by her defensive alliance made in 1703. And that her majesty was determined to assist and defend this prince on the foot of the pretensions specified in the said guaranty, and according to the tenor of the said defensive alliance.

The treaty of peace between the Kings of Spain and Sicily was executed on the same day on which her majesty's treaty with the crown of Spain was signed, that is, on the 13th day of July, 1713, N. S.

All the articles of the treaty between the catholick king and the States-General have been long ago adjusted; and the treaty would have been executed in form, had not the ministers of the States-General made and insisted upon a declaration, which those of Spain apprehend to be repugnant to the terms already settled.

It has not hitherto been possible so much as to enter on a treaty between their imperial and catholick majesties, the emperor having thought fit to withdraw the last of

his ministers from Utrecht, before those of the King of Spain could appear and act in that congress.

This short account of the present state of the several treaties of her majesty and her allies with France and Spain, shews how little is wanting in comparison with what has been already done, to render the peace at last as universal as it would have been long ago, had not continual obstructions been thrown in the way of this great work a i ts beginning, and in every step of its progress.

France having complained of the manner of treating, when former attempts were made to set a negociation for a general peace on foot; and having for that reason refused to make any overtures to the States-General, her majesty received in the month of April, 1711, a proposal from the most Christian king, which she immediately communicated by her ambassador to the ministers of Holland, assuring them, that in making peace, as in making war, she would act in perfect concert with the States. The Dutch ministers, in return to this mark of her majesty's confidence in them, and friendship for their republick, having expressed themselves to be weary of the war, heartily desirous of peace, and ready to join in any method her majesty should think proper to obtain it, gave their opinion, that the overture made by France was too general; that it was necessary the queen should make the French explain themselves more particularly; and that till they had done so, it was not proper to take any concert with the rest of the allies.

As soon as her majesty received this answer from the Hague, she insisted, that the French should be more direct and particular in their overtures, and that they should form a distinct project of such a peace as they were willing to conclude. No time was lost in carrying this negociation forward, and the utmost care was taken according to the desire of the ministers in Holland, whom her majesty had consulted to preserve the secret. But the dilatory method of treating, which in those circumstances was unavoidable, and other accidents, to which transactions of this kind must be always exposed, were the occasions that nothing more satisfactory than the first propositions, which France had made, could be obtained till the end of September, 1711.

On the first of October, the queen's instructions were given to the Earl of Strafford, to repair, with all possible diligence, to Holland, to acquaint the minister of the States with all that had been done, in consequence of what they had in the month of May desired, and to communicate to them the propositions signed by Monsieur Menager four days before, viz. the 27th of September, which her majesty looked upon to include, in their general expressions, all the particular demands proper to be made in the course of the negociation, and to be a sufficient foundation whereupon to open the conferences. The Earl of Strafford was, at the same time, instructed to assure the ministers of Holland, that her majesty was determined to accept of no advantage to herself repugnant to their interests, nor of any peace, unless they had all reasonable satisfaction, as to their barrier, as to their trade, and in every other respect. He was likewise to exhort them to join with her majesty in promoting the strictest union among all the confederates, as the only means to carry the negociation forward; and communications and assurances of the same nature were, at the same time, given to the other allies.

Before these orders could be executed, and even before the last overtures had been made on the part of France, or it could possibly be known what had been transacted, the whole confederacy was industriously alarmed, jealousies were every where sown, and even in Britain the most licentious clamours were raised against her majesty's proceedings.

This behaviour must appear very extraordinary, when, besides what is abovementioned, it should be considered, that the receiving a minister from France, by her majesty, which was urged as the reason of the apprehensions of the allies, and which was

the only one they pretended to give, was no more than what the Dutch, and, there was ground to believe, others of the confederates had done; and that the person sent hither, was the same Monsieur Menager, who, a year or two before, had lain concealed in Holland for many weeks, and had treated, during that time, with the chief ministers of that republick.

The fatal consequences, which the least appearance of disunion amongst the allies would necessarily produce, began to be felt; and her majesty found herself obliged to let the imperialists and the Dutch know, that the French might have been brought to explain themselves further than they did, had it not been for the extraordinary uneasiness, impatience, and jealousy, which, upon the first appearance of taking any measures towards peace, discovered themselves among the allies.

From thence are all the obstructions to the peace to be dated, and to those obstructions alone, such points as seem to fall short of the expectations of any of the parties concerned, are to be attributed.

The queen foresaw, that nothing would be left undone, to force the negociation out of her hands, as well by those who were against any peace at all, as by those who feared, that her majesty, being at the head of the negociation, more advantages might accrue to Great Britain, than they were willing to allow; and therefore the confederacy, which formed itself in opposition to what the queen had undertaken, instead of inclining her majesty to alter her conduct, became the strongest reason imaginable to continue it. Things were already brought to that extremity, that there was no middle between a steady pursuit of the true interest of Great Britain, in the first place, and abandoning ourselves to be disposed of in war or in peace, as should suit the conveniency, or gratify the passions, of the confederates.

Soon after the Earl of Strafford's departure to Holland, Monsieur Buys arrived here with the character of envoy from the States-General. When a minister of this consequence was sent, hopes were immediately conceived, that all jealousies might be cured, and a perfect harmony be created between the queen and the States; after which, an union with the other allies would necessarily follow, and the whole confederacy entering, as one man, into the congress, the sincerity of the French would have been soon tried, and the possibility or impossibility of obtaining a good peace soon decided.

In order to this end, her majesty's servants were instructed and empowered to settle, with this minister, such disputes as related to the reciprocal interests of the two nations, and to prevent, by this previous concert, any difference which might arise, in the course of the treaty, between the queen and the States.

They were further directed to adjust, in confidence with him, such a plan for the general peace, as it might be proper finally to insist upon; and in this case her majesty would have been ready, jointly with the States, to have broke the conferences, if these terms had not been granted without exception and without delay. But such was the publick misfortune at that time, that this minister was only empowered to hear, and not to speak; and could not take upon him so much as to conclude, or even sign, *sub spe rati*, a new offensive and defensive alliance betwixt the queen and the States, which, in those circumstances of affairs, he judged, and her majesty's servants concurred with him, to be extremely necessary.

By the conferences which were held with Monsieur Buys here; by the accounts which came from abroad, and by the representations which some of the allies made, about the same time, to her majesty, it appeared undeniably evident, not only that the war was become, on the present foot, absolutely impracticable, but also that no alteration could be attempted, either in the method of carrying it on, or in the views towards which it was directed, without dissolving at once the confederacy; and that the dispute was in fact, not whether a peace, by which Spain and the Indies would be left to Philip, should be made, but who should have the making of it?

The real annual expence of this kingdom amounted to more than seven millions, whereas it is certain, that we were not in a condition effectually to raise near six millions in the course of a year: From hence it follows, that if this proportion had been continued, about nine millions would have been the true charge of a second year, and about thirteen millions that of a third.

This was the state of our affairs, whilst the house of Austria contributed nothing but one regiment to the war of Spain, little to that of Italy, had but few forces, and those entirely inactive on the Rhine, and sent none into the Netherlands, except such as those harrassed provinces were obliged to maintain, and were thereby rendered unable to furnish troops, or make the necessary provisions for the operations of the army; both which they might otherwise have done, and both which they did in an eminent degree, whilst they were under the government of the present King of Spain.

The States-General bore a considerable burthen; but as they had, from the year 1708, sent no supplies, of any kind, either to Portugal, or to Catalonia, and had drawn themselves almost entirely out of the Spanish war; as they furnished, in no proportion, their quota for the sea service; as they had reduced their joint contributions with the queen, in all payments, to one-third of the whole; and as they were very backward in answering even this share of expence, so the load of Great-Britain came, upon their account, as well as upon the emperor's, to be vastly increased. As to the rest of the allies, all the troops which they furnished were maintained by the queen and the States, except a few, and those almost employed in covering their own frontiers.

In this situation of affairs her majesty declared to the imperialists, and to the Dutch, That if they would not allow France to have given grounds for opening the conferences, if they were desirous to carry on the war, and determined to accept of no terms inferior to those which had been formerly demanded and refused, she was, on her part, ready to concur with them; but that, in justice to herself and to them, she thought herself bound to let them know, that she could no longer bear so disproportionate a burthen; that it was evident, that the common effort must be still greater than it was, or that there would remain no prospect of arriving at the ends which they proposed, and that, for these reasons, it would be incumbent upon them, if the war continued, to increase their expences, whilst the queen reduced her's.

The ministers of the States-General were very candid and open upon this head. Monsieur Buys asserted, that his masters had done their utmost already, and could be obliged to no more; many of the others had, on several occasions, declared their country unable to support the charge they were at another summer, and the Pensionary himself, in a deputation of the States appointed to attend the Earl of Strafford in October 1711, declared, that it was impossible to think of continuing the war another year; that what from the emperor, and what from the princes of the north, we should be in the utmost danger, should we attempt to do it: And, finally, that they were traitors to their country who were against a peace.

Many instances might be produced to shew, That there was at least as little reason to expect from the house of Austria, as from the States-General, a greater effort than they had hitherto made. The peace of Hungary was concluded about the month of May 1711, and that constant excuse which the ministers of Vienna used to make for all their deficiencies, did, by consequence, no longer subsist; yet her majesty found it impossible, at the latter end of that year, to obtain a reinforcement of no more than 8000 men from thence, although her minister was empowered to have offered 40,000l. for the march of them; and although the present King of Sicily, then Duke of Savoy, undertook (if he might be assured of this reinforcement any time before the close of the campaign) to establish his winter quarters on that side of France, which would have been, in that point of time, the most decisive, because a project was then form-

ed, and would have been executed, could the States have been, in time, induced to have taken even less than their own share upon them; her majesty supplying their deficiency, as well as her own proportion, to have kept a great body of horse all the winter on the frontiers of the Low-Countries, by which means Picardy and the Isle of France would have been ravaged, no magazines would have been erected, and the French must have gone in the spring a great way back into their own country to assemble their army.

The imperial ministers confessed very freely that their master expected the queen should furnish all the money; and that the utmost he could do was to send troops at her expence; in the same breath avowing the emperor's intention to be, to break the negociation of peace, and to continue the war till Spain was conquered, the entire monarchy whereof he expected. But if there had remained any doubt of the little assistance which was to be hoped for from the house of Austria, who aimed at such great acquisitions, this matter would have been put entirely out of dispute by the proposals which Prince Eugene himself made in Holland first, and afterwards to the queen.

The proposals, it must be thought, were carried at least as high as his imperial majesty judged himself able to make good, since it is notorious he would have stuck at nothing which might have broke the measures of peace, and have encouraged the resolution of prosecuting the war. And yet even by these proposals, his imperial majesty did not pretend to act in the field with 2000 men more, than in the year 1702, it was understood, that the emperor Leopold undertook to furnish, although the expence of a great part of these troops was not to fall upon him; and although he offered to constitute but a fourth part of the charge of the army in Spain; so that the remaining three-fourths, as well as the whole transportation and extraordinaries of that war, would still have been placed to the queen's account.

From what has been said, it is manifest, that the method in which the war was proposed to be carried on, could no longer be supported; and that there was not any glimpse of hope left, that the allies could be brought to make any considerable augmentation of force to have prosecuted the war; therefore in this manner it must have been the ruin of Britain, to have insisted on an impossibility as a condition, without which the queen would not proceed, must have disunited the alliance, and suspended the operations of the armies in all parts; in both these cases the consequences are too evident to be enlarged upon.

In the beginning of the year 1711, died the late Emperor Joseph, and the eyes not only of the princes of the empire, but all the confederates, and of her majesty's in the first place, were immediately fixed on his brother: This event occasioned a great alteration in the councils of Europe, and gave a new turn to the sentiments of many princes.

There are reasons to believe, that the ministers of Vienna themselves began to cool in the project of recovering Spain and the Indies; they seemed to intend nothing more than to get the present Emperor of Germany, and to secure the possession of Italy to themselves: And the former, as well as the late instances they have made for attempting the reduction of Sicily, though at the expence of diverting part of that force which was applied to the war of Spain, pointed the same way.

In Holland a partition of the Spanish monarchy seemed almost the general scheme, and the conduct of that republick, as well as the confession of its ministers, shewed that the project of driving Philip out of Spain, was looked upon there to be a mere chimera.

Soon after the death of Emperor Joseph, her majesty had been acquainted, that some of the princes of the empire thought it a point which deserved the most serious reflection, whether they should suffer the imperial and Spanish crowns to be united on the same head, and whether it might not be proper, in the capitulation of the empire, to insist on the separating of them. Other members of the Grand Alliance, and those

the only two with whom his majesty had entered into any formal engagement for recovering the entire Spanish monarchy, represented upon the same occasion against placing this crown on the emperor's head. It was urged by one of the most considerable princes in the alliance, that the principle upon which he engaged in the war was now altered, and that instead of fighting to procure the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, his interest, and even his safety, required that he should fight to prevent it.

The case therefore stood thus: The present emperor, even after his brother's death, and his own election, would content himself with nothing less than the whole Spanish monarchy, and insisted that the war should be prosecuted in this view. Of the other allies, some looked on this project as chimerical, others as dangerous; from whence it follows, that to keep the Grand Alliance united in this principle was impracticable; and it must be allowed, that to have altered this principle, to have changed so many treaties, to have reconciled so many different interests, and to have formed a system entirely new in the midst of the war, was an experiment too hazardous to be attempted.

In this situation of affairs no time was to be lost. The queen knew very well that attempts to open a treaty with France, separately from her, were made by those who clamoured the loudest against her measures. And the present emperor had thought fit, on board of one of her majesty's ships, and by her own minister, to send her a message of the same nature. She therefore insisted with the imperialists, and with the Dutch, that she would be at some certainty, and that they should comply with her in the measures either of war or of peace.

How the war became impracticable has already appeared; what objections there were to the carrying on a treaty of peace come next to be related.

The principal, and indeed the avowed dispute between her majesty and the States, at this time, concerned the method of carrying a negociation forward; the States pretended that a fair opportunity would be given to the ministers of France to divide the confederates, if they were suffered to meet together in a general congress, before the essential articles of peace were settled by specifick preliminaries; the use which had been made of this method on a former occasion, to evade the concluding of any peace, when, according to the confession of the Dutch ministers themselves, the differences on which the allies and France broke off, did not deserve the life of a single soldier, gave no great encouragement to pursue the same again; besides which, as the queen would not take upon her to settle the interests of others, neither would she suffer others to determine those of her own kingdoms; and if all the confederates were to assemble, in order to adjust a preliminary treaty, the objection made by the States returned upon them.

In December 1711, the States concurred with her majesty, in fixing the place of the treaty, appointed the day on which the congress should open, inviting the allies to send their ministers thither, and giving the necessary passports to the plenipotentiaries of France; and, if nothing had happened to revive the spirit of those who were bent against the peace, it is highly probable, by the little time which it cost to conclude most of the treaties, after the conferences that had been interrupted, were resumed at Utrecht, and the allies proceeded in earnest to negociate, that the treaties of all the confederates with France might have been finished before the season of opening the campaign in 1712. But before Monsieur Buys returned into Holland, or the conferences could begin, the efforts were renewed with the greatest vigour to break off the negociation; the cry against the peace, by which Spain and the Indies should be left to any branch of the house of Bourbon, became louder than ever, and letters and memorials were not only delivered but printed, and appeals made against her majesty's proceedings to all Europe, and even to her own subjects.

On these encouragements, the good disposition towards peace received a check;

and some of those who had owned themselves against the prosecution of the war, to recover the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, joined now under this very pretence to break the measures of peace. The treatment which her majesty met with at this time, will appear in the clearest light from this circumstance. The minister of the States-General proposed to her majesty's servants, that considering the difficulties which the queen lay under, how impossible it was to recover by war, or by treaty, the Spanish monarchy from King Philip; and how impossible he likewise apprehended it to be, in the present circumstances of affairs, for her majesty to carry any negociation on, by which this monarchy should be left to Philip; he was ready to extricate her majesty from this dilemma, and to skreen her ministers in carrying on the work which they had begun, in the name of his masters, to present a memorial, by which the point of obtaining Spain and the Indies should be given up, provided that he might be assured that the Dutch should have an equal share with her majesty's subjects in the Assiento, which contract, he supposed it was stipulated, should be made with Great Britain.

From the causes and by the steps which have been here mentioned, was the disunion among the allies arrived to the highest pitch, at the opening of the conferences in the month of January 1711-12, when the strictest union amongst them was then more than ever necessary; and when the whole fruit of those successes, wherewith God has blessed their cause in the course of the war, depended on it, they sent their several plenipotentiaries to Utrecht; but it was very apparent, that most of them acted on that maxim which one of them professed, that giving into the measures of peace, was the surest way to continue the war. They flattered themselves, that the imperial ministers, in conjunction with those of Britain, had two years before baffled the designs of Holland to make peace, and that it would be at least as easy for the ministers of the emperor, in conjunction with those of the States-General, to render fruitless at this time all her majesty's endeavours to the same end. After this it will not appear surprising, if the utmost dexterity was exerted to delay the entering on business at Utrecht, and to wait for the events of the campaign.

On the 29th of January 1711-12, the first general conference was held between the ministers of the allies and those of France; and by the beginning of April a dispute was set on foot concerning the method of proceeding, which made all treaty impracticable, and which was kept up till a quarrel happening between one of the plenipotentiaries of France and one of the States, a new obstruction was created to take place and to answer the ends of the first.

The French had made their overtures in writing, the allies had likewise given in their demands in writing: And the question arose, whether the French were obliged to give a specifick answer in writing, or whether they should now proceed in the negociation by debating with the several allies agreeably to the method used in former congresses. By the minutes of the Protocol, to which the French ministers appealed, it appeared that they were under no such obligation: But between the second of April and the fifth, Count Zinzendorff had been at the Hague, where the resolution was taken to carry things to extremity, that is, not to treat with the ministers of the most Christian king unless they gave an answer in writing; and orders were accordingly sent by the States to their plenipotentiaries. The design was laid upon this to have broke off all further treaty; but this design was disappointed by the declaration which the French ministers made on the sixth, that their instructions allowed them to go no further than they had offered, but that they would write to the king their master to know his pleasure. After which, during three months time, there was not so much as any step made on the part of the allies for an answer from the French, though at the same time the imperialists were pushing to get the congress broke, or at least her majesty's ministers excluded.

In August the 2d obstructions took place, and that, trifling as the occasion of it may seem, was so managed, that till the 30th of January, N. S. 1712-13, the difficulty could not be overcome.

Ten months having been lost at Utrecht, and the success of the campaign not having answered the design of those who projected the breaking off the treaty by the operations of the army, the ministers of the allies made no further difficulty to proceed in the very method which her majesty's plenipotentiaries had from the first advised. This method succeeded so well, that in two months after the negociation was resumed, all the parties in the war made their peace with France, except the emperor and the empire; and the ministers of these powers had likewise brought their disputes to so narrow a compass, that on the 15th of May, 1713, the only difference between them was concerning the marquisate of Burgaw, estimated at the yearly value of about 12,000 crowns.

In this state of things Monsieur Kirchner, the last of the imperial ministers who continued at Utrecht, left that place, and the emperor's resolution was declared of supporting that war single, which, assisted by the queen and the States, he had not been able to carry on with any tolerable vigour.

It was from this time easy to foresee, that the emperor intended to treat no more at Utrecht, and that a separate negotiation between the courts of Vienna and France, whenever it should happen, would not prove very advantageous to the empire, or favourable to the protestant interest in Germany, of which her majesty had taken early, and (as she hoped) effectual care, by obliging France to consent that all things concerning the state of religion in the empire should be settled conformably to the tenour of the treaties of Westphalia; in such manner as to make it plainly appear, that the most Christian king neither would make nor would have had made any alteration in the said treaties. Thus one of the contracting parties had already in effect yielded to the abolition of that clause in the fourth article of the treaty of Ryswick, so fatal to the protestant religion. And if his imperial majesty had concluded his treaty at Utrecht, it is hardly to be believed that in the midst of many allies, whose blood had been shed, and whose treasure had been exhausted in his cause, he would have refused to their joint intercession, what France had complied with on the single instances of the queen.

It has been already observed, that if the allies, when the congress at Utrecht was opened in the beginning of the year, had in good earnest gone about their several treaties, the peace might in all probability have been made before the armies could have taken the field. It may be necessary here to observe the state of affairs at another period of time, and another opportunity lost of treating with the greatest advantage on our side, and with the greatest probability of success.

On the 6th of June, 1712, her majesty communicated to both houses of parliament upon what terms a general peace might be made; those who were against any treaty, and those who entertained hopes that the sense of the nation would not go along with her majesty's, and that obstructions would arise even in Britain to the conclusion of the peace, might have seen how vain those expectations were by the returns which the two houses made to this instance of her majesty's condescension, by the assurances they gave of their confidence in her, and of their entire reliance on her wisdom to finish this great and good work, and by their humble desire that she should please to proceed in the present negociations for obtaining a speedy peace. Those who pretended only to be against the method of treating, and who were fond of specifick preliminaries, had now the very thing which they desired, his most Christian majesty having declared himself explicitly and particularly on the most important points that were to be settled in the treaties of peace. The queen was even at that time not under the least obligation, but at full liberty to have proceeded on the negociation, or to have broke

it off, according as the French had behaved themselves. But France was under the strongest obligations to her majesty, and, by her majesty's means, to the allies. The concessions then made on the part of France were made without any concession whatever on the part of the confederates. If therefore even then they could have been prevailed upon to unite with the queen, and with one another during a short cessation of arms, the general peace might have been secured; or if that had failed, we should have got by the cessation into our hands a place of greater importance than we could have expected by the most successful campaign to conquer. But instead of improving this happy conjuncture, the ministers who met to treat of peace, seemed attentive only to what passed in the field, and Utrecht seemed the scene of no other business than unnecessary disputes concerning the forms of proceeding and negociations, to accommodate differences which the quarrels of servants had begun.

From these unhappy measures were many evil consequences derived; and by them were all the subsequent transactions affected, particularly those which related to the interest of the Catalans.

This people had submitted to the present king of Spain on his accession to the throne; had taken the oaths of fealty to him; and in the cortez held at Barcelona in the year 1701 and 1702, had received from him a new establishment of their privileges; notwithstanding which, they began, in the year 1704, to shew their inclinations to a revolt: And it appears, that in the beginning of the year 1705, they made overtures of this kind to the queen, and that numbers of them were already actually in arms. In compliance therefore with what they desired, and encouraged by the assurances which she received, that not only the Catalans, but other people of Spain, were ready to declare for his present imperial majesty, as soon as they should see any prospect of being supported in their revolt: The queen thought fit to give directions to the Earl of Peterborough and to Sir Cloudesly Shovel, joint-admirals of her fleet, on the first of May, 1705, to do the best they could to induce the Catalans to co-operate with them for the reduction of Spain; in order to which, they were empowered to promise, in the queen's name, that she would secure to them a confirmation of their rights and liberties from the said Prince Charles the Third; but it appears by the said instructions, that instead of giving those assurances, the admirals were to take measures for annoying the towns on the coast of Spain, and for reducing them by force, unless suitable returns from the Catalans and Spaniards were made to these kind offers, on her majesty's part. This likewise appears to have been the measure by which the queen proceeded, from the commission, credentials, and instructions, given to Mr Crowe, who was sent to Genoa in March, 1705. Besides which, it is also to be observed, that after the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesly Shovel were arrived with her majesty's fleet at Lisbon, it still remained for some time uncertain, what design they should prosecute; and this uncertainty hindered them from pressing the people of Catalonia, whilst King Charles rather checked than incited them; so that when the queen's forces proceeded on the service, the Catalans were looked upon to be the principals, and we only accessaries in the war. From all which it is evident, that the landing of the Earl of Peterborough in Catalonia, and her majesty's entering into that part of the war, was in consequence of the solicitations of the Catalans and other Spaniards affected to the house of Austria, and that all the engagements which she gave to these people, went no farther than the obtaining from King Charles the Third a confirmation of their rights and privileges; and although her majesty offered, at that time, to give a guarantee for the same, and to enter into a treaty with those people, yet it does not appear that such a guarantee was ever given, or that such a treaty was ever made.

This being the state of the queen's engagement to the people of that province, there could have been no doubt of making them good in every part, had the events of the war and other circumstances, rendered the placing his imperial majesty on the throne

of Spain practicable; and there is as little doubt, that, besides what has been obtained by her majesty for the Catalans, the confirmation of all their privileges would likewise have been procured from his catholick majesty, had not the conduct of the emperor, singly, prevented it.

In the year 1712, it has been already said, that although the fairest prospect of making a general peace was opened, yet his imperial majesty continued in his resolution not to make it. The queen, on the other hand, was under necessity of pursuing the measures she had taken, and thereby not only of agreeing to a cessation of arms, but also of withdrawing her troops out of the province of Catalonia, the supplies granted by parliament for that year having been so calculated, that the whole establishment was given only for the first quarter, and one-third of four millions of crowns for the other three quarters conditionally, that the emperor and the States-General would take upon themselves the other two-thirds, which in fact neither of them did.

Under these circumstances it was plain, that the Catalans would be left without any terms made in their behalf; and that the empress, and imperial forces who remained in that province, would be exposed to the greatest difficulties and dangers: The queen therefore took, immediately, all the care she could to prevent these misfortunes, and at the same time to secure and strengthen his imperial majesty, as far as lay in her power, notwithstanding the treatment she had received, and the just provocation she had to leave them to struggle with the consequences of his own measures.

At the latter end of this year 1712, her majesty set a treaty on foot for the evacuation of Catalonia, and for the neutrality of Italy: Her majesty's aim by the first part of this treaty was to secure the return of the empress and imperial troops; and since she could no longer support the Catalans by her arms, to provide for them by terms of peace. Her majesty's aim in the second part, was to leave as little room as possible for France or Spain to attack his imperial majesty, when the treaties between her majesty and the States-General should be concluded with the most Christian king; the queen considered that these treaties and the barrier of the States, would secure the ten provinces of the Netherlands from any invasion, and by this convention for a neutrality in Italy, the emperor's territories in that country were likewise covered, so that by the care which her majesty took, since he was determined to run the risk of continuing single in the war, he would lie open on no frontier but that of the Rhine, where by the same means he would be able considerably to increase his strength as well with draughts out of Italy, as with the Germans and other forces which were to be transported from Spain.

It was not sooner than the end of January, 1712-13, that, by the good offices of her ministers at Utrecht, the imperial and French plenipotentiaries were brought to meet upon this negociation; and in the mean time her majesty endeavoured as well by her own minister at Madrid, as by pressing the Spanish minister, who was then here, to induce the catholick king to facilitate this matter as much as possible, and particularly on the head of the privileges of the Catalans, in which the minister of France concurred with the greatest earnestness; but it soon appeared that his catholick majesty, who saw the advantage which the conduct of the imperial court gave him, would hardly be prevailed on to grant any thing more than a general act of oblivion, and a restitution of honours and estates.

On the 14th of March, N. S. 1713, the convention of the neutrality of Italy, and the evacuation of Catalonia, was executed by her majesty's ministers, on behalf of the emperor, and by those of France on behalf of the King of Spain; and the article concerning the privileges of the Catalans was left undetermined; a right being reserved to her majesty to insist, whenever the emperor should treat of peace, that these privileges should be preserved to them, and the most Christian king declaring that he would concur with the queen to the same end.

In May 1713, the Treaty of Peace between her majesty and the catholick king was signed provisionally here, and in July definitively at Utrecht, whereby there is not only an absolute amnesty, with a full possession of all their estates and honours, but also the privileges of the Castilians granted to the Catalans; which article is at least in this respect considerable, that the people of Catalonia are thereby entitled to hold an employment in the West-Indies, or to trade directly thither in as full and ample manner, as the people of Castile; from which they were formerly as much excluded as any foreign nation whatever.

The preservation of their ancient privileges is neither granted nor directly refused by this article, so that the queen, either when the peace shall come to be treated between their imperial and catholick majesties, or any other favourable occasion which may offer itself, is at liberty to renew her applications upon this head. In the mean time it is certain, that the refusal of the people of this principality, as well as of the island of Majorca, to submit to the catholick king, when in pursuance of the Treaty of Neutrality these countries were evacuated by the emperor's forces, and their obstinate resistance since that time, must have rendered the obtaining of their privileges still more difficult, if that be possible, than it was.

If the ancient privileges of these people in their full extent were not obtained, it must be attributed to those who rendered it impracticable to treat effectually for them, before the withdrawing of the queen's forces out of Catalonia; and if their condition is become since more desperate, those are only to answer for it, who have encouraged them not to submit a second time to their prince, with the hopes of relief, which they who gave such good hopes, must have known themselves in no condition of making good.

From this state of the several treaties between her majesty, her allies, and France and Spain, by this account of the general negociations, and of the particular case of the Catalans, the reasonableness of all the steps her majesty has taken, and those designs which have been pursued at first, to wrest the negociations out of her hands, and since to unravel all that has been done, and to throw us into confusion, will sufficiently appear.

The Old English Constitution, in Relation to the Hereditary Succession of the Crown, antecedent to the Revolution in 1688. *Printed in the Year* 1714.

This is an attack upon the accession of the Hanoverian family by some steady partizan of the hereditary and unalienable right of succession. It was supposed to be written by the learned Charles Leslie, eminent for his zeal for the exiled family. He seemed to acknowledge the truth of the report by flying to the continent, where he continued for some years in attendance upon the person of the Chevalier St George.

Charles Leslie, the author of this and the succeeding Tracts, was second son of the Bishop of Clogher in Ireland. He wrote several books of controversy in defence of Christianity in general, and of the church of England's doctrines; but he was chiefly remarkable as an adherent of the house of Stuart. He went to Commercy with the extravagant view of converting the Chevalier St George from the errors of the church of Rome. But Lord Bolingbroke, in his letter to Sir William Windham, says, "that the Pretender had sent for Mr Leslie over; that he allow-

ed him to celebrate the church of England service in his family; and that he had promised to hear what this divine should represent on the subject of religion to him.—But Leslie was ill used by the chevalier, who was far from keeping the word which he had given, and on the faith of which Mr Leslie had come over to him. He not only refused to hear him himself, but sheltered the ignorance of his priests, or the badness of his cause, or both, behind his authority, and absolutely forbid all discourse concerning religion."

Mr Leslie returned to his native country of Ireland in 1721, exhausted with misfortune and disappointment, and died there in the following year.

No man hath a more profound respect for the publick sanctions of my country than myself. I know well they contain the collective wisdom of the nation, and are in a great measure the ramparts of the common property. But at the same time it is to be remembered, that God, nature, and the immutable customs of the realm have placed some things above their influence and coercion. And we know that the judges of the common law have in all ages made bold sometimes to weigh the statute laws in the balance, and for certain reasons have now and then adjudged them null and void. Of which I shall in their proper place produce some proper instances.

I. But in the first place I shall lay this down for a ground: That the succession to the crown of England by the laws of God and nature is inseparably annexed to proximity of blood; and that all statute laws contrary to the laws of God and nature are *ipso facto* null and void.

That the succession by the laws of God is inseparably annexed to proximity of blood, appears plainly by that statute law pronounced, Num. 27. by the mouth of God, where he by immediate direction orders the descent of honours and possessions to be conferred by birthright and propinquity of blood, and not by the election or discretion of the supreme magistrate, or the community of the people, apart or conjunctively.

The prerogative of primogeniture in point of dignity and possession is of the same divine institution, as appears in several places of the holy scripture, Gen. 4. 7. God said to Cain of his younger brother Abel, "His desires shall be subject to thee, thou shalt rule over him." Again, Deut. 21. 17. where he forbids the father to disinherit the first-born of his double portion; because by right of birth it was due to him. And lastly, Exod. 13. 2. where he maketh choice of the first-born to be consecrated to himself.

Agreeable to these are the suffrages of the fathers and doctors of the civil and imperial law. *St Jerom in Epist. ad Onagr.* and in Gen. 49. saith, "That a kingdom is due to the first-born." *St Chrysostom, Hom. 5. advers. Judæos,* "The first-born is to be esteemed more honourable than the rest." *Bodin. de Repub. l. 6. c. 5.* tells us, "That it is not enough that a kingdom go in succession, but that it descend also upon the eldest issue male, where he is next of blood: *Sic enim ordo naturæ, &c.* For so, saith he, not only the law of God and nature, but of all nations doth require." And Baldus the famous civilian saith, *Lex hæc D. de just. & jure; semper fuit, & semper erit, &c.* It ever hath been, and always shall be, that the first-born and next of blood succeed in the kingdom. Wherein he is followed with the full consent of the most unexceptionable interpreters of civil and canon law, as *Panormitanus, in C. licet de voto. Corsetta Tract. de Pot. & Excell. Regia Alciat. in l. obvenire D. de verb. sig.* and many others.

What hath been said here of primogeniture in point of succession to the crown, is likewise said with equal consequence of proximity of blood. For by the civil law, if a king have five sons, and the first-born die before the succession fall; or if he being possessed of the kingdom die without heirs of his body, his right of primogeniture devolves to the next of blood. In this Albericus is very express, in *Proem. D. Sect. Dis-*

cipuli, & in l. Donat. c. de Don. inter Vir. & Ux. And *Baldus in L. 2. c. de jure Emph.* saith, "That succession hath reference to the time of death, and respecteth the priority that is then extant."

Herein the common law of this nation agrees with the civil law. And therefore the second son of the King of England, after the death of the first-born, is eldest son, according to the statute of 25. Ed. 3. where it is enacted, "That it shall be high treason to compass the death of the king's eldest son and heir, &c." So if the first son die in the life-time of the king his father, the second son forthwith becomes *primogenitus*, or first-born, within the charter of King Edward 3. for the duchy of Cornwall, as it was resolved in the case of Prince Charles, upon the death of his elder brother Prince Henry. By which it appears, that proximity of blood is ennobled with all the prerogatives of primogeniture.

But leaving this point to the churchmen and civilians, we will derive our proofs from the authority of the common and statute laws of England, from records of parliament, and our own histories, to make it clear that the succession to the crown of England is inseparably annexed to proximity of blood.

First, then, it is plain, that all human acts and powers in the world cannot hinder the descent of the crown upon the next heir of the blood; (though they may by violence and hostilities hinder possession) because it is a dowry which the King of kings hath reserved to his own immediate donation, and hath placed above the reach of a mortal arm: More of which afterwards. But as a proof of this, by the law of this nation, in the very moment of the descent, the person on whom it descends becomes compleat and absolute king. And so it was expressly resolved by all the judges of England, 1° *Jacobi, Watson and Clark's Case cited in Coke's 7. Rep.* 10. *v.* 11. *Calvin's Case.* And the same person being thus complete and absolute king by the same descent, I farther add, that the ligeance and fidelity of the subject is due to that person by the immutable law of nature. And so it was solemnly adjudged by the lord chancellor and all the judges of England, in the exchequer chamber in the great case of Calvin, 6 *Jacobi, Coke's 7. Rep.* 12. *v.* 13. *a. &c.* with which concurs that great *amanuensis* of nature, Aristotle, in his *Ethic. ad Nicom.* "By the law of nature the father hath the rule over his children, and the king over his subjects." And that great philosopher, Seneca, *de Cement. l.* 1. *c.* 19. to the same purpose says, "*Natura commenta est regem.* Nature did first find out a king." And for this reason, our statute laws do so frequently stile the king our natural liege lord, and the people natural liege subjects, and their ligeance to the crown, natural obedience. This more plainly appears in indictments of treason; as in that of the Lord Dacre upon the northern rebellion, 26. H. 8. where it is said, that the said Lord Dacre not regarding the faith which he did naturally and of right owe to the king, &c. And Cardinal Pool was indicted, 30. H. 8. for committing treason against the lord the king, his supreme and natural lord. And the constant forms of indictments run the same.

Secondly, It is the very footstep of a law founded in nature, that a king displaced is never in a state of rest, till it be reduced to its native centre. For though human laws may be worn out by desuetude or tacit consent, yet the institutions of nature will never be abolished by the longest tracts of time, but will retain their natural inclination of returning; and of this kind is the law of succession to the crown by the right heir. For we find in the stories of all nations, that during usurpations, though countenanced by publick establishments, those states where they have happened, have continued under convulsion, like a magnetick needle, which never ceases trembling, till it finds out its beloved north pole. I shall extract some few instances of this out of our own memoirs; and for brevity's sake ascend no higher than the Norman conquest. And these shall be of usurpations upon the crown, countenanced by the publick sanctions of this state.

The Second William and First Henry usurped the crown, and this realm remained under continual inquietude and commotion, till the death of Robert their elder brother, and his son William without issue, by which the right of the crown centered in the said Henry.

The usurpation of Stephen upon Maud the empress, daughter and heir of the said Henry, was attended with tragical convulsions of this nation, which never ceased till the restoration of the right heir, Henry II. son of Maud, in which Henry, the Saxon blood was likewise restored, his grandmother being next heir of the blood to Edgar Atheling.

Upon the disinherison of the house of York by that of Lancaster, this state felt unparalleled shocks and disorders. There were fought in this island during this storm 17 pitched battles, and no less than 8 kings and princes of the blood, 40 dukes, marquisses, and earls, besides barons and gentlemen, and 200,000 of the common people, destroyed. And this usurpation continued 60 years, yet the body politick enjoyed little ease, till it had purged out the usurpers.

The usurpation of King Richard III. determined in his death, and the introduction of the right heir some time after.

That of Jane Grey of the house of Suffolk was but an offer of usurpation, being a quotidian ague that lasted but nine days, and ended upon the restitution of Queen Mary.

Lastly, It is matter of fresh and bleeding experience, what agonies the English nation felt after that fatal and impious stroke given to King Charles I. of ever-glorious memory. Nature is wanting in adequate metaphors to express so great a calamity. This state was like the demoniac in the gospel; and there was no intermission till the evil spirit was dispossessed, and King Charles II. restored to that crown, which God, nature, and the immutable customs of this nation had given him.

From these instances it evidently appears, that the succession of the crown to the next of blood is a law eternal, written by the immediate hand of God and nature. And though nature may for some time be repelled by human violence, yet it will sooner or later return with greater vigour. And wherever this rule of nature hath been impeached and violated, that hath evermore been done by the immediate and most visible act and finger of the Divinity itself, who is King of kings, by whom they reign, and that giveth the kingdoms of men to whom he will, as the Scripture tells us: And who being the Creator of nature, can alone, when it pleaseth him, controul her methods and operations, as appears by the interruptions of the succession of David, Solomon, Jehu, &c. 1 Sam. 16. 1. and 2 Kings, 9. 4. But they, that, from instances of this kind, imagine that they may maintain the lawfulness of impeaching the successions in the true line, may as well infer, that they may lawfully rob and spoil their neighbours, because God commanded the Israelites to spoil the Egyptians, Exod. 11. 2. and 12. 35. In those cases we are bound to the law, but not to the example.

I come now to the records of parliament, which shall be three in number.

First, That of the 39th of Henry VI. wherein the daring Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, by his council exhibited to the lords, in full parliament, a writing, containing his right and claim to the crowns of England and France. Against which claim it was objected on the king's part, that the same crowns had been entailed, by act of parliament, upon the king's grandfather King Henry IV. and the heirs of his body, from whence the same Henry VI. did lineally descend. "The which act (say the king's friends there) is of no authoritee to defeat eny mannere title made to eny person," (for so are the words.) To which objection the said Duke of York answereth, (I shall cite the words of the record, as they are entered in the old English) "That if King Henry IV. might have obteigned and rejoysed the seyd corones of England and Fraunce by title of enheritaunce, descent or succession, he neither needed nor would

have desired, or made them to be granted to him, in such wise as they be by the seyd act; the which taketh noo place, neither is of any force or effect against him, that is right enheritor of the seyd corones; as it accordeth with God's laws, and all natural laws," (saith the Roll.) And this answer to the king's title, is afterwards by express act of the same parliament declared and recognized to be "good, true, just, lawful, and suffisaunt," as it is there worded. And at the same time for preventing the effusion of blood, an accord by the said duke is established, That Henry VI. shall during his life enjoy the crown, and that from thenceforth the Duke of York shall be reputed heir apparent to the crown. *Rot. Parl.* 39. *H. IV. num.* 10. 13 5. 27.

The next record is that of 1 Ed. IV. in which that parliament hath in a long pedigree disclosed the title of King Edward to the crown, adding these words; "Knowing also certainly without doubt and ambiguity, that by God's law and the law of nature, he (*i. e.* K. Ed. IV.) and none other, is and ought to be true, rightwys, and natural liege and sovereign lord. And that he was in right from the death of the seyd noble and famous prince his father, very just king of the said realm of England;" *Rot. Parl.* 1 *Ed.* 4. *num.* 8. &c. and 9. *Ed.* 10. *a. Bagot's Assize.*

So that here it is expressly declared by two parliaments of different complexion and interest, that the succession to the crown of England is inseparably annexed to proximity of blood, by the laws of God and nature.

The last record is the statute of recognition, made in the 1st year of King James I. by the whole parliament, in which among other things, "they do in most humble manner beseech his majesty, that as a memorial to all posterity, it might be publickly declared and enacted in the high court of parliament, that they being bound thereunto by the laws of God and man, did with unspeakable joy recognize and acknowledge, that immediately upon the decease of Queen Elizabeth, the imperial crown of England, &c. did by inherent right, and lawful and undoubted right of succession, descend and come to his most excellent majesty, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next and sole heir of the blood-royal of this realm. And that by the goodness of God Almighty, and lawful right of descent, his majesty was King of England, &c. And to this recognition we do (say they) most humbly and faithfully submit, and oblige ourselves and posterities for ever, until the last drop of our blood be spent."

And all the judges of England, some time after in the great case of Calvin in the exchequer chamber, do resolve, "That King James's title to the crown was founded upon the law of nature, viz. by inherent birthright and descent from the blood-royal of this realm." So that this parliament doth not pretend to give any title to King James or his posterity, by their own act and establishment, but on the contrary, doth expressly recognise, that the same king's right and title to the crown doth accrue to him by the laws of God and nature, as the said judges do declare. By all which it most manifestly appears, that in the opinion of the three several parliaments, the succession of the crown is united to proximity of blood by the laws divine, natural and human; which triple sanction is not easily broken; together with the resolution of all the judges of England in the point, which (as our law books tell us) in matters of law is the most sacred authority, next to the court of parliament.

The next thing I come to prove is, that statute laws contrariant to the laws of God and nature, are *ipso facto* null and void. And here first I shall observe, that by a profound policy of our law, the sole power of expounding statute-laws, relating either to church or state, is intrusted and lodged in the judges of the common law, as King Charles I. hath noted in his speech to both Houses, upon passing the bills 3° of his reign. *See Poulton's Statutes 3 Car.* 1. And as the authorities of the law are very clear, so the judges have exerted their constructive power in expounding statute-laws, sometimes even null and void, for certain reasons to them appearing. *See Coke's* 1. *Inst.* 344. *a.*

As sometimes for repugnancy: And therefore where the statute of Carlisle enacted,

That the common seal of the Cistercian and Augustine monks should be in the custody of the abbot, and four others of the convents; and that any deed sealed with the same seal, not so kept, should be of no effect; this statute was adjudged void for repugnancy, because the seal being in the custody of the four, the abbots could not seal with it; and when it was in the hands of the abbot, it was out of the custody of the four. And so by this statute these two orders could make no deed valid in law. *See* 27 *Hen. VI. Finch, Title Annuity* 41.

Sometimes for absurdity, as where the statute of Ed. VI. gives chantries to the king, saving to the donors and founders all services, &c. 1 *Ed. VI. c.* 14. This act was adjudged void as to the services; for it is absurd, and contrary to common reason, (saith the book) that the king should hold of, or do service to, his subjects, 14 *Eliz. Dyer.* 3. 13. *a. Mich.* 16. *&* 17. *Eliz. &c. B. Strowd's Case cited in Coke's* 8 *Rep.* 118. *v.*

Lastly, The judges have expounded statute laws void in themselves, when they are contrary to God and nature; and they are bound to adjudge them so, because the laws of God and nature being eternal and immutable, they cannot be altered by any human authority, but only by the God of Nature, who did ordain them. Therefore, if it should be enacted, that no man should honour the king, love his parents or children, or give alms to the poor, these acts are void *ipso facto*, as contrary to the express divine commands. *Dr. and Stud. l.* 1. *c.* 6. 21 *Hen. VII.* 2. *v.*

So where a man was made judge in his own cause by act of parliament, this act hath been adjudged; because (say our books) it is contrary to the law of nature, that one and the same person should be judge and party. *Coke's* 8 *Rep. a. & v. Dr Bonham's Case. Hobart's Rep.* 87. *day. v. Savadge.*

By the statute of 25 Ed. III. cap. 22, a man attainted in a *præmunire* is out of the king's protection; by which words any one might slay him, (as it is holden 28 *Hen. VIII. Title Crown Br.* 197.) till the statute 5 Eliz. 1. yet the king may protect and pardon him, because the protection of the sovereign to the subject is due by the law of nature. *Coke's* 7 *Rep.* 14. *a. Calvin's Case.*

The statute 23 *Hen. VI. cap.* 8. and several others enact, That no man shall be sheriff of any county above one year; and that any patent of the king to any person for a longer term, though with an express clause of *non obstante*, shall be absolutely void, and the patentee for ever disabled to bear the office. And yet it is resolved by all the judges of England, that these acts of parliament are void, because such act of parliament cannot bar the king of the service of the subject, which the immutable law of nature doth give unto him. *See* 2 *Hen. VII.* 6. *v. Calvin's Case*, 14. *a. in Coke's* 7 *Rep.*

II. The succession of the crown to the next heir of the blood royal, is a fundamental and primary constitution of this realm, and, indeed, the basis and foundation of all our laws. Sir Ed. Coke, in his preface to his fourth Report, in the beginning, says, That the kingdom of England is a monarchy successive by inherent birthright, of all others the most absolute and perfect form of government, excluding *interregnums*, and with them infinite inconveniences. The Lord Chancellor Egerton, in his argument of the case of the Postnati, page 36, tells us, That in case of the crown, the eldest, sole (or alone) is to be preferred. And this he reckons among the ancient customs of this nation, against which, saith he, there never hath been, nor ought to be, any dispute. And indeed, if parliaments may alter so essential and fundamental a constitution, the monarchy of England, which hath been hereditary by law, will become elective, and disposable at the arbitry and will of the people. And by the same rule that they may exclude the next heir, they may the next to that, and so by consequence the whole line. But though the common law of England doth allow the parliament to repair and mend the building, yet it doth not allow them to pull it down, and subvert the foundation of it.

And it may justly be suspected, that such electors may in time believe, that they have a power to unmake what they can so easily make. And this was the reason, that those kings of England who had submitted their necks to this popular or statute kingship, were constrained to be always on their guard, and to defend their wrongful possessions by the sword, as well against their electors, as the right heirs, as we shall hereafter shew. And this alteration of the monarchy, in so fundamental a part thereof, from inheritance to election, may prove equally mischievous also to a king in possession, though he claim too by inherent and undoubted birthright: For the same reason, which the people may think sufficient to exclude the right heir, may, when they please, be deemed valid enough also to depose and eject the possessor of the crown, be his title lawful or not; which is a dangerous consequence, and for which he supreme governor is not obliged to these new scheme-mongers, who, by limiting obedience to possession only, first destroy all notion of right and wrong, and, in the next place, make the enjoyment of a crown so precarious and insecure, that no man in his wits would venture to wear it.

III. The succession of the crown to the next heir of the blood, is one of the highest, most essential, and undivided rights of the crown, and a pearl of the most transparent oriency and magnitude in the imperial diadem of England. And the kings of England themselves, their chancellors, treasurers, and all great officers of state, their privy counsellors, and the judges (who are only to expound all statutes by which this right of succession may be violated) are all, by provision of the law, solemnly sworn, upon the holy evangelists, to maintain and defend the rights of the crown, and that they suffer no disinherison or damage to accrue thereto, 18 *Ed. III. The oath of the judges in Poulton.* And every member of the Commons House, by the 5th *Eliz. c.* 1. is obliged, before he enter, or have voice in the said House, to swear that he will, to his power, defend all jurisdictions, privileges, &c. annexed to the imperial crown of this realm; and if he do not, he shall be no member, and further punished. And the oath to be taken at court leets all over the kingdom, by every subject above twelve years old, is, That he will be true and faithful to the sovereign and his heirs, &c. *Coke's 7th Rep.* 6 *v. Calvin's Case.* And it is remarkable, that in the parliament of 42 *Ed. III.* the lords and commons being demanded their advice by the king, in a matter relating to the crown, did answer unanimously, That they would not assent to any thing in parliament that tended to the disinherison of the king and his heirs, or the crown, whereunto they were sworn. *Rot. Parl.* 42. *Ed. III. num.* 7. And Sir Ed. Coke, commenting upon that record, saith, That it is a law and custom of parliament, that no king can alien the crown from the right heir, though by consent of the lords and commons, 4 *Inst.* 14 *in margin.* And in another place he saith, That King John's resignation of the crown to the pope was utterly void, because the royal dignity is an inseparable inherent to the royal blood of the king, descendable to the next of blood of the king, and cannot be transferred to another, 12 *Rep.* 28. And which is much more, in 1 *Jac. c.* 1. there is a recognition of the parliament, that the crown of England is lawfully descended unto King James, his progeny and posterity.

To leave no room for starting new principles, I shall answer some few objections, and so conclude.

1. There are several instances of kings of this nation, whose titles to the crown depended purely upon the election of the people, and acts of parliament, and not upon proximity of blood, and inherent birthright; as K. John, Henry IV. Henry VII. And Henry VIII. entailing the crown upon himself and children by act of parliament.

I answer, that these titles were never looked upon as good, or bars against the right heirs.

First, As for K. John, it is plain he was king *de facto*, but not *de jure*; for he invaded the crown against the right of his nephew Arthur, who was the son of Geoffry,

John's eldest brother, as all the histories of that time do observe and lament. And therefore, wanting that title which God, nature, and the immutable customs of this realm give to the right heir, he was constrained to pray in aid of the people, and to patch up a title from them by election. The story is thus in Matthew Paris, a learned monk, who lived in that time, and who became afterwards chronologer royal to King Henry II. "John, upon the death of his brother King Richard I., was advanced to the throne by the favour of the great ministers of state; and at his coronation, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor of England, (a man of great subtilty) tells the nobility, clergy, and populace, in a very fine harangue, that no man whatsoever was to succeed in this kingdom, unless he were elected by the universality of the people, with consideration had of his virtues, after the example of Saul's election:" And then he added, "that John was a qualified person in that kind, and therefore they ought to chuse him for their king." But Archbishop Hubert being afterwards demanded, how he durst, in such an assembly, affirm that the monarchy was elective, he replied, "that he had it by revelation and prophecy, that John would, some time or other, endanger the realm; and that he might curb him, he did pronounce him admitted to the crown by election, and not by hereditary succession." So that this was done only by way of umbrage and hypocrisy, to serve a turn. And truly, the good people did accordingly, some time after, check this unfortunate king, and bring him to a low condition, chusing the French king's son their king. So that King John's tenure was good no longer than he could maintain it with his sword, which is the case of thieves and pirates.

Secondly, For K. Henry IV. he was likewise a *de facto* king only; for he laid violent hands upon the crown, by the treasonable and barbarous disposition and murder of his natural lord and sovereign K. Richard II. after whose death, without issue, the legal title remained in the house of Clarence, which was the elder line; and so K. Henry IV. was forced to truckle under an election of the people, and their establishment in parliament, which establishment was *ipso facto* void in law against the house of York, (which married after with the house of Clarence) see *Rot. Parl.* 29. *H.* 6. *num.* 10, 13, 15, 27. And truly this king considering how much a title to the crown by common law and inherent birthright exceeded a title by statute, and the people's suffrage, made his solemn claim to the crown in parliament by descent from K. Henry III., which, though it was a notorious figment, he looked upon to be a better security than popular establishment. *See Rot. Parl.* 1 *H. IV. Memb.* 20.

Thirdly, For King Henry VII. he was also king *de facto*, the title abiding in Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Edward IV.

King Henry VII. laid claim to the crown, as descending in a right line from John Duke of Somerset, eldest son to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, by his third wife Katharine Swinford; by which Katharine the same John of Gaunt had issue the said Duke of Somerset and other children before marriage with her, and during his marriage with his second wife the Lady Constance, daughter and heir to Peter King of Castile. So that these children were bastards by our law, and consequently incapable of inheriting. After the death of his second wife, John of Gaunt, for the passionate affection he bore to his children by Katharine, married her, and procured them to be legitimated by act of parliament, and made inheritable to all preheminencies, honours, dignities, &c. excepting the regal dignity. *Rot. Parl.* 20. *R.* 2. *n.* 29. *Rot. Parl.* 20. *R.* 1. 2. *Pars secunda Memb.* 6. *Rot. Parl.* 8. *H* 4. *Pars prima Memb.* 14. Besides Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby, the mother of King Henry VII., and through whom he must necessarily derive whatever title he can pretend to, died after him in 1. H. VIII. And therefore this prince having so many flaws in his title, and knowing that the laws divine, natural, and human, were against him, it's no wonder he so much courted the people, and was so solicitous for an establishment by them;

for it is plain he laid no great stress upon his own title: Nor did he rely much upon his statute title, as appears by two acts of parliament.

I. By that very statute law by which the crown was established upon him; for as my Lord Bacon, Hist. 11. 12. hath observed, he did not desire to have that act penned by way of declaration or recognition of right, or to have it by any new law, but chose rather a sort of middle way, by way of establishment, and that under covert and indifferent words, viz. "That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king, &c." Which words might equally be applied, that the crown would continue to him, but whether as having right to it, (which was doubtful) or having it then in fact and possesssion, was left fair to interpretation every way.

II. From the 11 H. VII. c. 1. which he procured to be made in the 11th of his reign, in which it was enacted, "That no person that shall serve the king for the time being (for so are the very words) in his wars shall be attainted or impeached in his person and estate, what fortune soever fall by chance of battle, against the mind and will of the same king for the time being."

The Lord Chancellor Bacon in his Hist. of H. VII. fol. 144. comments very handsomely upon this act of parliament: This law, saith he, had in it parts of prudent and deep foresight, for it took away occasion for the people to busy themselves in prying into the king's title to the crown; for howsoever that fell out to be good or bad, the people's safety was provided for. And the same author in the close of this king's life, *ibid. fol.* 233. & 217. reckons his opportune and seasonable death among his greatest felicities, which withdrew him from any future blow of fortune; and which (continued he) in regard of the title of his son, being then 18 years of age, and a forward prince, had not been impossible to come upon him: Because upon the death of King Henry's queen, in whom the true title lodged, and who died some years before, the crown immediately by the law of England descended upon Prince Henry; for there can be no tenancy by the courtesy of the crown. So that in the opinion of this Lord Chancellor also, this king's title by statute was of small account, in respect of that of his son by common law. By all which it plainly appears, that this king had no legal or inherent right of his own to the crown, and therefore, contrary to his own inclination, he was constrained to stoop to an establishment of the people, which was notwithstanding null in law.

For King Henry VIII. though he was undoubtedly king *de jure*, yet there happened in this prince's case certain odd circumstances, which necessitated him, contrary to his better knowledge, to allow his people a share in ordering the succession to the crown. And therefore by the statute 25. H. 8. c. 22. he confirms his divorce from Katharine, and bastardizeth Mary her daughter, and makes her inheritable to the crown. The legitimation or bastardy of these two daughters depending much upon the validity or weakness of the papal dispensation in the first marriage; and this being a perplexed question in those days, he hoped to have cut this Gordian knot with the sword, and pretended omnipotency of a parliament. And then after he had done this, he forthwith marries Jane Seymour, and by statute 28 Henry VIII. c. 9. attaints his wife Ann, and bastardizeth Elizabeth her daughter; and breaking down the boundaries of all law and common reason, he procures it to be enacted, "That in case he had no issue by Jane, he might dispose of the crown to whatsoever person he did in his own discretion think fit." And the whole nation was obliged by the sanctimony of an oath to the defence of this law. This he did that he might advance to the throne his natural son Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Richmond, (who died soon after) whom he loved most passionately, and so to exclude for ever his sister, Margaret of Scotland, and all her descendants. See Heylin's *Ecclesia Restaurata, fol.* 6. Then by the statute of 35 Henry VIII. c. 1. he entails the crown upon himself, Prince Edward, and the said Mary and Elizabeth; and in case they happened to have no issue, he was agan empowered by

the same act of parliament, to dispose of the crown to whatsoever person or persons he pleased by his last will and testament; and the whole nation was likewise sworn to the maintenance of this law. And by virtue of his extravagant power, in case his children died without issue, as afterwards they did, he bequeathed the crown to the house of Suffolk, being the younger house, and in defiance of all laws human and brotherly affection, disinherited and totally excluded the elder house of Scotland. These niceties and designs considered, it's plain K. Henry was constrained to pray in aid of the people to give some colour to all these contradictions and inconsistencies. And therefore I conceive, that no man of common reason will draw arguments from the statutes above-mentioned to prove that the parliament of England could by them exclude the next heir of the blood.

By the whole matter of this first objection it appears, that the princes which submitted to those tumultuous and statute-kingships, did it, either because they invaded and usurped the crown, contrary to the laws divine, natural, and human, or to give a colour to their own private designs. And yet after all these popular establishments, fenced with the sanctions of oaths, they could not transfer the right from the next heir of the blood, that being God's immediate donation. For though an act of parliament shall command me to say, that an Ethiopian is white, and that under the highest oaths and penalties; or that an ape is a man; yet, notwithstanding, the Ethiopian can never in truth change his skin, or complexion, nor the ape his species, and commence a creature rational.

II. Some may, by way of objection, ask, Why may not the crown be transferred from the next heir of the blood by parliament, as well as all other inheritances and possessions in the kingdom may from the right heir of the subject?

In answer to this, I say there is no similitude between the cases. For, first, private men derive their inheritances from their ancestors; but the next heir of the blood royal derives not the crown from his predecessors, nor from the people, but immediately from God; as I have proved already in the beginning of this argument. And no person, or community, can give away or transfer a thing, which they never had vested in them, either in possession, or in right.

Secondly, The law of the crown (which is a principal part of the common law of England) differs from the law of the subject in point of descent; and therefore that may be law in case of the crown, which is not in case of the subject; *Cok.* 1. *v.* & 344. *a.* 1. of which I shall here give some instances.

A private man being an alien born cannot by our law inherit land here; but the crown shall descend upon the next heir of the blood, though an alien, as in the case of Henry II. who was born an alien, and begot by an alien: As likewise in the case of King James I.

If a king of England have three daughters, and die, the crown shall descend upon the eldest alone; but in case of a subject the inheritance shall go to all three daughters. *Cok.* 1. *Inst.* 165. *a.* 25. *H.* 8. *c.* 22.

If a subject marry an heiress, and have issue by her, a son, and the wife die, the husband shall enjoy the wife's lands during his life; but if a man marry a queen regnant of England, and hath by her a son or a daughter, and then she dies, the crown descends immediately upon the issue, though the father be alive. *Ellesmere's Postnati* 36. *Lord Bacon's H.* 7. *fol* 4. 121. 217. 231.

So the half blood is no impediment to the descent of the land of the crown, as it happened in the cases of Edward VI. and the two queens, Mary and Elizabeth; and yet in the cases of subjects it is clearly otherwise. *Plowd. Com.* 245. *a. Co.* 7. *Rep.* 12. *v. Postnati. Co. Inst.* 15. *v.*

So likewise if the right heir of the blood, or the father or mother of the right heir from whom the crown descends, are attainted of high treason by parliament, these

attainders are no obstructions to the descent of the crown, as it happened in the cases of our King Edward IV. and his father, who were both attainted of high treason, and executed, and yet the judges and commissioners that gave sentence upon her set forth a publick declaration, that the attainder of the mother did not derogate from the right of her son to the crown of England, *Cambd. vit. Elis. Reg.* 28. 1586. But all men know 'tis otherwise in the case of subjects, whose descents are obstructed by the attainders of their ancestors. By these few instances it appears, that though an inheritance may thus be given away from a subject, yet it doth not in any wise follow, that the crown may be disposed from the next heir.

III. The third and last objection is founded upon the statute of 13°. Eliz. cap. 1. wherein it is enacted, that if any person shall affirm, that the parliament of England hath not full power to bind and govern the crown in point of succession and descent, such person (during the queen's life) shall be guilty of high treason, and after her death shall forfeit his goods and chattels, &c.

In answer to this it is to be observed, first, that this law was made in the time of a queen, whose title to the crown depended upon statute law, as appears by the very act recognizing her title to the crown; 1 Eliz. cha. 3. And this act 13° was made an affirmance and vindication of such title to the crown by statute, as is plain from the body of the same act; and therefore this queen had little reason to scruple the passing a bill of this nature. But I much doubt, whether a common-law prince, who owes his title only to God, nature, and the immutable customs of the nation, unless under like circumstances with King Henry III. would have assented to an act so derogatory to the regalities, by reason of the manifest inconveniences that might ensue to himself and posterity by such assent and condescension.

Secondly, *Sir Edward Coke*, 1. *Inst.* 43. *a.* 4. *Inst.* 52. admonishes us, that the true scope and design of our statute laws are oftentimes unintelligible, without the help of the chronicles and memoirs of the age, wherein they were made: Of which there cannot be a more pregnant instance than this here. And therefore I will in charity believe, that the contrivers of this objection did never rightly inform themselves of the history and true reason of making this statute, which in truth was this, according to *Camden's Vit. Eliz.*

Some time before this statute, Mary Queen of Scots, dowager of France and mother of our King James I. being defeated in battle by her rebellious subjects of Scotland, fled into the bosom of her kinswoman Elizabeth of England for protection; who, inheriting her father's aversion to the house of Scotland, contrary to the royal sympathies, which our sovereign ought to have for another in distress, and indeed against the rules of common hospitality, commits Mary to a loathsome prison. The pope with some of the catholick princes and others of her friends endeavour to set her at liberty, and to advance her to the throne, that age looking upon Mary's title to be much clearer than that of the queen in possession, she having been bastardized, and was at best but a statute queen. But Mary derived by the common law, and a direct true line from Margaret the eldest daughter of King Henry VII. and Elizabeth his queen. Besides, in the year this statute was made, there was a marriage proposed between Queen Elizabeth and Henry Duke of Anjou, and no small care taken to establish the succession upon the issue proceeding from the same marriage. And there is a remarkable cause in the same statute of 13. viz. That every person, of what degree or nation soever, who shall during the queen's life declare or publish, that they have any right to enjoy the crown of England, during the queen's life, shall be disenabled to enjoy the crown in succession after the queen's death. Which clause was most apparently contrived against the same Mary and her son King James.

Thirdly, This act of 13. being a law made in diminution, or rather in open and hostile defiance of the title of Scotland to this crown, it was by tacit and implied consent

of the law, and the whole nation, utterly abrogated upon the first moment of the union of the two crowns in the person of King James I. or at least by the solemn and express repeal, 4. *Jac. cap.* 1. of all hostile and unkind laws between England and Scotland, of which I am sure this of 13. was none of the least.

A brief History of the Succession of the Crown of England; wherein Facts, collected from the best Authorities, are opposed to the novel Assertors of indefeasible Hereditary Right. By Lord Somers. Printed in the Year 1714.

Lord Somers is said to have composed this brief History for the satisfaction of Lord Halifax, when the bill was depending in parliament for exclusion of the Duke of york from the crown in the time of Charles II. In the original copy there were several additions in his lordship's hand writing, from which it is ascribed by the editor to that celebrated statesman. The purpose of this second edition at the period of the Accession is sufficiently obvious.

The Preface.

The great noise that has of late been revived about the hereditary right which the next of blood in the royal family has to the crown of Great Britain, makes me believe the reprinting the following history at this time may be of service, especially to such as have not opportunity or leisure to peruse our histories at large. It was collected and first published in King Charles the Second's time, when the endeavour was made to set aside the then popish heir, and afterwards reprinted at the time of the Revolution, to shew in a short compass what notion our ancestors, as well princes as people, in all times, had of this matter; by which I think it does sufficiently appear, that even our princes themselves have all of them esteemed that the best title which came by act of settlement, and those who received the crown by descent have seldom thought themselves rightly fixed, until they had obtained some act of recognition.

The references in the margin readily direct how to examine the truth of the facts; and the whole I hope may serve to make us more cautious than implicitly to follow those men's opinions with relation to the settlement of the crown, on which the welfare of whole kingdoms depends, whose advice we would not be determined by in the settlement of an estate of 50*l.* per annum, or a mortgage for 100*l.*

Men generally at present busy themselves in discoursing about the succession, and therefore cannot but be pleased to have a short history of it set before them: For by seeing how the crown has descended, and in what manner, and upon what grounds the natural course of the descent hath been changed, they will be enabled to judge what has been the opinion of all ages in this so controverted a point, and thereby may safely direct their own.[1]

[1] Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. 5. Tacitus in vita Jul. Agricolæ. Strab. lib. 4.—*Orig. Note.*

Nothing certain has come down to us of the nature of the government of this island before the Romans came hither; only this we learn from Cæsar, and Strabo, and Tacitus, that the Britons were subject to many princes and states, nor consulting in common, but always suspecting, and frequently warring with one another.

During the heptarchy, whilst every kingdom was governed by different laws, we cannot think they agree in one rule of succession: But, if that does not, I am sure the reading the many changes and confusions of those times must convince any man, that their rule was uncertain, or else that they had no rule at all.

Those seven kingdoms were at last under Egbert; but yet our historians who lived nearest those times, express themselves so oddly in this matter, and do so constantly mention the election of almost every king before they tell us of his coronation, that some learned men have doubted, whether before the Conquest the government of this island was ever grown up into a settled hereditary monarchy. Surely if it were so, yet all must agree, that [1] then the succession was not guided by the same rules, as some men believe or pretend it ought now to be. Egbert himself, the first English monarch, came to the crown, not by succession but election, being no way related to Brissicus, the last of the West Saxon kings; and when he died he gave the kingdoms of Kent and Essex to his second son.[2] Ethelwolf divided the whole island between his two sons Ethelbald and Ethelbert.[3] Athelstan (though a bastard) succeeded his father, and was preferred to his legitimate brothers.[4] Edred, the younger brother of Edmond, was advanced to the throne, though the deceased prince had two sons, Edwin and Edgar, who did both of them reign afterward successively. Edgar left a son at his death; but yet there happened a mighty contest about his successor,[5] some of the great men contending for the election of Egelred his brother. But at last the interest of Edward the son prevailed, and he was in a full assembly elected, consecrated, and anointed king. That which Ailredus, abbot of Rievallis, in his life of Edward the Confessor, gives an account of, seems very remarkable to our purpose. King Ethelred,[6] (who was no tame and easy prince) desirous to establish his successor in his life-time,[7] summoned a great council expressly for that purpose, and proposes the thing to them; the council were divided, some of them appearing for Edmond his eldest son, and some for Alfred his second son by Queen Emma. But at last, upon some superstitious fancy, they agreed to pass by both of them, and elected the infant that was in the queen's womb. To which election the king gave his [8] royal assent, and the whole assembly swore fealty to the child whilst yet unborn. Undoubtedly this story makes it plain, that it was not enough at that time to entitle one to the crown, that he was the king's eldest son, for then Ethelred would never have suffered a debate about the election of a successor, nor summoned a parliament expressly for that purpose, which you see he thought necessary to be done. And, notwithstanding all his care, it seems upon the death of Ethelred, Canutus had so great an interest, that by unanimous consent in a full [9] council he was elected king, and all the issue of the last prince rejected. 'Tis true the Londoners stood firm to Edmond Ironside, (the

[1] Pol. Virg. Hist. Ang. l. 4. in fid. Will. Malmes. l. 1. c. 2. fol. 16. l. 2. c. 1. fol. 36.

[2] Hen. Hunt. l. 5. fol. 348. Will. Malmes. lib. 2. c. 3. fol. 41.

[3] Will. Malmes. l. 2. c. 6. fol. 48.

[4] Will. Malmes. l. 2. c. 7. fol. 55. Rog. Hoved. par. 1. fol. 422. Hen. Hunt. l. 5. fol. 355.

[5] De rege Eligendo magna inter Regni Primores oborta est dissentio, Simoen Dunelm. an. 975. fol. 160. Edwardum Elegerunt Electum consecraverunt, et in Regem unxerunt. Sim. Dunelm. ubi supra.

[6] Gloriosus Rex Ethelridus Ailred. Rievalis. fol. 372.

[7] Fit magnus coram Rege Episcoporum Conventus. Rieval. ubi supra.

[8] Præbet Electioni Rex consensum. Ailr. Ab. Rieval. ubi supra.

[9] Episcopi Abbates Duces quique nobiliores Angliæ in unum congregati pari consensu Canutum in Dominium et Regem Eligere omnem progeniem Regis Ethelredi repudiantes. Sim. Dunelm. an. 1016. f. 173. Brompt. f. 903. Rog. Hovedon 1 par. f. 434.—*Orig. Notes.*

approbation of that renowned city had then no little influence on the succession) and there were divers battles fought between them; but at last they came to an agreement, and Edmond dying, the Dane ruled the whole island peaceably whilst he lived.

Immediately upon the death of Canutus, there was assembled at Oxford [1] a great council to determine who ought to succeed; where, notwithstanding all the interest which Godwin Earl of Kent, and the West-Saxon great men, could make on the behalf of Hardiknute, the legitimate son of the dead king, they were over-voted, and Herald Harefoot (his bastard, begotten on Ailena or Elgiva) was elected. Herald died in the 5th year of his reign, and [2] then the people were content to accept of Hardiknute for their king, and to that end sent for him into Flanders; but he dying issueless, it was ordained in a [3] general council, that never any Dane should for the future be admitted to reign in England. After which they proceeded to elect Alfred, the son of Ethelred; and he being murdered by the treachery of Earl Godwin, they chose his brother Edward, called Edward the Confessor. Nor were these elections of theirs made with any respect to nearness of blood, more than those whereof we have heard before; for Edmond Ironside, their elder brother, had a son then alive,[4] whose name was Edward, and who was father to Edgar Atheling, living also at the same time. And though this Edward had an undoubted title to the crown, if proximity of blood could have given it, yet the Confessor was so far from suspecting any danger from such a title, as that he invited his nephew into England, and welcomed him when he came with the greatest expressions of joy, and entertained him with the greatest confidence. Nor had the people any regard to this royal blood upon the death of the Confessor, but elected Herald, the son of Earl Godwin, who had no pretence of kindred to the Saxon line.

These few, among many other instances which may be given, will shew plainly enough, how men entitled themselves to the crown in those days, and that then it was no strange thing to hear of a parliament's meddling with the succession. Therefore I suppose the men who seem astonished at the boldness of a parliament, in presuming to speak of it at this time, will say, that they ought not to be troubled with precedents before the Norman conquest; and that though the Saxons might be guilty of preferring a brave and deserving bastard, before a cruel or a silly legitimate prince, and of many other irregularities, yet no such things are to be found in our histories since the time of William I. whose reign is the great epoch, from whence we do compute our kings. Let us therefore go on more particularly to observe what has been done since that time, and we shall see whether they who wonder so much have any reason to do so.

William the Conqueror was himself illegitimate, and yet succeeded his father in the duchy of Normandy, and therefore had no reason to set any great value upon that sort of title which is derived from a right of blood. And it seems he did not much regard it; for passing by Robert his eldest, he gave the crown [5] by his last will to William Rufus, his younger son, disposing only with regard to his own inclinations, the crown which himself had gained.

But his son was too wise to rely upon this disposition as a sufficient title, and therefore had recourse to a more sure one: [6] For, calling together the nobles and wise men

[1] Placitum magnum de regni successione apud Oxonium factum est, Brompt. 932. Canuto mortuo facta est apud Oxonium magno alteratio de regni successione. Hen. Knyth. de event. Angl. Hen. Hunt. f. 6. fol. 364.

[2] Post mortem Haraldi Hardiknute electus Rex. Hen. Hum. l. 6. fol. 365.

[3] Omnes Anglorum magnates ad invicem tractantes de communi concilio et juramento statuerunt, quod nunquam temporibus futuris aliquis Dacus super eos in Anglia regnaret.

[4] Brompt. 945.

[5] A parte ultima valetudine decumbente in successorum adoptatus. Guil. Malmsb. lib. 4. fol. 120. Sim. Dunel. an. 1087. fol. 213. Brompt. f. 980.

[6] Convocatis terræ magnatibus. Brompt. 983. Optimates frequentes ad Westmonasterium in concilium convenere, ubi loci post longam consultationem Gulielmum Rufum Regem fecere. Mat. Paris, Flores Hist. fol. 23.1. Volentibus omnium provincialium animis in regem acceptus. Mat. Paris in vit. Guil. II. fol 14. anno 1088.

Orig. Notes.

of the kingdom, he acquainted them, in a full council, with his father's will, and desired their consent to it; who, after a long consultation, did at last unanimously agree to make him their king, and thereupon he was crowned by Lanfranck, Archbishop of Canterbury. I cannot but observe one thing farther, that though some men make use of the absolute victory which the Conqueror had made, and affirm, that thereby the English were wholly broken, and all the old laws and customs of the realm were destroyed, yet it is plain, that at this time the English interest was so great, that it kept the crown upon William Rufus's head, in spite of all that the Normans could do in behalf of Robert, though they universally joined with him. [1] For the king calling together the English, and opening to them the treason of the Normans, and [2] promising them a complete restitution of their ancient laws, they stood firm to him, and soon put an end to all the attempts of his brother and his Norman accomplices.

Upon the death of William Rufus, Robert had a fair pretence to renew his claim to the crown,[3] but that prince had discovered too much of the cruelty of his disposition, of his aversion to the English nation, and of his proneness to revenge; so that by the full consent and council of the whole body of the realm, assembled at Winchester, he was finally rejected, and they did concur to elect the Conqueror's third son Henry for their king (as Mat. Westminster expresses it.) Nor did they do this but upon terms, for both the clergy and laity said, "That if he would restore them their ancient liberties, and confirm them by his charter, and abrogate some severe laws which his father had made, they would consent to make him king." And this prudent and learned king was not ashamed or unwilling to own this title; for he does at large recite it in his charter, whereby he confirms their liberties, [4] *Sciatis me misericordia dei, et communi consilio Baronum Regni Angliæ, ejusdem Regni Regem Coronatum esse, &c.*

Henry I. you see, had reason to believe and own the power of the kingdom, in setting the crown upon what head they pleased, and therefore he desired to secure it that way to his posterity. To that end, in the 13th year of his reign, [5] he summoned a council, and procured all the great and powerful men of the kingdom to swear that his son William should succeed him. But afterwards this son of his was unfortunately drowned, and the king died, leaving no other issue but Maud his daughter, who had been married to the emperor, and afterward to Geoffery Plantagenet, earl of Anjou. No dispute can be made, but that she had all the right which proximity of blood could give; yet Stephen, Earl of Boloign, who was the son of Adela, one of the Conqueror's daughters, and whose elder brother Theobald, Earl of Blois, was then living, stept in before her, and by representing to them the inconvenience of a feminine government, and promising them to consent to such good and gentle laws as they should devise, prevailed [6] with the estates of the realm to elect him king. And in his charter, which he made soon after, he owns this title, beginning it thus, *Ego Stephanus Dei gratia, assensu Cleri et Populi, in Regem Angliæ Electus, &c.* And the pope, in his charter of confirmation, sent to him in the first year of his reign, tells him that he was *Communi votu et unani-*

[1] Rex fecit convocare Anglos. Sim. Dunelm an 1088. fol. 214.

[2] Angli eum fideliter juvabant, &c. Sim. Dunelm. ubi supra.

[3] Hic Robertus semper contrarius et adeo innaturalis extiterat Baronibus Regni Angliæ, quod plenario consensu et consilio totius communitatis Regni, ipsum refutaverunt et pro Rege omnino recusaverunt, et Henricum fratrem in Regem erexerunt. H. de Knight. c. 8. 2374. Post mortem Willielmi Rufi electus est Henricus frater ejus. M. Paris 55. in vita H. I. an. 1100. et 62. anno 1105. Mat. West. 135. Apud Winton in Regem electus est. Brompt. 997.

[4] Rich. Hagulstad. 310. Brompt. 10. 21. Mat. Paris 240.

[5] Coacto Concilio fecit omnes Principes et Potentes Anglicani Regni adjurare terram et Regnum Willielmo filio suo, &c. Gervas Cron. 1138.

[6] A primoribus Regni cum favore Cleri et populi Electus est à Wil. Cant. Archiepiscopo in Regem Consecratur. R. Hagulstad. an. 1156. fol. 312. Consentientibus in ejus promotionem Willielmo Cantuariensis Archiepiscopo et Clericorum et Laicorum Universitate apud London, Jo. Hagulstad 250. Predictus Stephanus á cunctis in Regem Electus. Gervas Chron. f 340. Congregatis Londoniis terræ magnatibus, Mat. Paris 74.—*Orig. Notes.*

mi assensu tam Procerum quam etiam Populi in Regem electus. And then he adds, "That since so universal an assent could not be directed but by the Divine grace, he therefore allows his title, and confirms him in the kingdom."

'Tis true that afterwards Maud the Empress, together with her son Henry, having, after some years, gained many to their side, gave him great disturbance, till at last Stephen having lost his eldest son Eustace (in whom he placed his hopes, [1] and used all means, whilst he lived, to have got him declared his successor, but without success) came to an agreement with the empress and her son, and [2] the parliament, (who alone could give a sanction to such agreement,) was assembled at Winchester to confirm it; and then Stephen publickly adopts Henry for his son, (his mother Maud who had the hereditary right, was then alive;) and with their full consent declares him his heir; and with the same consent Henry gives Stephen the name of father, and agrees that he should continue to be king, during his life, and they all swore, that if Henry survived, he should without opposition obtain the crown, and Stephen by his charter, which is set down at large in Brompton, publishes this agreement, *Brompt.* 1037.

In all this transaction certainly there was no consideration had of any other right, but that which universal consent conferred; but if Stephen's heir had any pretence, he had a son then living, whose name was William, and who by the same agreement was to have all the possessions which his father enjoyed before he was made king. If the heir of Henry I. had any title, that was vested in Maud the empress, who was then also living; so that neither of the parties had any other colour of right to the crown than what the consent of the people gave them.

According to this parliamentary agreement and limitation, Stephen enjoyed the crown peaceably during his life, and after his death Henry the Second came to it as peaceably; but he remembered by what title, and therefore was desirous to secure it to his son in the same manner, that he took a very dangerous and unusual way to it. [3] For summoning a parliament to meet at London, he procures his son Henry to be declared king together with himself, by their consent, and thereupon he was crowned by the Archbishop of York, and fealty sworn to him by all. This was the occasion of civil wars between them, for the father meant hereby only to have secured the succession to him, and the son was impatient of having only the bare title of a king, all along pretending to an equal authority, as doth sufficiently appear by what he writes to the prior and convent of Canterbury, where he takes notice that his father did attempt some invasions upon them, which he ought not to have done without his assent. [4] *Qui, ratione Regiæ unctionis, Regnum, et totius Regni curam suscepiemus,* and therefore he appealed to the pope in that behalf. Nay the father himself paid that respect to his son's dignity, that when he at last subdued him and his rebellious brothers, [5] he would not suffer him to do him homage with his other sons, (though he offered it.) But Henry the son dying in the life of his father, Richard was then his eldest son surviving, and consequently had all the right which a next heir could claim. But the wise and wary king had not confidence enough to rely upon this (now so much talked of) sacred right, but though he had already suffered so much from disobedient sons, was glad to get the succession confirmed to him in his life-time. And the truth is, there was rea-

[1] Hen. Hunt l. 8. f. 395. R. Hag. de gestis. Steph. 314.

[2] Facto Wintoniæ conventu publico, Rex Stephanus ipsum Ducem cunctis videntibus adoptavit in filium, utque, interposito omnium Juramento, concessit et confirmarit ei totius Angliæ principatum, Dux autem suscepit eum in locum genitoris, concedens ei omnibus diebus vitæ suæ nomen et rem Regii culminis obtinere, Gervas. f. 1375. In conventu Episcoporum et aliorum de Regno optum. Mat. Westm. f. 246. an. 1153. et 282. an. 1154. Consenserunt in hoc omnes principes Regni. Ja. Hagulstad f. 282. Mat. Paris 86. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. f. 398. Ja. Hagulstad 282. an. 1154.

[3] Convenerunt interim die statuto ex mandato Regis Londoniam totius Angliæ Episcopi Abbates, Comites, Barones, Vicecomites, Præpositi, Aldermanii cum fidejussoribus, Gervas. H. 2. F. 1412.

[4] Gervas. H. 2. F. 1425. [5] Brompt. F. 1100.—*Orig. Notes.*

son enough that he should do so, for he had all his sons by Eleanor, the daughter of William Duke of Guyen, [1] who was before the wife of Lewis the VII., King of France, who was still living, and she only divorced *causa adulterii,* which being not a divorce *a vinculo matrimonii,* she could not, either by the canon law, universally received, or the laws of England, lawfully marry with any other husband.

After his father's death, Richard came to London, to which place the clergy and laity were summoned, and [2] after he had been solemnly and duly elected by the whole clergy and laity, (they are the very words of the historian) and taken the usual oaths, he was crowned. And when he undertook the Holy War, [3] he declared Arthur son of his next brother Geoffery the Duke of Britain, the next heir to the crown.

Richard dying without issue, this Arthur ought to have succeeded, and his sister Elianor also had the title before her uncle. But John the younger brother, without regarding this divine right of his nephew, applies himself to the people for a more sure though but humane title; [4] who being summoned together, elected him king. And [5] Hubert, the then Bishop of Canterbury, did, at his coronation, preach a doctrine, which would have sounded very strangely to the Convocation in 1640, viz. No one could make any title to the crown, *nisi ab universitate regni unanimiter electus.* And that he who was most worthy ought to be preferred. But (as he goes on) if any one of the race of the deceased king was more deserving than others, as John the brother of the deceased king was, the people ought more readily to elect him, than a stranger to the royal blood. This was all the title King John pretended, and this was then sufficient to put by his nephew. And in his [6] charters, he does more than once own, that he owed his crown to the election and favour of his subjects.

But when King John gave over to dissemble his nature, and went about to change his religion [7] (for he made offers of that sort to the King of Morocco) when he discovered himself not to be that worthy man which the people supposed him to have been; they remembered whence he derived his title, and proceeded, upon the same reason that they had chosen him, to make a new election, [8] chusing Lewis son of Philip of France, who was next heir to the crown in the right of Blanch his wife, niece to King John, and daughter to his sister Elianor, both the children of Geoffrey Duke of Britain being dead before that time.

When King Philip heard of their choice, he consented to send his son, being the rather induced thereto by this reason, [9] that John's blood being corrupted by an attainder of treason, in the life-time of his brother Richard, he was incapable of taking the crown by descent, and unworthy to take it by any other way.

Lewis coming to London was there elected and constituted king, swearing to preserve the people's laws, and they swearing allegiance to him: But he soon forgot his coronation oath, and attempted several ways to introduce an arbitrary government, before he was well established on the throne, which the English as soon resented; and King John happening to die very opportunely, the earl marshal calling together the great men of the kingdom, and placing Henry III. then an infant, in the midst of them, persuaded them to make him king, who was altogether innocent of his father's

[1] M. Paris 84. [2] Post tam cleri quam populi solennem et debitam Electionem. Ridedieto fol. 647. R. H. par. 2. f. 6. 56. [3] Fol. Hist. an. 1190. [4] Prælatorum Comitum et aliorum nobilium multitudo infinita. Brompt. 1281.

[5] Mat. Paris, 197. an. 1199. Si aliquis ex stirpe regis defuncti aliis præpolliret pronius et promptius in electionem ejus esse consentiendum.

[6] Charta Moderationis feodi Magni sigilli, an. 1. Jo. ex vet. Reg. in Archivis Arch. Cant. He says he came to the crown, Jure Hereditario et mediante tam Cleri quam populi unanimi Consensu et Favore.

[7] Necnon et Regem Christianum. Quam vanam censuit relinquens Legi Mahometis fideliter adhærerit. Mat. Paris 243. [8] Mat. Paris 279. Flo. Hist. an. 1216.

[9] Volens fratrem suum Regem Ricardum a Regno Angliæ injuste private et inde de proditione accusatus et corum eo convictus, damnatus fuit per judicium in curia ipsius Regis, Mat. Westm. 275. Mat. Paris. 281.

Orig. Notes.

faults:[1] The Earl of Gloucester said this was contrary to their oath to Lewis, to which the marshal replied, that Lewis by breaking his oath had absolved them from theirs, and that he despised the English to set up the French, and that he would be the destruction of the realm. With whose reasons the whole assembly being convinced, cried out unanimously, *Fiat Rex;* and accordingly they crowned King Henry III. and soon after compelled Lewis to renounce all pretensions to the crown.

Henry III. dying, after a long and troublesome reign,[2] his son Edward I. a prince of great hopes, and whose life answered the highest expectations, succeeded; but whether he was the eldest son of his father, remains a doubt in history: The house of Lancaster, who derived themselves from his brother Edmond,[3] pretending always that Edmond was the elder, and Edward the younger brother, and that Edmond was put by the crown by common consent for his deformity.

After the death of Edward I. his son Edward II. succeeded,[4] but he degenerating from so great a father, the people grew weary of his irregular and arbitrary government. And a parliament being by him summoned at Westminster, as all our writers say, or as Polydor Virgil words it,[5] *Principes convocato concilio pervenerunt Londini* (which I observe only that we may know what Polydor means when he makes use of the expression of *principes in concilio congregati;*) They[6] presently entered into the consideration of the miserable state of the nation, and a paper being publickly read, containing many instances of the king's misgovernment, all which he had confessed, they concluded he was unworthy to reign any longer and that he ought to be deposed, and sent to him to let him know their resolution, and to require him to renounce his crown and royal dignity, otherwise they would proceed as they thought good. And they appointed commissioners to go to him in their names: The Bishop of Ely for the bishops, the Earl of Warren for the earls, Sir Henry Piercy for the barons, and Sir William Trussel for the commons, to resign their homage up to him, which Trussel pronounced in all their names, and formally deprived him of all royal power, the form of which is particularly mentioned by Knyghton: The king read this sad sentence with extraordinary grief, and many complaints of those evil counsellors who had seduced him; but in the midst of his sorrow[7] he gave them thanks that they had elected his son to reign after him. Thus was that glorious Prince Edward the Third elected king in his father's life-time, *et huic electioni universus populus consensit.* Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, who preached the coronation sermon, took this for his text,[8] *vox populi, vox Dei.* By this we may see that all his predecessors were not of Bishop Laud's mind, but thought there was a divine right somewhere else than where he placed it. Upon the death of Edward the Black Prince there was some dispute whether John of Gaunt, the eldest surviving son of Edward the Third, should succeed *jure propinquitatis,* or Richard, the son of the Black Prince: Whereupon, Edward the Third procured the parliament to confirm the succession to Richard the Second. And afterwards, when Edward the Third died,[9] Polidorus Virgil says, *principes regni habito concilio apud Westm.* (you know what Polydor means by *principes*) *Richardum, Edwardi principes filium regem dicunt,* by their common suffrages.

In the 21st year of Richard's reign, a parliament being assembled at Westminster,

[1] Mat. Westm. 275. Hen. de Knyght. f 2426. c. 15. l. 2.
[2] Hen. de Knyght f. 2472. c 16. l 2.
[3] The descendants of Edmond who were Dukes of Lancaster ended in a daughter, Blanch, who was married to John a Gaunt, made therefore Duke of Lancaster, and whose issue claims a right to the crown by this Blanch.
[4] Tho. Walsingh. in Vit. Ed. 2. f. 126 [5] Pol. Virg. l. 18. f. 352.
[6] Froissart 1. vol. c. 14. Fructus Temporum, pars 7. f. 107. Hen de Knyght. l. 3. c. 15. f. 2549.
[7] Quod filium suum Edwardum post se Regnaturum Eligissent, Knyght. 2550.
[8] Pol. Virg. 20. f. 295. Juri Hereditario ac etiam voto communi singulorum. H. Knyght. l. 5. 2630.
[9] Rot. Parl. 1 H. 4. Pol. Virg. l. 5.—*Orig. Notes.*

they drew up, by their common consent, a form whereby he did resign the crown, and the name and power of King, discharging all his subjects from all oaths which they had taken of allegiance to him, confessing himself thereby insufficient for the government, and swearing never to make any pretences to the same for the future. All which he pronounced and subscribed, wishing, (if it were in his power,) to have Henry Duke of Lancaster for his successor, but since it was not, he desired the commissioners to signify his desires to the states of the realm. The next day all the states of the realm accepted his resignation, and when that was done, they proceeded to read publickly his coronation oath, and all the breaches of it, that so it might appear how justly he had deserved to be deposed, and appoint commissioners *ad deponendum eundem Richardum Regem ab omne dignitate, majestate et honore regis, vice nomine et authoritate omnium statuum prædictorum, prout in consimilibus casibus de antiqua consuetudine dicti regni fuit observatum*, which the Bishop of St Asaph did, in full parliament, in their names, and by their directions. The same commissioners were also to resign up to him their homage and fealty, and intimate the sentence of deposition, which they did accordingly, by the mouth of Sir William Thirning, whose words are entered upon record. Then did the parliament proceed to chuse Henry IV. king; and upon this title only did he rely, (though he mentioned some other trifling ones) as that he challenged it, being then void by force, as descended to him from King Henry III.[1]

But this could give him no title, for 'tis plain that whilst any of the issue of Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III. were in being, no right of blood could descend to him, who derived his pedigree only from John of Gaunt, who was but his fourth son. And he plainly shewed what a good opinion he had of a parliamentary title to the crown, when in the 7th year of his reign he procured an act of parliament to pass, whereby the inheritance of the crown and realms of England and France were settled upon himself for life, and the remainder entailed upon his four sons by name, and the issue of their bodies begotten. He was contented that it should be limited no farther, but that, after failure of his own issue, it should go according to the general direction of the law. And he made a charter soon after, whereby he settled the crown pursuant to this act of parliament: *Post ipsum successive hæredibus suis de ipsius corpore legitime procerandis*;[2] which charter was again confirmed in parliament, the 22d of December, 8 Hen. IV. and the original charter is still to be seen in the Cotton library.

Immediately upon the death of Henry the IV. a parliament met at Westminster, and there, according to the custom of the realm, it was debated who should be king; but all men had entertained so good thoughts of Prince Henry, that without staying till the whole assembly had declared him king, divers of them began to swear allegiance to him,—a thing strange and without precedent, as only occasioned by the extraordinary opinion which was generally conceived of him before.

And the certain title vested in him by an act of parliament.

Principes Henricus, facto patris sui funere, Concilium Principum apud Westmonasterium Convocandum Curat, in quo de Rege Creando, more Majorum, agitabatur. Continuò aliquot Principe altero in ejus Verba Jurare cæperunt, quod Benevolentiæ Officium Nulli, priusquam Rex renunciatus esset, præstitum constat. Ad eo Henricus ab ineunto ætate spem omnibus optimæ indolis fecit. POL. VIRG. *l.* 23. *Hist. Angl. in Vit. sl.* 5.[3]

Henry the Vth dying, and leaving but one son, who was an infant of eight months old, Titus Livius says, there was some doubt whether he should be accepted as king;

[1] See supra. 6. [2] 7 H. 4. cap. 2. [3] Bucks Hist. R. 3. l. 2. f. 50.—*Orig. Notes.*

but as soon as his father's funerals were solemnized, the estates of the realm of England, assembling and consulting together, they declared Henry VI. to be their sovereign.[1]

In the 35th year of Henry VI. a new limitation of the crown was made by parliament, for though the king had a son then living, yet it was enacted, that during his own life only Henry VI. should hold and enjoy the crown,[2] and that during his life Richard Duke of York should be reputed and stiled heir apparent to the crown, and that it should be treason to compass his death; and after the death, resignation, &c. of Henry, the crown was limited in remainder to Richard and his heirs, with a proviso, that if Henry, or any in his behalf, should endeavour to disannul or frustrate this act, that then Richard should have the present possession of the crown.[3] And by force of this act of parliament, the same Duke of York, taking advantage of Henry's violation of it, did lay claim to, and attempt the recovery of the kingdom,[4] as also did his son Edward after him with better success; and Edward did openly insist upon this title in the speech which he made at his coronation.

It was also declared by Edward's first parliament, in the first year of his reign, that Henry VI. having broken the aforesaid concord in many particulars, the crown was duly devolved to Edward IV. by virtue thereof.

Afterwards Edward IV. being driven out of the kingdom, in the 10th year of his reign, did again entail the crown on Henry VI. and the heirs male of his body, without remainder to George Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. who was thereby also declared heir to Richard Duke of York.

'Tis worthy observation, that both the families of York and Lancaster claimed a title by act of parliament; and as long as that title continued, the issue of Henry IV. had never any disturbance from the pretences of the house of York, who had undoubtedly the right of blood on their side: But as soon as Richard Duke of York had a title vested in him, by the statute made in the 30th year of Henry VI. then he thought it was worth contending for; nor did he and his son desist till they had driven out Henry VI.[5]

Edward IV. did recover the kingdom again as suddenly as he lost it, and prevailed with his parliament to repeal that law which was made during his expulsion, and so left the crown to that young unfortunate prince Edward V., who held it not long enough to have it put on him with the usual solemnity; for though he was proclaimed, he was never crowned king: For his uncle Richard Duke of Gloucester having secured him and his brother in the Tower, did cunningly insinuate the bastardy of his nephew, and that Edward IV. had another wife living at the time of his marriage to their mother, and also at the time of their birth.

The report found credit universally, insomuch that the Duke of Buckingham coming to him at Barnard's Castle, with most of the great lords and wise men of the kingdom, and the mayor and aldermen of London, the duke did in their names acquaint him, that they had unanimously thought fit to elect him king, as being heir to the royal blood of Richard Duke of York, upon whom the crown was entailed by the high authority of parliament.

'Tis very remarkable that in the midst of their highest flatteries and courtship to him, they tell him only of this great and sure title by act of parliament, although if he had been indeed (what was pretended) the heir of the house of York, the right by descent from Edward III. was unquestionable.

Richard (after some feigned excuses)[6] did at last accept of their offer and election; and the parliament being soon after assembled, they presented a bill to this effect:

[1] Titus Liv. MS. in Bibl. Bod. Cott. Record, f. 666. [2] Hubington's Hist. E. 4. s. 10.
[3] Cott. Rec. 670. Fructus Temp. part 7. f. 102. [4] Hubingt. E. 4. f. 73.
[5] Buck's Hist. Rich. 3. lib. 1. fol. 20. [6] Cott. Rec. fol. 709.—*Orig. Notes.*

"Please it your grace to understand the consideration, election, and petition under-written, of the lords spiritual and temporal, and of the commons," &c. And thereby they declare the children of Edward IV.[1] illegitimate, and that his brother George Duke of Clarence was attainted of high-treason by parliament, in the 7th year of Edward the Fourth's reign, by reason whereof all the issue of the said George were, and are disabled and barred of all right and claim, that in any case they might have or challenge by inheritance to the crown and dignity royal of this realm, by the ancient laws and customs of the same. After which, considering that none of the uncorrupted lineal blood of Richard Duke of York could be found but in his person, (say they) we have chosen and do choose you our king and sovereign lord. Then the bill proceeds in reciting, that all the learned in the laws do approve his title, and declaring him king as well by right of consanguinity and inheritance, as by lawful election, and entails the crown on him and the heirs of his body, and declares his son heir apparent. To which the king gave his royal assent in these words: *Et idem Dominus Rex. de Assensu dictorum trium Statuum Regni, et Authoritate prædicta, omnia et singula præmissa, in Billa prædicta contenta concedit, et ea pro vero et indubio pronunciat, decernit, et declarat.*

But the barbarous murder of his nephews did soon beget such an universal detestation of Richard in the minds of the people, that they resolved he should no longer reign over them; and so, taking hold of a pretence which Henry Duke of Richmond set up, they join with him against Richard. Though Henry's title was indeed no more than a mere pretence; for not only the right of the house of York, (as far as *blood* could give right) was before that of the house of Lancaster, but also he had no manner of interest in that title which the Lancastrian line had, since his claim was under a * bastard, begotten in adultery; and besides his mother, Margaret Countess of Richmond, as heir to whom he pretended he claimed, was then living. Therefore Comines, the most judicious writer of that age, and who knew well what was the sense of Europe concerning his title, says plainly, (though he wrote in the time of Henry VII.) *Qu'il n' avoit Croix, ne Pile, ne nul Droit (come Jeo Croy) ala Courone d'Angleterre.*

Nevertheless Henry having slain Richard in Bosworth-Field, the crown was there put on his head by the Lord Stanley, with the general acclamation of the people. But he was wise enough to think his title to it was not very good, till it was made so by an act of parliament, and therefore in the first year of his reign he procured one to pass in these words:

"For the wealth, prosperity, and surety of this realm of England, and for avoiding of all ambiguities and questions (the wisest of our princes you see had no little opinion of the authority of a parliament in this point.) Be it ordained, &c. That the inheritance of the crown of the realms of England and France, with all the preheminences and dignities royal to the same appertaining, and the ligeances to the king belonging, beyond the seas, &c. shall be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of our sovereign Lord Henry IV. and in the heirs of his body lawfully coming perpetually, with the grace of God, and so to endure, and no other."[3]

Thus did the wisest of our kings establish himself, and the best of our historians[4] mentioned it as one of the greatest instances of his wisdom, that he did not press to have this as a declaration or recognition of ancient right, but only as an establishment of the possession which he then had, nor to have the remainder limited to any person after the determination of his estate, but was content with the settlement upon himself, and the issue of his own body, leaving it to the law to decide what was to follow upon the failure of such heirs.

Nor can any thing be more clear, than that Henry VII. depended entirely on this

[1] Buck's Rich. 3. lib. 1. fol. 22. * And though legitimated by parliament, yet the royal dignity was excepted. [3] Buck's Rich. 3. lib. 5. fol. 145. [4] Lord Bacon H. f. 11, 12.—*Orig. Notes.*

parliamentary title, without extending any pretences of his, or his wife's, (who was heir of the house of York) beyond this establishment, in as much as the oaths of allegiance and other publick tests and securities, which were required at that time of the subjects, were not in general terms, to the king, his heirs, and successors, but only to the king, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten. An instance of this, without going any further, may be seen amongst the records printed at the end of the late History of the Reformation, where Cardinal Adrian, when he was promoted by Henry VII. to the bishoprick of Bath and Wells, renounces all clauses in the pope's bulls, which may be prejudicial *Domino meo supremo, ad Hæredibus suis corpore suo legitime procreatis, Anglicæ Regibus*, and he does afterwards swear allegiance to him in the very same words, without taking any notice of remoter heirs.[1]

Henry VIII. the heir to this entail, succeeded his father,[2] though he attempted as much for arbitrary power, and used parliaments with as little respect, as any of his predecessors; yet even he never doubted of their power in settling the succession, but valued it much, and resorted to it frequently.

In the 25th year of his reign an act passed, wherein the parliament say, That they were bounden to provide for the perfect surety of the succession; (they did not certainly reckon themselves bound to do a thing that was not in their power.) And then they take notice of the great mischiefs and effusions of blood which had happened by reason of the doubtfulness of the true title, and for the avoiding of all future questions, do enact, "That the imperial crown of this realm, shall be to King Henry VIII. and the heirs of the bodies of such several sons respectively, according to the course of inheritance, and for default of such issue, then the sons of his body in like manner, and upon failure of such issue, then to the Lady Elizabeth, and after her to any other issue in trial, and then the remainder is limited to the right heirs of Henry VIII. By the same statute every subject at his full age is obliged to take an oath to defend the contents of it, and the refusal is made misprision of treason. And the next parliament, which was held in the year following,[3] does particularly enact an oath for that purpose.

Some few years after, these acts were repealed,[4] and the parliament entailed the crown upon the king, and the heirs of his body by Queen Jane; and power is given the king, for want of issue of his body, to dispose of the succession by his letters patent, or his last will.

It is also made treason, if any usurp upon those to whom it is so appointed. Here the parliament do not only use their power of changing the succession, but they delegate to another.

And in the 35th year of this king's reign, the parliament, by another act,[5] take notice of the great and high trust which the subjects had in him, in putting into his hands wholly the order and declaration of the succession; yet the king being then ready to go into France, they do enact, That after his death, and the death of Prince Edward, without issue, the crown should be to the Lady Mary, and the heirs of her body, but both subject to such conditions as the king should limit by his letters patent, or by his last will, signed with his hand: And if the Lady Mary performed not those conditions, that then the crown should go to the Lady Elizabeth, as if the Lady Mary had been dead without issue; and if the Lady Elizabeth neglected to perform such conditions, then it should go to such other person as the king should appoint, in the same manner as before, as if the Lady Elizabeth had been dead without issue. And authority is given to him, by his letters patent, or his last will, signed with his own

[1] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation. Collect. ad lib. 2. fol. 3, 4. [2] St. 25. H. 8. c. 22. [3] 26 H. 8. c. 2.
[4] 28 H. 8. Rast. Crown 4. [5] 35 H. 8. c. 1.—*Orig. Notes.*

hand, to appoint the crown to remain to such person or persons, and for such estate, and under such conditions, as he should please.

An oath also for observing this statute is appointed, and it is made treason to refuse it, or to disturb or interrupt any person to whom it is limited by this act, or should be by the king pursuant to the power given him thereby.

This is abundantly sufficient to prove, That it was the universal opinion of that age, that the succession was wholly under the controul of parliaments, who not only limited it as they pleased themselves, but subjected it to conditions, and to the appointments of others. But the thing was in its own nature so evident, that they who had the greatest reason, and were most concerned to do it, did never presume to question the power of a parliament in this point.

Lethington, Secretary of Scotland, in a letter of his,[1] written to Sir William Cecill, then secretary of state here, wherein he argues, in behalf of the title of his mistress, Mary Queen of Scots, to succeed Queen Elizabeth, against a pretended disposition, made by the last will of Henry VIII. to his niece, the Lady Frances, daughter to the French queen, if his own issue failed, says of these statutes, that gave the king power to dispose of the crown, that they were against equity, to disinherit a race of foreign princes, and that they were made in an abrupt time (as it terms it) but yet he confesses, that since the thing was done, it was now valid and unavoidable, unless some circumstances did annihilate the limitation made by King Henry's will.

And so he proceeds to prove, that the power which was given to the king by these statutes, was not pursued, which it ought to have been strictly, and in a precise form, for that the king never signed the will, but that his name, set to it, was forged: Nay, I will venture to say, that in all the books which were written to support the claim of the Scottish queen against King Henry's will, (though the whole power and wealth of the Guises were employed to set every wit at work on that design) there never was any stress laid upon it, or so much as a pretence, that these acts of parliament were void or ineffectual in themselves. In that discourse[2] which was published by Philips, and composed by Sir Anthony Brown, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, who was (in Judge Doddridge's opinion) a person of an incomparable sharpness of wit, there was all the help that learning, either in divinity, civil or common laws, could give; yet the authority of the parliament in the case, and the validity of the statutes, is all along admitted. Indeed, they endeavour to put some other construction upon the statutes, but their great argument is, That King Henry, as king, had no power to dispose of the crown, and therefore these laws only gave him an authority, and made him only, as it were, a commissioner, and therefore, as all other authorities, (especially being in derogation of the course of the common line) was to be strictly followed. They allow, that he had sufficient power to devise, and that he might honourably have used that power; but that he ever did exercise that authority is the thing denied. But it is time for us to go on.

Edward the VI. succeeded his father, and took upon him a power, which surely no king ever had, to dispose of the crown by will. But that disposition serving to no other purpose but to the ruin of the Lady Jane Gray, his sister Queen Mary first, and after Queen Elizabeth, enjoyed the crown, according to the limitation of the statute 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1. and that one of them had no other title, must be agreed by all: For Queen Catherine was alive at the time when Elizabeth was born; so that if the first marriage was unlawful, Queen Mary, and if the second was unlawful, Queen Elizabeth, must necessarily have been illegitimate.

I cannot but observe one passage to our present purpose, which I meet with in

[1] Burnet's Hist. Reform. Collect. 268.

[2] Treatise of the title of Queen Mary to the succession, p. 38, 39, &c. lib. 2. Dodd. Engl. Lawyer, p. 8.—*Orig. Notes.*

the time of Queen Mary. Sir Edward Montague,[1] first lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, and afterwards of the King's Bench, (one who had the reputation of the ablest and wisest lawyer of his age) being accused to have drawn the will of Edward VI. whereby that queen was to have been disinherited, and being in great danger upon that account, drew up a state of his own case, and therein sets forth, that the great reason[2] which prevailed with him to obey the king in that particular, and upon which he did still rely for his indemnity, was, that if Queen Mary came to the crown, she took it by force of the act of parliament which did limit it to her in remainder; so that she came in as a purchaser, and not in privity of estate to her brother, and consequently could not punish treasons or offences committed in his time.

I must needs also observe, That in the articles[3] made upon the marriage of Queen Mary with Philip of Spain, which were confirmed by act of parliament, the several crowns and territories of Philip are distributed, part to Charles the infant of Spain, part to the issue of the intended marriage: Whereby it does appear not only what opinion all Europe had of the power of an English parliament, but also that by the consent of the estates of other realms, crowns might be limited and disposed out of the ordinary course of descent.

In the first year of Queen Elizabeth,[4] the parliament recognize her title to the crown, with express relation to the statute 35 Hen. VIII. which invests it in her and the heirs of her body, and do enact,[5] that the limitation made by that statute shall stand and remain as law for ever, and all sentences, judgements, and decrees to the contrary, are declared to be void, and appointed to be cancelled. And the several offences which are made treason by another statute in the same year, are all restrained to the queen, and the heirs of her body only. The parliament intending to extend that new security no further than her estate in the crown (which she took by that parliamentary limitation) did extend.

In her thirteenth year it was enacted,[6] That if any person claim title to the crown for himself or any other, during life, or shall not upon demand acknowledge her right, he shall be disabled during life to have the crown in succession, as if he were naturally dead. And to affirm right of succession in such claimer or usurper, (after proclamation made of such claim or usurpation,) is made treason. Nor does the statute stop there, but makes it treason, during the life of the queen, and forfeiture of all goods and chattels after her decease, to affirm that the queen, with and by the authority of parliament, is not able to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the crown of this realm, and the descent, limitation, inheritance and government thereof, or that this or any other statute made by parliament, with the queen's assent, is not, or ought not to be of sufficient force to bind or govern all persons, their rights and titles, that may claim any interest or possibility in or to the crown, in possession, remainder, inheritance, succession or otherwise. It were well if some rash men, who presume in their discourses to restrain the power of parliament, that is, the king, lords and commons, in the great business of the succession, would be so wise as to remember this act, which is still in force, and the penalty to which they subject themselves by such saucy talk. That incomparable statesman the Lord Burleigh had another kind of opinion of the security which an act of parliament could give his royal mistress, by making the Scotch queen (the popish successor of that time) unable and unworthy of the succession;[7] as appears in a letter which he wrote about this time to Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France.

In the 27th year of Queen Elizabeth, it was enacted, That if any invasion was made,

[1] More's Reports, 827. & 828. [2] Fuller's Church History, lib. 8. fol. 5. [3] 1 Mar. Parl. 2. cap. 2. [4] 1 Eliz. c. 3. [5] 1 Eliz. c. 15. [6] 13 Eliz. c. 1. Rast. Treason. 27. [7] Compleat Ambassad. fol. 219. 27 Eliz. c. 1.—*Orig. Notes.*

or rebellion or other thing to the hurt of her person by, or for, or with the privity of any one who should or might pretend title to the crown, and the same should be adjudged in such manner as that law appoints, then every person against whom such judgment should be given, should be excluded or disabled for to have or claim the crown; and that the subjects of this realm lawfully might, by all possible means, pursue all such offenders; and their issues assenting or privy thereto, are in like manner disabled, and to be pursued. And this act was made in pursuance of an association entered into by the people in the vacancy of the parliament out of their great zeal for the preservation of the life of that excellent princess.

By virtue of this statute[1] Mary Queen of Scotland was afterwards executed, as appears by the commission for her trial.

King James her son, who was a wiser prince, and not wholly governed by priests as his mother was, though he had the same pretences that she had, yet never disputed his right, or set on foot any title during the life of the ever-renowned queen; though she would never suffer him to be called her successor. He was too wise to incur the like disability as his mother had done, and to contest a title established by parliament.

After Queen Elizabeth's death, The act of recognition made upon King James his coming to the crown, doth particularly insist upon that title, which was raised by act of parliament to Henry VII. and the heirs of his body, and that immediately upon the queen's decease the crown descended and came to King James; so that you see the title of Queen Elizabeth is again acknowledged by parliament; and the entail made by the statute of 35 Henry VIII. being spent upon her death without issue, King James comes in as next heir to the old entail made the first year of Henry VII.

Thus have I set down before you the whole course of the English succession as plainly, as truly, and as briefly as is possible. I shall leave every man to make his own observations on this historical deduction: But this one observation I believe all men must make from it, That it hath been the constant opinion of all ages, that the parliament of England had an unquestionable power to limit, restrain, and qualify the succession as they pleased, and that in all ages they have put their power in practice; and that the historian had reason for saying, That seldom or never the third heir, in a right descent, enjoyed the crown of England.[2]

It were as easy to shew, That in all other kingdoms the next of blood hath been frequently excluded from the succession, but the history of our own country is our business; yet I cannot forbear reciting the speech which ambassadors sent from the states of France, made to Charles of Lorrain, when they had solemnly rejected him (though he was brother to Louis d' Outremes, and next heir to the crown) and had elected Hugh Capet for their king. They told him, That every one knew that the right of succession to the crown of France belonged to him,[3] and not to Hugh Capet. But yet, (say they) the very same laws which give you this right of succession, do judge you also unworthy of the same; for that you have not hitherto endeavoured to frame your manners according to the prescript of those laws, nor according to the usages of your country, but have rather allied yourself with the German nation, our enemies, and have loved their vile and base manners. Wherefore, seeing you have forsaken the ancient virtue and sweetness of your country, we have also forsaken and abandoned you; and have chosen Hugh Capet for our king, and put you back, and this without any scruple of conscience at all; esteeming it better and more just to live under him, enjoying our ancient laws, customs, privileges, and liberties, than under you the heir by blood, in oppressions, strange customs and cruelty. For as those who are to make a

[1] Strangways' Hist. of Mary Queen of Scotland, fol. 179. [2] Daniel, fol. 5. in vita H. 1. [3] Gerr. du Hall. lib. 6. an. 988.—*Orig. Notes.*

voyage at sea, do not much consider whether the pilot be owner of the ship, but whether he be skilful and wary, so our care is to have a prince to govern us gently and happily, (which is the end for which princes were appointed) and for these ends we judge this man fitter to be our king.

Certainly it were a most dangerous thing to have an opinion prevail that the king, in concurrence with his parliament, should not have power to change the direct order of succession, though the preservation both of him and his people did depend upon it. For it does directly tend to anarchy, and makes the government to want power to defend itself, by making such alterations as the variety of accidents in several ages may make absolutely necessary. There must be a supreme uncontroulable power lodged somewhere. And the men who talk at this rate can hardly find where it is lodged in England, if not in the king, lords and commons in parliament.

But when a man begins to ask a reason of this doctrine of theirs, that proximity of blood does give a title unchangeable by any human laws, the teachers of it differ exceedingly; some of them tell us of a divine patriarchal right, which kings, as natural fathers of their people, have derived down to them from Adam. And this notion, though it be no older than the present age, has been very frequent in men's mouths and books, and has much pleased of late (as new things used to do.) But they consider not, that if this be true, there never can be but one rightful monarch in the universe, that is he who is the direct and lineal heir of Adam then living. And thus these great patrons of absolute power, instead of supporting, do shake the thrones of all the princes in the world, since none of them at this day can make out any such title.

There are others, who being desirous to bestow upon the crown a compliment of the same nature, which they were at the same time obtaining from it, have declared in general, that monarchy is of divine right, that princes succeed by the laws of God, that their title is not subject to any earthly cognizance, nor owing to any consent of the people. But the consequences of this opinion are not once considered by these men, that thereby the property of all subjects, and the laws of all countries, are destroyed together. For no human laws can limit a power divinely instituted. (Or if you like it better in the words of a great cardinal)[1] A jurisdiction which is of divine right, is not alterable by the will or power of man.

Besides, all communities which live under another form of government, must be guilty of this divine institution. And perhaps there are few others besides the Great Turk's dominions, which are governed as they ought to be.

In what a damnable condition are the Venetians and the Netherlands, who admit no monarch at all? Poland and the empire who elect their princes, and will not hear talk of this divine right of succession?

Arragon, where they do not elect their king, but tell him plainly at his coronation, that they will depose him if he observes not the conditions which they require from him, and have a settled officer called *El Justitia* for that purpose? Nay, even France itself, which, 'tis notoriously known, does exclude women from this divine right?

That government is of nature, and derived from God, is manifest. Nothing is more natural in man than the desire of society, and without government society would be intolerable. But can it be proved from hence that the government cannot be moulded into several forms, agreeable to the interest and dispositions of several nations, and may not be varied from time to time as occasion requires, by the mutual consent of the governors, and of those who are governed?

And after all pretences of this kind, let any place of scripture be produced wherein God obliges a man to this or that form, till they have first obliged themselves to it by some act of their own?

[1] Card. Pallav. Hist. Conc. Trid. l. 18. cap. 15.—*Orig. Note.*

I do agree, that if God by any extraordinary revelation has ordained any sort of government, or by any immediate denomination has conferred a kingdom on any family, and has directed in what order the crown shall descend, that all men are bound to submit to it and acquiesce in the divine will, as soon as it is clearly and evidently made out to them; but they must not be angry if men expect such an evidence.

There is a third sort of men, who tell us, this realm being entirely subdued by the Conqueror, and by him left to descend to his heirs, none of these heirs who derive a title under him can deprive those who are to succeed of any right, but must leave the crown as free to them as they themselves received it from their ancestors.

I will not here insist upon the danger any prince runs into, who founds his title in force; because it would be hard to prove that such a one does not leave as good a title open for any man who can make himself strong enough. Nor need I trouble myself to shew, that all conquest does not put the conqueror into an absolute right, though it be most evident in the case of William the First, who did by his sword prosecute a claim of another nature, and meant only to acquire that right, and after conquest rested in it. He pretended to the crown as the gift of King Edward, and to vindicate that title he entered with arms. And though his relation to the crown was more remote than that of Edgar Atheling, (then a child) yet his title was better than Harold's, the present usurper, who could pretend no kindred at all, and who had himself sworn to support the grant to William. Nor did he claim a power by conquest, (though the name of Conqueror was given to him by after times, says Daniel) but submitted to the orders of the kingdom, desirous rather to have his testamentary title, than his sword, to make good his succession. But I will admit that he made an absolute conquest, and then these men will grant that he might himself dispose of this conquered kingdom. Therefore, if he did not leave it to descend in such a manner as they would have it go, nor did institute any such sort of succession, surely this argument of theirs will fall to the ground. Now 'tis plain, that he never designed that the crown should descend, but gave it to his second son, and thereby gave an example of excluding and pretermitting the unworthy.

Lastly, others object, that the fundamental laws of the land, against which no act of parliament can be in force, have so established the succession, that the course of it cannot be altered. This is surely a new discovery unknown to our forefathers, as the foregoing history does abundantly prove. But let these objectors be asked, by what authority these imaginary laws were made? For if an authority equal to that which made them be still in being, that authority may certainly repeal them whenever it pleases to exert itself. If the king alone made them, no doubt but that he may change them too. If they will say, they were made by the diffusive body of the people, they run before they are aware into the guilt of worshipping that idol the multitude, and make a great step towards placing the foundation of the government upon contract and consent. But then let them produce those laws or some authentick memorial of them, before it be exacted from us to believe there were any such.

Yes, they will say, there is such an ancient law acknowledged by all the judges, and known to every man, that the descent of the crown purges all defects whatsoever. This maxim as it is usually repeated in these words, and this might be admitted, and yet could not be pertinently applied to a case where the descent itself prevented by a law. But I will not take advantage of their words, but will consider the objection as it stands in that book where the first mention of it was made, and that is in the year-book of Henry VII. it being said there by the judges, that the king was a person able and discharged of any attainder *eo facto*, that he took upon him the government, and to be king.[1]

[1] 1 Hen. 7. f. 4. h. Que le roy fuist person able & discharge d'auscun attainder eo facto qu'il prist sur lui le reign et estre roy.—*Orig. Note.*

First, This was not only an extra-judicial opinion, but was not pertinent to the question referred to their consideration, viz. Whether those who were chosen into the House of Commons, and were at that time attainted of treason might sit in parliament till their attainders were reversed; and they all agree, that their attainders should first be annulled. But then they proceeded to say, that there was no necessity that the king's attainder should be reversed; for that he might enable himself, and needed not any act of reversal. But surely they said very wisely in what they said, for he who had won a crown in the field, had gone a great way towards enabling himself to wear it. Most sure it is, that if an act of reversal were necessary before he could sit, that then it was impossible he should ever sit there, because no such act could be made without the royal assent. Henry VII. was then king *de facto*, and in possession of the throne, and it was somewhat of the latest to consider whether he was qualified or not. Certainly it had been strange self-denial in the judges and a neglect of themselves (which is not usual with them) to have alledged an incurable disability in the king, from whom they had their patents and authority.

In the next place let us consider what precedent the judges cite to justify this opinion of theirs, and how apposite it is. Henry VI. being driven out of the kingdom by Edward IV. the Conqueror called a parliament, and got an act to pass, whereby he was disabled to hold the crown. About ten years after, Henry regains the kingdom, and upon this re-accession to the throne, (as 'tis usually called) this act is never repealed. But does not every child see the reasons of it? for if Henry was lawful king, (and before he was not to doubt that) the act itself was void in as much as it wanted the royal assent. So that for him to have procured an act of repeal had been to affirm a title to the crown in Edward. But without doubt this opinion of the judges as it is applied by the objectors, was new and unheard of before. We see the King of France was otherwise informed by the learned men in the time of King John,[1] for they thought his blood corrupted, and him incapable of taking the crown by descent, because he was attainted of treason, which prevailed with that king to send over his son Lewis, to put in his claim in right of his wife who was the next heir. It also ought to be observed, that the true reason why the generality of the nation did so long approve the title of the house of Lancaster, was because all the princes of the house of York were attainted of treason, and their blood corrupted. But as soon as ever this corruption was purged, and Richard Duke of York was declared heir apparent by parliament, the people soon forsook the Lancastrians, and set the house of York in the throne.

Nay, the very learned men of the same age with these judges thought quite otherwise, as will appear beyond contradiction in this famous case which follows. Richard III. had two elder brothers, Edward and George Duke of Clarence. Richard designing to secure the crown to himself, had procured the children of Edward to be declared illegitimate, yet still the Duke of Clarence had issue living which might pretend. But observe what the parliament say (as to this) in the first year of Edward III.[2] "That in the seventeenth year of Edward IV. George Duke of Clarence was attainted of treason, by reason whereof all the issue of the said George was, and is disabled and barred of all right and claim, that in any case he or his issue might have or challenge by inheritance to the crown and dignity royal of these realms. After that we consider that you be the undoubted heir, &c. And so they proceed, affirming that all learned men in the laws do approve his title." You see within less than three years before this opinion of the judges, the whole parliament do not only give their opinion, but assure you that all learned men of that time, held clearly that an attainder did hinder the descent of the crown, and incapacitate the person to take it. Nay, what goes yet further in this matter, Richard himself, though he was as jealous to secure his title

[1] Mat. Westm. 275. ubi supra. [2] Sup. & Cott. Rec. 709.—*Orig. Notes.*

as ever tyrant was, and had as good advice to discern the most distant danger, though he was always restless in endeavouring to get the Earl of Richmond into his hands, who was a very remote pretender, and only descended from a bastard of the house of Lancaster, yet he feared nothing on this side. He knew he had wronged the children of his brother Edward, and could not be at ease till he had sent them out of the world, but he let the children of his brother Clarence live without apprehending any danger from them, because their blood was corrupted, and all possibility of descent taken from them by the attainder of their father. It was this only preserved them alive, and not any remorse of conscience, or any niceness in sending another nephew out of the world after those whom he had dispatched before. This notable case attended with these circumstances, will convince every man, either that the judges intended no such thing by their opinion, as some men fancy, or else at least that extra-judicial opinions were then as apocryphal as they have been since.

Consider, lastly, The unreasonableness of the doctrine, which tends directly to subvert government, and to put the life of the king regnant into the hands of his successor. The next heir may commit rapes and murders and treasons, burn cities, or betray fleets, may conspire against the life of his prince, and yet after all, if by flight or force he can save himself, till some of his accomplices can get the king dispatched, in spite of all laws and justice he must come to the crown and be innocent.

But when I reflect what sort of men I am arguing with, and *how willingly* they use to submit to authority, I think I shall convince them best by *citing the opinions of two* great men, the one a cardinal, and the other a lord chancellor, both of them martyrs for the papal supremacy, I mean Fisher and Sir Thomas Moor. And if their judgements approve the power of parliaments in the business of the succession, it cannot but weigh very much on such occasions as this. 'Tis well known how resolutely even to death they refused the oath of succession which the parliament had framed, [1] because therein the king's supremacy was avowed, and therefore they cannot be suspected to dissemble, when at the very same time they declared, that if that of supremacy was left out, they would willingly swear an oath to maintain the succession of the crown to the issue of the king's present marriage, as it was then established by parliament, and gave this reason for it, that this was in the power of a parliament to determine; but not who was supreme head of the church. Sir Thomas Moor went further, and owned a very strange opinion of their power in this point; but he says expressly at the same time, that the parliament had unquestionable authority in the ordering of the succession, and that the people were bound to obey them therein.

After the testimonies of these two great papists, it will be little to add the testimony of a protestant; but yet I will mention what Sir Walter Raleigh (who was no inconsiderable man, though a protestant) says, in his incomparable Preface to the History of the World: "Without doubt," (says he) "humane reason would have judged no otherwise, but that Henry IV. had rendered the succession as unquestionable by the act of parliament which he had procured to entail it on his issues, as by his own act he had left his enemies powerless."

But sinking men catch hold of every thing, and when they cannot object to the validity, they will tell us, that such an act of parliament to disinherit the next heir is unjust and without a sufficient ground.

I will not at present enter into the dispute how far the difference of religion, which will also necessarily draw on a change in the government, does justify men in seeking to preserve the two dearest things on earth in an orderly and lawful way. I will not (though I safely might) challenge these men to tell me where ever any settled nation which had laws of their own, and were not under the immediate force of a conqueror,

[1] Burnet's Hist. Rest. lib. 2. fol. 256.—*Orig. Note.*

will ever admit of a king of another religion than their own? I will not insist on it that the crown is not a bare inheritance accompanying an office of trust, and that if a man's defects render him incapable of the trust, he has also forfeited the inheritance. I need not say how far a nation is to be excused for executing justice summarily and without the tedious formalities of law, when the necessity of things requires haste, and the party flies from justice, and his confederates are numerous and daring, and the prince's life in danger.

But this I will say, that if the parliament have power in this thing, which I need not prove, by shewing that the ordinary course of law allows heirs to be disinherited by fines and recoveries, and that the parliament in all ages has frequently done it by making acts to alter the strongest settlements, where equity has dictated it, though the heirs were never in any wise criminal; there, according to Sir Thomas Moor's opinion, the people are bound in conscience to obey their laws, and must not pretend to enquire whether they were made upon just grounds. For by the same reason they may pretend that all other laws were made without just cause, and refuse obedience to any of them. And surely those that should do so would be an excellent loyal party. God defend this nation from such loyalty as opposes itself to the king and the laws; and God defend the king from the pretended duty and submission of those men, who whilst they talk of his power so much, renounce it openly, and oppose what would be the greatest security of his person, and in effect set up his successor above him, even in his life-time.

A Letter from Mr Leslie to a Member of Parliament in London. Printed in the Year 1714.

This treatise was written by Mr Leslie, during the reign of Queen Anne, with the view of removing some of the impediments in the desired restoration of the Stuart line. It made much noise at the time, and is thus analyzed in the Biographia:—"This piece began with a fine description of the Pretender's person and character; his graceful mien, magnanimity of spirit, devotion free from bigotry, application to business, ready apprehension, sound judgment, and affability; so that none conversed with him, but what were charmed with his good sense and temper." Then, after mentioning the proceedings in parliament against him, and dwelling some time upon his birth, it went on thus: "And because the greatest hurt any King of England can do to the church of England, is putting bad bishops upon her; this being a corrupting the fountain; therefore, to avoid all jealousies, he was willing, during his reign, so far to waive his prerogative in the nomination of bishops, deans, and all other ecclesiastical preferments in the gift of the crown: that five bishops should be appointed, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being always to be one; who, upon any vacancy, might name three persons to him, of whom he would chuse one. And the church of England, as by law established, should be secured in the sole possession, not only of all the churches and universities, and even of schools. And, as a further mark of his favour, he remitted, during his time, the tenths and first-fruits, payable by the bishops and clergy to the crown. (But these had been granted before by Queen Anne, for the benefit of the clergy.) This romantic proposal was either misunderstood or misrepresented by the Examiner of the Scheme of Church Power in the Codex, who thus represents it;—that Leslie had prevailed upon the Pretender, to offer a temper with regard to the supremacy, from which great effects were expected. It was, that if the people of England would restore him to what he calls the throne of his ancestors, he, in return, would

part with the supremacy, the great stumbling-block to papists and high-churchmen, which should be vested in a committee of the English clergy; whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the time being, to be always one."—*Biographia Britannica, vol. V. p.* 2920.—The treatise was reprinted in 1715, to pave the way for the attempt of the Chevalier to invade Britain.

Sir,

You are desirous to know the state of affairs here, and what observations I have made since my coming; I will give you as particular account as I can.

And, first, for the person of the Chevalier, which you desire to know: He is tall, strait, and clean-limbed, slender, yet his bones pretty large; he has a very graceful mien, walks fast, and his gait has great resemblance of his uncle King Charles II. and the lines of his face grow daily more and more like him. He uses exercise more for health than diversion; he walks abroad, shoots or hunts every day, but is not what they call a keen sportsman. Being asked what he most delighted in? He said, it would be to hear wise men discourse upon useful subjects. He is always chearful, but seldom merry, thoughtful, but not dejected, and bears his misfortunes with a magnanimity of spirit. He frequents the publick devotions, but there is no sort of bigotry about him. He has a great application to business, spends much time in his closet, and writes much, which no man does better, and more succinctly. I have often admired his criticalness in the choice of words. He apprehends readily, and gives the direct answer.

He is very affable, and has something strangely engaging in his voice and deportment, that none who ever conversed with him but are charmed with his good sense and sweetness of temper. Nor can any take it ill, even when he grants not their request, for he always gives such a reason as must satisfy. Yet he can shew displeasure, but without anger. He expressed no resentment at the cruel proceedings of the parliament, to leave him no place to flee unto, but to drive him, like the scape-goat, unto a land not inhabited, with all the sins of the nation upon his head, to perish in the most miserable manner, unpitied, unrelieved. Other men were astonished, and said, For what all this rage? What has he done? Was it a crime to him to be born? If his birth was supposititious, it was a good reason indeed to bar his accession to the throne, but none to persecute him, or put a price upon his head, as was proposed in parliament by a rich and powerful party, to encourage the assassination of him.

But since so much depends upon his birth, why is it not enquired into? The Prince of Orange promised it in his first declaration, and referred it to be examined in parliament; but this has not been done either by parliament, court of judicature, or any other authority whatsoever; and this affords a demonstration which is infallible, of the truth of his birth, if the law of God and the whole earth be infallible, by which every child that is owned by both parents is to be received as such, unless evident proof be made to the contrary. This renders needless the depositions (still standing upon record in your courts) given upon oath by persons of the first quality in Britain, as well protestants as papists, who were present at the birth, and attested to it. But this was done *ex abundante*, because of the rumours spread abroad about it. The managers at Dr Sacheverell's trial pleaded this birth (in bar of the queen's hereditary right) upon this reason, that no legal proof had been made against it. And no man ever set his name to the scandalous allegations of imposture in it, except Fuller, who was voted an incorrigible rogue by the House of Commons, and sent to Bridewell, and one Steel, whom you have spewed out of your House.

Why former parliaments, and in a former reign, would not enter into the examination of this birth is obvious, because they knew the truth of it, and that no proof could

be made against it; but the false rumours and suppositions that were industriously spread abroad concerning it to make way for the Prince of Orange more easily to ascend the throne, having served that turn, were laid aside like scaffolding when the house is built. I hope it is reserved for this parliament to make a full examination, and to set the nation at rest upon this most material point. If not, the birth of the prince is confirmed infallibly, that is, as I have said, by the laws of God and man.

And there is no danger herein to his sister who now reigns, for none can doubt but he will be very well pleased to make such a compromise with her, that she may hold the crown during her life, provided his succession after her be settled, and give all securities for this that can be desired, even to put his person into her hands if she thought fit. This would unite both their interests, and render her reign more secure and comfortable to her than it is, or can be otherwise. Therefore, if you would do justice to both, examine into his birth, in which, if you can plainly and openly detect any imposture, of how much perplexity would you deliver the queen and nation? And you would strip the Pretender at once of all his friends and followers, and of the protection of foreign courts. The Duke of Lorrain would not countenance, or shelter, a false pretender to the royal blood, to which his own family has the honour to be nearly related: And if he failed in the respects due to it, you would have a more just cause of complaint against him: For however he comes to be excluded from the throne, yet he is not from being a prince, and the first prince of the blood of England. This has never yet been declared by king, queen, or parliament. How would you have foreign princes to understand it? But if you can make out the imposture of his birth, you have done the business all at once. Truth and justice require this of you, if there be any such things in the world, or a God who regardeth. Will it be a credit to your cause that it was founded in a lie, promoted and carried on by the same means? Can any go into this, who either fear God or regard man? Shall the throne of iniquity have any fellowship with God, which frameth mischief by a law? "They gather themselves together against the soul of the righteous, and condemn the innocent blood," Psal. 94, 20. Such will the acts of succession and attainder be esteemed in the eyes of God and all good men, if you make not out the imposture of his birth, for you have no personal fault or misgovernment to charge upon this prince. The unjust judge (Luke 18.) who feared neither God nor man, was at last overcome by the importunity of a distressed widow. That much-injured widow now cries unto you, she importunes you either to clear her innocence in this matter, or to transmit her infamous to posterity, if you can prove her guilty of this imposture laid to her charge. The late King James, soon after his banishment, wrote a letter to the convention to enquire into it, pursuant to the promises in the Prince of Orange's declaration, and all the after parliaments have been reminded and solicited to the same purpose in many papers wrote upon the subject, but had no other answer than hunting the authors. All these, and this with them, will rise up in the judgment and condemn you, if you follow the hardness of their hearts, and will not enquire into this, which yet your not doing will confirm beyond all the other proofs could be brought in the world, and render this birth, as I have said, infallible, and after this parliament, unquestionable to the end of the world. And so long may your posterities suffer for this neglect (to call it by no harder name) if it please God for the sins of the nation to suffer this innocent and most valuable prince to die in exile, or fall into the hands of these hardened Jews, who said, "This is the heir, let us kill him." For after him and the present queen, consider what new pretenders you will have to deal with, who are before the house of Hanover in the line of succession; the known Mr Steel gives it thus in his Crisis, p. 35.

"We should consider over and over again, that should the claim of the protestant succession be once broken in upon, though the Pretender should be laid aside (he means taken out of the way) the next of blood royal is the Duchess of Savoy; after

her, her two sons; and after them the present Dauphin of France; the next in succession to him the Queen of Spain and her heirs; in default of them the Duke of Orleans and his heirs, and most of the other princes of the blood of France."

And page 32 and 33 he gives this account of the first of these pretenders.

"But to bring the several facts and circumstances home, we must observe, that the person who seems to be the most favoured by the French king in the late treaties is the Duke of Savoy, who is made King of Sicily, and by considering also the enlargement of his territories on the continent by cession from the emperor, is become the most powerful prince in Italy. This prince put in his claim to the crown of England in the right of his wife, a daughter of the late Duchess of Orleans, sister to our late King Charles II. at the time of settling the crown of England on the house of Hanover. This prince, a man of as great address and capacity as any now living, is supposed to have entered into a secret and strict alliance with the house of Bourbon, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a popish successor."

But if we are afraid of a popish successor, why did we make the next successor a papist? For it was they did it, who banished him when an infant into a popish country, and passed an act of attainder against him if he should return to be instructed in our religion, and have sent to all the protestant courts in Europe not to admit him, or to drive him thence if he should come, and have excluded him from the crown, without any reserve from him though he should become a protestant: Yet they cry, why will he not be a protestant? and at the same time declare openly that they would not believe him if he should profess it! These things are so irrational that they have no tolerable foundation left to stand upon but to question his birth, which will be foreclosed for ever, if this parliament enter not into the examination of it. Yet they say his birth signifies nothing if it were true, because they have excluded him by laws of their own making. Why then are they angry with those who believe his birth, against which no proof has ever yet been made? Why are they now hunting the author of some queries concerning his birth? Why did they themselves, who first blew about the suspicions of his birth, afterwards own it publickly before the queen and both houses of parliament at the late trial before-mentioned? They had no other way to get rid of hereditary right so much insisted upon in the addresses. This was a remarkable instance of Providence to render them self-condemned, and shew to all the world where the imposture lay. "They shall make their own tongues to fall upon themselves, all that see them shall flee away, or laugh them to scorn," Psal. 64. 8.

But, gentlemen, are you afraid of a popish successor who may crush you, and has a power with the help of your divisions at home, in time to introduce popery and slavery? Then this is not the man whom you pursue. He has no foreign force nor alliances. And if he were upon the throne he must be perfectly in your hands. The papists in Britain are not one to a thousand. How ridiculous then are the declarations now made of Queen Mary's time, when the papists were a thousand to one against us! They may as well fright us with the Danes, Saxons, Normans, or old Romans, because they once conquered us. There is no security like its not being in one's power to hurt us.

We have been fighting for the balance of power, let us then examine the power of the Pretender, and compare it with the power of the after-pretenders. His is none at at all but what we give him, and all the papists amongst us are perfectly at our mercy, with sanguinary laws over their heads, to be executed at discretion. And they in no condition to make resistance, unless they have the promise, Duet. 32. 30. "That one of them shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." I believe many wish the expedient had been accepted, which Charles II. offered of limiting a popish successor instead of the Bill of Exclusion. To break inupon the hereditary line, which has cost more blood and treasure than was expended by all the kings of Eng-

land, all their wars, since the Conqueror put together, and is not like to have an end while the powerful pretenders of France, Spain, and Savoy (now Sicily) remain, or have heirs. The last of which (being the first in succession after the present Pretender and his sister) has already entered his claim; and being a man of as great a capacity as any now living, we need not doubt he will assert it to the utmost, and with the united forces of France and Spain, which Mr Steel tells us he has already engaged by a secret and strict alliance for that purpose; and as Britain is now divided, he will be sure of the weaker side, at least such a party as will be sufficient to make a civil war, which may last till Britain be no more. And the history of England tells us, that she has had very bad luck in being invaded, which seldom or ever happened without her being conquered or cheated into submission. Witness the old Romans, the Danes, Saxons, and Normans, &c.

But whatever side prevails in the contest we are now speaking of concerning the succession, the church of England, as now by law established, will be sure to meet her ruin. She knows who has printed memorials against her, and how she has been pelted these many years past under the name of high-church, a term invented by her enemies to throw out all their venom against her more securely under that name; and what rods and tests were prepared for her, if they had succeeded in the trial of Dr Sacheverell, with which they had contrived to open the scene in order to make her swallow her own dung (as they called it) and abjure her old doctrines, which her new bishops voted to the flames, and was executed with solemnity before the Royal Exchange.

These were the clergy of the church of England, to whom Mr Steel dedicates his Crisis with much respect, and calls them the true church of England; and lest he should be mistaken, he, like an honest man, has taken care to explain himself in a new edition of the Crisis, with additions, of which I will quote one that comes in after the first paragraph of page 34, and begins page 21 of the new edition, in these words:

"I cannot but wonder why so much stress is laid on the Pretender's turning protestant; will that make him ever the less an impostor or pretender? Will that be an antidote against the poison he has sucked in by his French education? Will his dissembling with God in the matter of religion make him not dissemble with us in matter of government? Let him turn high-church man, and what will the people of England be the better for that, if they would be so mad as to take him? Is to turn high-church man to turn protestant? It is no turn at all; Prince Eugene is a papist, and yet I would sooner trust him with the cause of liberty than any high-church champion in England. If he does not turn high-church man, but does really turn protestant, the high-church will have nothing to do with him. Protestant and high-church are two contrary parties, and papists are not worse. The Impostor knows what he has to do, he knows high-church likes him never the worse for being a papist, and that though he should turn Hugonot, the true church of England will not trust him," &c.

This has been sufficiently answered by your having turned such a scandalous member out of your house with disgrace. But shews what the church of England may expect from that party who set him upon this work, have so highly rewarded him, and now affect to take him into their protection more openly since his censure by the House of Commons than before. Hereby the church of England may see her doom, if they succeed for whom these men struggle.

And this likewise gives the Pretender sufficient warning how to carry himself as to the point of religion; he sees the guns already charged to thunder out insincerity against him if he should declare in favour of the church of England; which as far as worldly policy ought to be considered, as none who pretend to wish him well, and knew his circumstances as I do, would advise him to declare here, however persuaded; so, on the other hand, he is very sensible of the consequences, if he should give any just han-

dle to suspect his sincerity in this matter, it would dissolve all future confidence between himself and his people, and they would have cause not to trust his promises in any other thing. And such a reign must be miserable and a crown of thorns. He is likewise well apprized that it would be an equal prejudice to him if he should be thought obstinate and bigotted in the way wherein he has been educated, so as to condemn the church of England, without giving her the liberty to make her own defence; nor will he give that scandal to the religion he professes, as if it feared the light; for whosoever knows not the grounds and reasons of his religion has no more for it than that he has been told so; he has therefore promised and sent it into England under his own hand, that he will be willing to hear what is to be said on the subject of religion; and no more can be asked from or by an honest man, at least with any decency from a king. When Henry IV. of France was pressed on the point of religion, his subjects (how zealous soever for popery) worded it in the respectful terms of suffering himself to be instructed in the catholic faith. No doubt they meant his conversion, that is, they were so sure of the truth on their side, that having to do with a man of sense, they were assured of his conversion. And we having a prince not inferior to him, or any, in good sense, I hope we are as much assured, that if he will but hear we cannot doubt of his being persuaded. And if to hear implies conversion, then he has promised to be converted; but not by putting a peremptory upon him either to change his religion or lose his crown; he has a soul above such arguments, and *despises them*, and would lose his life as well as his crown, rather than stain *his honour or depart from* his integrity. He promised in the letter I quoted above, and which you have seen dated May 2, 1711, "That he would never dissemble in matters of religion, or tempt others to do it." And he will not be tempted himself, no not by all the crowns in the world. He has promised to hear when proper, and with a man of his understanding, and the clearness of our cause, I can have no doubt of success. And this comfort we have, that if ever he declares we may depend upon his sincerity, of which he has given the strongest proof in the world, by risking every thing rather than seem to prevaricate in any thing. I never saw a man so scrupulously nice lest his meaning should be mistaken, and more expected than he intends.

He has promised to hear ——— but because every man who is in earnest with religion must think that to be truth which he professes, and while he so thinks cannot suppose he will change his opinion, therefore the Pretender has made provision, that whatever be the issue of his hearing, as to his own private judgment, the church of England may be no less secure: For it was always his fixed persuasion that the security of the crown and church of England was next under God in their mutual support of each other, and the church of England has found it true by experience that, as he well expresses it in his letter, "The crown was never struck at but she always felt the blow." And because the greatest hurt any king of England can do to the church of England is putting bad bishops upon her, this being a corrupting the fountain; therefore to avoid all jealousies he is willing during his reign so far to waive his prerogative in the nomination of bishops, deans, and all other ecclesiastical preferments in the gift of the crown, five bishops should be appointed, of which number the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being to be always one, who upon each vacancy may name three persons to him, of whom he will choose one. And that the church of England, as by law established, shall be secured in the sole possession not only of all the churches, but of the universities and even schools. And as a farther mark of his favour, he remitted during his time the tenths and first-fruits payable by the bishops and clergy to the crown: This has been since done by his sister, to whom it will be no reflection that it was done by him before she came to the crown; for all this he gave under his hand and seal in his instructions bearing date March 8, 1702, and promises to make good again in his letter of May, 1711. And if the parliament will have it passed into an act, he

will give the royal assent to it, or to any other or further security they can devise, for the safety of the church of England, and of the constitution in church and state, their laws, liberty, and property. This is all he can do, or can be demanded of him. But the greatest of all securities is, that, as I said, it will not be in his power to do otherwise, which cannot be said of any of the other pretenders, who may come after him or get before him, as I shall shew you presently, and that his life which you pursue is the only visible barrier to stave off the evils, which, after the demise of his sister, will be unavoidable; and is the greatest security under heaven for the preservation of our constitution both in church and state, which as it is his interest to maintain inviolable, so it is no ways in his power to invade if he were so inclined; and still the less if he should persevere in the religion he now professes.

He has informed himself of past miscarriages, and knows well the difference betwixt the office of a king and a missionary. He will concern himself with no man's religion, but is resolved to defend that which is legally established, and whose principles are true to monarchy, and safe for government, for whose satisfaction, and for his own restoration, he thinks himself obliged to do every thing that is consistent with conscience and honour. This has been confirmed to me by several steps to which I am witness. In the year 1701, about six months after the king his father's death, he granted what I have told before for the security of the church of England He likewise, at that time, endeavoured to secure for his protestant servants the free exercise of their religion. And to do justice to the queen his mother, she not only concurred in this, but did herself solicit it, to my knowledge. But the maxims of that court would not admit it. Ten years after this, in the year 1711, he being then of age, did attempt it again himself, but could not prevail. But as soon as he came to this country, he obtained from the generosity of the Duke of Lorrain, though the like was never done here before, where there are no dissenters of any sort, and the people rather more zealous than in France. I was then sent for to officiate to the protestants in the family; I was very graciously received upon my arrival, and the Chevalier admitted me even to freedom with him, which still continues and increases. I never yet was refused access to him when I desired it, and he of himself often sends for me, and gives me special marks of his favour. I would not have said so much, were it not to do him justice, and expose the vile clamours of his enemies, that he has no regard to protestants, which is known to be notoriously false to all who have the honour to attend him. He has given all the demonstrations possible to the contrary, except parting with his conscience and honour, which some would have him do, that they might object it against him, and represent him as unworthy to reign for so doing; but he will not gratify them in this.

He has caused a room to be fitted up in his own house for a chapel for us, and which is appropriated to that only use, and has taken out of our congregation his present secretary of state and chief minister, who constantly communicates with us.

He will press no man's conscience, and he may reasonably expect that his own should not be pressed. He has promised to hear what you have to say on the point of religion in due time and place; you cannot then accuse him of obstinacy, till you have afforded him the time, and that place where he may with safety and honour do it. If the whigs will turn all this (as what will not malice do) into a mere policy to get upon his throne, with the greater honour and reputation, they cannot then deny but he is at least a man of honour; if they think him a man of religion too, then they ought to believe his promises, and that they are made in sincerity; but if they think him a politician without much conscience or religion, then they may be sure, if he were once possessed of his crown, he would not hazard it again out of zeal to any church or religion. Both ways they are secure, they know they are secure, and they fear nothing from him but what they will not own; they dare not yet, since that late daring which failed them upon Dr Sacheveral's trial; but they are rallying again by

the indulgence of the government, and have let the church know their love to her! And they fear the Pretender would be as good as his word, and protect her, as the only security he has under heaven; it is visible he has no other, and preserving the church and the monarchy is what the whigs are afraid of. They hate it with their whole hearts, and the Pretender for no other reason; because, if he comes he not only will, but must, support the church of England, he has no other ground to stand upon, nor has she any visible support but in him after the queen. The whigs and dissenters battle her now on her own dunghill, while she is established by law; and presbytery says, she is as much established in Scotland, and was once in possession of England too, when she was not near so formidable as now, and has her still under the indissolvable oath of the covenant for the extirpation of episcopacy, and Scotland under the same oath for themselves and their posterities, to enforce it again upon England, whenever it shall be in their power, which they think is not far off, with the assistance of their friends and allies the whigs, atheists and deists, who boast their superiority in the fleet, army, and inclinations of the people, which may be played against the church of England by the same arts, as against the church of Scotland at the beginning of the Revolution; if they had but a majority in parliament which they have had, and are struggling for it again, not without a prospect of success, and would think themselves sure of it if they had once a prince upon the throne not overmuch attached to episcopacy by the prejudice of education, and who had a great country of his own, without one bishop amongst them, and alliance with others who are all presbyterians, and in close conjunction with them of Britain, and this prince to have the naming of all the bishops in England, might he not put in such that would not burn for episcopacy, and might advise the clergy in Scotland to conform to presbytery, because established by law? I appeal to the Bishop of Sarum, whether it has not been done already, and whether it is not a good principle? And how long the church of England would have stood under such bishops? And that plan of episcopacy, liturgy, rites, and ceremonies, which was preparing for us, as told us in the Wolf Stripped? And how long will she subsist under the like circumstances again? She has had a little respite in this queen's reign, but the relapse will prove worse than the disease. Let her name her confederates or allies in whom she can confide at home or abroad, as soon as the queen shall be taken from us; where will she find any to comfort, I had almost said pity, her? The law will deny her Christian burial, who was thus apparently *felo de se*, who wrought and took pains to bring this destruction upon herself, at least lay dozing till she saw it done. She fell with King Charles I. and rose with King Charles II. Why? Because her enemies were equal enemies to both those princes, they suffered for her and she for them; but would the case have been the same, if the friends and intimates of either of these princes had been her avowed enemies? If the prince had owed his crown to them only, and trusted no other? If he had declared openly and printed memorials against her, and owned the whigs as the honestest and best men in the nation, and fit only to be trusted in the ministry and all places of power? If this had been the case of King Charles II. the church had not been restored with him, but crushed to death without hopes of resurrection.

Now, sir, upon the whole let me reason a little freely with you; what sort of compliment have you put upon the illustrious house of Hanover? Do you think they have no conscience or religion, or any honour? Do they not believe that faith which they profess, and wherein they have been educated? Is not consubstantiation their avowed doctrine? And is not that as erroneous, as contrary to the doctrine of the church of England as transubstantiation? Yet you have tied them up, that when they come thither they must be of the communion of the church of England. We know that Prince George of Denmark did not communicate with us, and when he did it but once to qualify himself for the office of lord high admiral, his chaplain refused to communicate with him any longer, which made a jest about town, that the prince's chaplain

had turned him off. Is it such an occasional conformity only for once or so that you require for the crown? Then the coronation office may do, and no pretender will refuse that. Though if it be a sin it ought not to be done once, unless a crown be a price for once sinning.

But you have not required this of the house of Hanover, till they come to the crown; they are not obliged to declare before-hand. There is the same reason for the Pretender. Do you think then the one is ready at the sight of the crown to quit his faith without any other reason to be given him? And that the other requires some satisfaction to his conscience, without which a crown will be no temptation to him? Which of these characters is the best, and to whose sincerity and honour would you trust?

Or is consubstantiation a protestant, because not a papist? Then the Turks are protestants too! I will maintain it that they hold more of Christianity than the quakers, who believe in no Christ but their light within. Suppose the Pretender should turn quaker, the whigs would then have but one objection against him, which is hereditary right, that being against their unalterable maxim, The worse title the better king.

The fate of Britain (humanly speaking) depends upon the life of this prince, whom you are hunting like a partridge upon the mountains, and the cry is, as of the Jews, against Christ, *venient Romani*, the Romans will come and take away our place and nation, to prevent which they put him to death; and it was that which, in a just judgement, brought the Romans upon them, who did take away both their place and nation. And the death of this prince who cannot hurt you, will open a flood-gate of Romans upon us, great and powerful, who will be capable to destroy both our church and nation. Then shall we read our sin in our punishment, when we see the cry of French and popery, which we make the pretence for all our wickedness in transgressing the laws of God and man, have, by a just judgment, brought both in upon us: Nay, the plague is already begun, for the scandal of the Revolution, and departing from our principles, has occasioned a much greater run to popery in England, than in all King James's reign, in which the more he struggled, the more was the design seen, and the greater aversion arose in the people against popery, of which there had likely been an utter end in England, if we had had that Christian courage to have served God in his own way, and have trusted to his providence in the observance, rather than the breach of his commandments, and have stuck close to the characteristick doctrine of the church of England, whatever had come upon us during the life of that king; which I am convinced had been nothing so terrible as was apprehended; but the more grievous it had been, it would have proved more to the ruin of popery, and the establishment of the church of England; for the whole world would have then excused the strictest laws we could have made against popery for the future. And to sum up the greatest of worldly happiness in a word, we had saved the Revolution, and all the blood and treasure it had cost us, and the dismal prospect still before us, men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming upon us. Instead of which our church and monarchy had now been safe upon their old foundation, and every man living safe under his own vine and his fig-tree, and our church more glorious than ever, shining far and near to the end of the world, for practising as well as preaching her Christian doctrine of submission to kings for the Lord's sake, and suffering for well doing, when they had so vast a superiority in power to have resisted and revenged themselves upon their persecutors.

The protestants in Queen Mary's time had not this temptation, yet they owned the doctrine at the stake; and what a lamentable prospect had they? All the laws for their establishment were repealed, and popery set up by act of parliament; but one princess of the royal line, who was a protestant, and she declared illegitimate by act of parliament,

and more effectually to bar her succession, she was committed to the Tower, and, as Speed tells us, a warrant was once signed for her execution: The queen was married to the King of Spain, the most bigotted of all popish princes, and no visible help for these poor protestants in the whole world. Thus the reformation in England seemed strangled in its birth, and was just expiring, when the mighty hand of God appeared wonderously in its preservation. The queen had no issue, and died when the Reformation could have lived no longer. And the condemned princess was taken from prison to the throne, where God preserved her 44 years till the Reformation revived, was fully settled and established. Thus God rewarded those that trusted in him, and durst not go out of his way for their own preservation. But when men think to save themselves by breaking his commandments, they put themselves out of his protection, and he often lets them taste their folly and convinces them that he is governor over all the earth. May we practise accordingly as we profess to believe it. And if we would put a stop to the growth of popery in England, at present and our future fears, let us remove the cause; for while that remains the effects must follow. Let us repent and return from whence we are fallen, and do the first works lest Christ come quickly, and remove our candlestick out of its place except we repent.

I know you expect plain language, and will excuse it from your old friend and humble servant,

Bar le Duc, April 23, 1714. CHARLES LESLIE.

The Church of England's Advice to her Children, and to all Kings, Princes, and Potentates. By Mr Leslie. Printed in the Year 1715.

Another arrow from the quiver of the indefatigable Charles Leslie, in order to stir up all true tories in the cause of Hereditary Right, which was immediately to be committed to the chance of arms.

My most dear Children,

IT is now twenty-seven years that "I have been seeking you whom my soul loves; I sought you, but I found you not," and to which way soever I turned myself, I saw nothing but desolation, "I see the hand of the adversary upon all my pleasant things, and the heathen within the walls of my sanctuary."

"Behold, O Lord! for I am in distress, and my heart is turned within me; my enemies have heard of it and are glad; for these things I weep day and night, and my eyes run down with rivers of water."

Every day, my dear children, adds to these calamities, and your next care should be how to extricate yourselves from the present difficulties, and to ward off those that are rolling towards you with every tide of time.

To this end, receive the instructions of your unfortunate mother, for I speak not to your reproach, but to the furtherance of your temporal and eternal happiness.

A little reflection will bring to your remembrance the many lessons of obedience

which I have taught you to the anointed of the Lord, upon which you may perceive what a want of duty has attended you towards God, your king, and your afflicted mother, which may move you to compound with an incensed God, and your desolate mother, by a repentance that may intercept his judgments, and heal the wounds that I have received at your hands: For the arms of the Almighty are open to you, and it is still in your election, whether you will involve yourselves in a ruin past all recovery or not.

You cannot forget that I always told you, "That you should render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's:" And that I exhorted you to such a dependence upon the providence of God, as should carry you through all the temporal inconveniences that could attend you in the practice of this branch of your duty to the Supreme Being, who is represented in the person of Cæsar; and this injunction, without any reserve for the body, was first laid upon you by the Son of God, who best knew what would be required of you by his father, and the doctrines of your Redeemer is my warrant in the eyes of heaven and earth; therefore in obeying me, you had obeyed God, but in resisting me you have resisted him.

You know that I told you with St Paul the Apostle, "That you should obey for the Lord's sake;" and the reason of such obedience is clear. For,

First, Order comes out of it, in which the good of all is comprehended, both as to soul and body.

Secondly, In this state of probation it gives a discipline to the soul, which proves an extraordinary virtue, when temporal conveniences shall contend against your duty towards God, and it shall appear your choice to suffer in his service, rather than to possess them in the tents of wickedness.

Thirdly, It is an honour to Jesus Christ, that his disciples should resign their bodies to pain, in confidence of a deliverance by him, when those that have depended upon the arm of flesh have shewn a diffidence in the providence of God, that has called his power and the veracity of his promises in question. And then,

Fourthly, God has commanded it, and obedience therefore is your indispensable obligation.

When I told you with St Paul, "That you should obey for the Lord's sake," I also assured you with him "That you should receive to yourselves damnation." Yet as if it were in contempt to the injunctions, the promises and threats of the Son of God, of his great apostle, and of me your most affectionate mother, the sacred person of Cæsar was torn from his throne by your unfortunate hands, driven by you out of his own house, and left without mercy, to the charity of those that knew him not: And after these indignities, many untruths were invented to destroy his credit, which of all things was the most dear to him, as it is to most men that live.

What must it be to him, whose thoughts was turned to the making you a rich and happy people, to see you engaged in a resistance that must unavoidably draw a contempt upon you from all nations, and in its consequences effect the ruin of your properties, of your posterity, and extinguish the glory of one of the bravest and most flourishing nations in the world?

How must it wound him who was the most affectionate father to his children, to hear himself traduced, with the crying injustice of imposing a child of another man's begetting, to deprive the offspring of his own bowels of their right in succeeding to the crown?

What must it be to him to hear himself charged with all the evils that flesh and blood could be concerned in, and that by the mouths of many, whose lives, whose fortunes and preferments were owing to an excess of clemency in him?

How must it strike his afflicted soul, to hear that the prince his son should be re-

puted an impostor, by the clergy and laity of all degrees, after the strongest proof that ever was made of any birth before his, and after you had all acknowledged it, thanked God for it, in your printed addresses, and invoked heaven in the most solemn acts of worship, that he might live to succeed his father in the throne?

Therefore, besides the grief which the crying injustice done to him and his posterity must give him, his afflictions could not but be multiplied, upon the thought of these dissimulations, being offered to the Lord and his anointed, by you, to whom it was deputed, by the King of kings, the nursing Father; for his affections were irreversibly devolved upon you, and it was a severe punishment to him, to see you in the very abyss of iniquity, forfeiting religion and morality, that loyalty and integrity which has been imputed to the English nation by all the world.

Then how must it torment him, to see you persuading the offspring of his own bowels, for whose souls and bodies he must have more than an ordinary regard, to an unnatural and irreligious disobedience, to a most indulgent father, and their lawful king, when their compliance with you might hazard their salvation, and would infallibly be a renunciation of the honour that had been the common inheritance of that blood with which their veins were filled.

Besides the calumny of that time laid his person (though sacred) open to the outrage of the meanest of the people, as appeared in the blacksmith at Feversham, who struck at his head with a bar of iron, and had beaten out his brains, if the arm of Captain Platt had not received the blow.

After all these unprecedented severities, you turned him out of his own kingdoms, barred the gates against him, and exiled him to a life of misery; which made his a severer case than that of the royal martyr's, whose pains met a speedier end than the course of nature might have given them: And he had comfort of eating his own bread to the day of his death; but his son, of whom I speak, you made a receiver of alms, for twelve years, before he surrendered his soul.

These things are recorded in heaven against you, and must be accounted for, either in this, or in your future state. Therefore, instead of an act of perpetual forgetfulness, which you may desire should pass upon it, it is my advice to you, that you recall the whole history of some years past, and refuse not to see it, even in its darkest circumstances; for it may produce a repentance that may obtain your pardon.

In such a view, you will find, that you were so far from giving unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, as that you have taken from him all that was his, and pursued him afterwards with sword and slander, refusing to spare him either life or reputation, and could condemn the persons that consented to the decollation of his father, at the very time that you sent men with arms and ammunition, to take away the life of him, who was no less your king, than his father was the king of those that put him to death.

Indeed the artifice of those that were under the direction of republican and latitudinarian principles, wrought you up to the unhappy temper, by which all this was done, and made you believe, that what they did was to preserve me, whom they always hated, and to save that state which they then sought the destruction of.

Thus they plunged you into a seeming necessity of multiplying your iniquities, that those which came after might defend you from the punishment that were due to those that preceded them: But the cause being bad in the beginning, needed perpetual patching; and the evil that was prescribed, as a cure to the present fraction, still proved greater than those that went before it: And whenever the scheme was failing, it portended the greater danger to its managers, who made it their care to ward off the impending calamity, with the more desperate remedy; and to guard a few offenders, at the cost of your religion, your blood, and your treasure.

Under the pretext of saving your religion, you were drawn in to make a tacit renun-

ciation of the gospel; you may object, "That though you renounced that one point of Christian doctrine, which relates to the obedience that you are to pay unto Cæsar, yet all other points have been duly regarded by you." But it cannot be unknown to you, that your Redeemer has declared, "That the breaker of any one of his commandments, incurs the guilt of breaking all his commandments;" and the reason is clear, for the commandments of God are equally proposed to you: Therefore every particular commandment is from that very authority that recommends the whole body of the divine laws; so that in rejecting any one of the commandments, you reject that authority which proposes them all to you, and are as great offenders against that authority, as you can be in renouncing all its injunctions together. Therefore in renouncing this one point of Christian doctrine, our Lord cannot impute any thing less to you than a tacit renunciation of all that he has taught, and of his name too; for to what end is his name retained, if you defy his authority, unless it be to strengthen the affront that you have already offered him?

Would any body believe, that it was the Christian religion which you intended to save, since the means which you used to that end, was a renunciation of the doctrines of Jesus Christ; and if you meant not the Christian religion, what a dissimulation was it, to give out, that your intention was to save, even the purest part of it?

When your enemies had thus betrayed you into their service, they employed your hands against me, and made your tongues bring upon me the reproach of all nations; for you had learned of them to say, That it was the honour and glory of God, and my preservation, that was intended in all the indignities that were offered to God and your king. "But all that passed by, clapped their hands, hissed and wagged their heads at the daughter of Jerusalem, and said, Is this the city that men called the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth: She, who as bound her kings in chains, and her nobles in fetters of iron:" She, who pretended to serve the Lord, in the destruction of his anointed: She, whose children pretended to defend her, in the death of their nursing father?

Consider, my dear children, what a scandal you have been to religion in general, under these inconsistencies, and to me in particular, in declaring yourselves my children, under these abominations: But I call heaven and earth to witness that I never taught you thus, and do hereby declare to all the world, that I commanded you, at all times, to give unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's; and did assure you, that nothing less than damnation would be inflicted upon those that resisted him.

You still speak affectionately of me, but who can believe that your heart and lips correspond, unless you restore the good name you have taken from me, in a return to your duty; for except you bear the fruits of repentance, who will believe that you do repent?

I know that the enemy did craftily insinuate, that, without this expedient, popery would have prevailed, to my destruction; but if the Alcoran had prevailed, your state, as to salvation, had been no worse than your resistance has made it; for the bare retaining the name of Jesus, under a renunciation of what he has tanght, makes not your case any thing better than theirs, who, at this day, worship the sun at his uprising.

Your refusing credit to the providence of God, and making your whole dependence upon the arm of flesh, may raise a belief in those that are not of me, of my inculcating the modish principle, that will not allow his providence any concern in the affairs of this world.

But the goodness of God has preserved some that have firmly adhered to their principles, who bear witness that I ever told you, that if passive obedience were due from the primitive Christians to Nero, as appears by an epistle of St Paul's to the Romans, it could not but be a debt from you to your Christian king, though he happened not

to be in communion with you: For they cannot be of a religion worth any man's coveting, who would destroy the property of another because he cannot think as they would have him.

You have frequently imprisoned your persevering brethren, oppressed them with double taxes, endeavoured to force their conciences with oaths, contrary to those which they had taken before, and persecuted them with all the evils of the tongue, for no other reason than that of their retaining those principles of loyalty which they had learnt of me, and at that time that you were persecuting men for their being my disciples, you inconsistently spoke of your duty towards me as if you were then in the full exercise of it.

The craft of your adversaries brought you to believe that these impious expedients were absolutely necessary to the preservation of your liberties and properties, as if the God that gave them could not be prevailed with to continue them to you without your making a breach upon his commandments: But the justice of God rendered them as ineffectual as the Jewish design of putting their Redeemer to death; for that was done under the pretext of saving their city and nation from a Romish conquest, and their mean, the justice of God, turned to the destruction of their city, their nation, and posterity.

Your pretext was, the rescue of your liberties from the tyranny of the Romish religion; and the same God, ruling the world the same way, has turned your expedient to your destruction also, as will appear from some incidents before and since the fatal Revolution.

You may have observed, that a scheme was laid by some of the most considerable men in England, not so much against the person of the king as against kingly government: So that the king was not the first person to be removed, for the Duke of Monmouth had attracted the affections of the people, and might (in case the king was first struck at) step into his throne, and be succeeded there by the issue of his own body, to the ruin of their intended republick: So that to perfect the scheme, the duke was to be decoyed into a resistance, which in its consequences was to end his days, and then if the king could be removed, the point would be obtained entirely.

The Prince of Orange (being a man of policy, of some power, and of republican principles) was consulted in this affair; he approved the design, and promised his assistance in reducing the government of England to the Dutch form, though his hope was fixed in the crown's becoming his own, in case of success in their attempts against the king and the duke.

He, with the chiefs of that faction on this side, advised the duke to take arms, and pretend a right to the crown, assuring him their interest, and pretending not to doubt of his success.

The unfortunate duke did so, and had no sooner taken arms but they deserted him and his cause, and his rebellion brought him to the end intended by them.

The republicans were pleased to see that there was only the person of the king between monarchy and a commonwealth; and the Prince of Orange was no less pleased at the thoughts of there being but one between him and the crown of England.

Their next attack was upon the king; and his religion, with the reports which they had already formed against him, facilitated their design, so as to bring you into their measures, which made the resistance general, and put it out of the king's power to suppress.

They finding the late unhappy Lord Sunderland as capable of working in their way as any man then living, he was constituted their principal agent, and by occasionally conforming to the Romish religion, by praying much, and counterfeiting all virtues, he gained so upon the credulity of the king (whose native charity and candour rendered him easy in believing the rest of his fellow-creatures endowed with his own inte-

grity) as that he wrought himself into all his secrets, and was the person that determined him in all his councils.

It was not yet a time to publish the calumny intended against the king; for, to give it the face of truth, that lord advised the king to make the change that ensued in Magdalen college.

Their aspersions were published next, and circled through the kingdom, with the success proposed by their authors; and when the kingdom was so thoroughly inflamed, as that every mouth had evil in it against the king, that lord advised, that a standing army should be, and the pretext was the security of the king's person: Which seeming very plausible upon the ferment which the kingdom was in, an army was raised, and led to the end that was desired, by those that proposed it, for it confirmed the people in what they had heard before, and it was easy to make them believe that they were to be dragooned out of their religion, their lives and liberties, and it was well known to him that advised it, that the army would revolt upon the prince's landing. The army did revolt accordingly, and it proved a political way of raising an army for the prince at the king's cost, and perfected the designs of the king's enemies against him.

But to bring all the calamities upon the king that could befal him by bad counsel, that lord advised him in his own vindication, as he artfully termed it, to send some of the bishops to the Tower: The king consented, but he who never could do a severe thing, recalled it by offering them their liberty upon each other's bail.

That lord and his party, fearing that they would accept of this offer, and render their contrivances ineffectual, they set some of their secret springs to work upon them, who made such advantages of the candour, the good nature and credulity of Dr Sancroft, Dr Ken, and other prelates, as to bring them to believe that their refusing the king's favour, would prove the greatest service they were then capable of doing to me and the king: The poor gentlemen, who were better divines than politicians, consented to this unhappy counsel, and to the Tower they would go; which injured the king and me more than any of the other ill offices that had been done before. And thus these abused prelates were, by a strange paradox, made instruments of mischief to me and their king; though if their lives had been required in mine, or the king's service, they would have resigned them chearfully.

At length many of you were made to believe that I should expire, and that liberty and property would be no more, unless the Prince of Orange was invited over, who, as the artists affirmed, was only to settle the king in peace upon the throne, to appease the people, and gain terms for them that should remove all their jealousies, and then to return again.

The story being pretty plausible, it obtained many hands to an instrument, by which the prince was invited to you with a body of military men; but the inviting a foreigner into the nation, with men in arms, without the sovereign's leave, was one of the greatest breaches of their duty towards God and their king; and its consequences seemed to manifest the divine indignation's being kindled by it, against those that were concerned in it: For the prince came, and you were disappointed in his deposing the king with the king's army, and the republicans were equally disappointed in his taking the crown to himself; for they expected that King James's administration and the monarchy of England should expire in the same day.

By this time many of you found their mistake, and that it was too late to recal it; yet some returned to their duty, in a repentance that shortened the days of the greatest ecclesiastick in England, who never forgave himself the mistake in going to the Tower, and such of them, as had religion and resolution enough to refuse their assent

to the usurpation, were thrust out of their bishopricks, parsonages and employments, and if they could find charity they might find bread, but if no charity, hunger was to be their death.

These disobedient and inconsiderate acts, gave me a wound that almost proved mortal, and what they did for liberty and property, proved to them the immediate ruin of both.

The Lord Churchill, with other licentious persons, took oaths of fidelity to the king, upon the four gospels over night at Salisbury, and deserted to the prince the next morning. The army soon followed, upon which the republicans hoped, that monarchy was labouring under the pangs of death; but to their great disappointment, the prince would not destroy the face of monarchy, because he had a mind to be the monarch, which spoiled their intended republick for a time, but he compounded with them for that sovereign remedy that comes out of the best places of honour and advantage in the kingdom.

The Prince of Orange at length was crowned, contrary to all the laws of England ecclesiastick and civil, which was the destruction of your constitution, in things spiritual and temporal; for it put a period to an hereditary right in the crown, and who knows but this very precedent may be used in times to come, against those, who, by the laws which you have violated, should succeed to your estates; for if the people may destroy the right of the crown, of which they hold their lands, can they complain if any that should succeed to the crown, should do the same by the people by way of reprisal, when opportunity shall offer? Or, if they should complain, you have made an answer for the crown, that will be always ready; for it has to say, that you began first, and the precedent by which it acts is of your own giving.

Let who will be your king, this precedent may be of fatal consequence to you and your posterity, and entail a fruitless repentance upon you, that may convince posterity of your making a miserable bargain for them, in the market that you have made of crowned heads.

Having destroyed positive institution both civil and sacred, you have no other property than that which moral rectitude, or an usurped authority, can secure you in; but as you have managed the matter, you cannot depend upon either of these. For,

First, You have been unanimous in doing by God and your king, as you would not be done by. Therefore, which of you can expect a better usage at the hand of another? And then,

Secondly, An usurped authority will never bind the consciences of Christian men, because it is not the authority that you are to obey for the Lord's sake: And whenever an usurper prevents your breaking in upon each other's properties, it is not to prevent your being devoured one of another, but that he may have the devouring of you; for it has been hardly known that the upholders of an usurpation have paid any thing less than all that they had for it.

An usurper never expects that his usurpation should continue any considerable time, for the ordinary method of the Divine Providence has been, to restore the heir to his own sooner or later: Therefore all usurpers enrich themselves, and their own creatures, and at the cost of those who submit to their usurpation, and, proving the sharks of those nations that are so unhappy as to submit to them, they take away legs and arms at their going off; so that your fence is down, and nothing can prevent all things being in common, but the restoration of your lawful king, which will restore things to their ancient and happy form again.

You all know, that St Paul in his second epistle to the Romans, did previously condemn your Revolution, therefore you never approve it by word or deed, but you sin against the light of faith, which, by the greater number of the most learned divines, is

concluded to be the sin against the Holy Ghost, which the most undoubted authority has assured you will not be forgiven in this world, nor in that to come.

You have condemned the assertors of St Paul's doctrines as enemies and traitors to church and state, in asserting them. Is not this an accusation against that great apostle, of teaching what you have lately called high-treason? but can that be a Christian church which the doctrines of an apostle of Jesus Christ can be injurious to? or can that state be composed of Christian men, that cannot bear to hear the doctrines of Jesus Christ? No, it seems the highest affront to Almighty God, that such a church or such a nation should be numbered with Christian churches or Christian nations.

Upon a little reflection it will appear to you, that there is a blasphemy in the Revolution principles, and consequently that the abettors of it are blasphemers.

You may think this a very severe assertion, but consider that the votaries of the Revolution do tacitly impute sedition to the doctrines of St Paul. And is not that an imputation of sedition to the dictates of the Holy Ghost? and that is a blasphemy for which the blasphemer, by the laws of England, ought to be bored through the tongue with a burning iron. But instead of this punishment, your Revolution has brought forth acts of parliament which confirm and propagate that horrid sin.

An hereditary right to the crown is the best expedient for the peace of the public, but the Revolution has made the crown of England elective, and destroyed that happy mean to peace.

Woeful experience teaches that an elective monarchy is the utter ruin of the subject; as appears in the distracted kingdom of Poland, which is almost destroyed by those intestine troubles that are the unavoidable consequences of their elections.

Their case is very bad, but yours will be much worse; for the elections of that kingdom are under certain laws and restrictions which prevent those riots, those tumults, and that loss of blood that would otherwise attend them: But you have no laws to overrule you in your elections that are to come; so that riots and tumults that cannot end but in the loss of a great deal of your blood, will be the unavoidable consequences of your elections.

Then there are no other potentates to dispute the right of him that shall be so elected to the crown of Poland; but there are many powerful princes in Europe, who will not so easily part with their rights to the crown of England as you imagine, and will undoubtedly give perpetual disturbance to the person or persons that shall be elected to their prejudice: So that your Revolution has entailed upon you, and those that may succeed you, wars both foreign and domestick, that cannot end whilst the kingdom has men or money in it.

Some of you may be of opinion that your elections may be managed with more ease and safety to the people than is apprehended by others; but if riots, tumults, and loss of blood, do attend your elections for members of parliament, as you know it sometimes does, though the manner of those elections is regular, what will your and posterity's case be when you come into the field, in a confused tumultuous way upon the choice of a king?

Upon such an occasion there may be many candidates, each candidate may have a powerful party, the sword will determine your choice, and support him in the throne that shall be so elected; which will entail a standing army upon you, that will breathe out immediate destruction to those that happened to be in a different interest, and load its votaries, at long run, with insupportable calamities, and here will the ruin of your unfortunate nation be completed.

This being an unavoidable consequence of the Revolution, who can believe that the security of your liberties and properties are mended by it? You were made to believe

that this vast expence of blood and treasure was for liberty and property; but it is too evident that there was nothing meant by it, but,

First, The ruin of monarchy; and,

Secondly, The saving of the heads of a few popular traitors, who (by the laws of England) ought to have died for their endeavours to destroy the constitution.

Your adversaries have promised to make the crown hereditary again, in the remote family they invited from Hanover, which they would have you believe will avert the inconveniences that may attend its being elective. But,

First, The principles and practices of those that promise this, make it appear that they will not endure monarchy, neither in an election nor in an hereditary way; for it is well known to you that they have been defacing monarchy these many years, in order to introduce the Dutch form.

Secondly, It shall appear, before the end of my letter, that the deposing of kings is an avowed principle of theirs; so that if kingly government should be continued, yet the king must be brought to their tribunal to be deposed when they please, and leave a vacancy in the throne, which is to be filled with the person they shall appoint: So that they can intend nothing by talking of an hereditary right but an amusement to you, whilst they are working the government into their own form.

Thirdly, The making it hereditary, before the Revolution, is condemned by the strongest and solemn act that can be made, is preposterous, because that unhappy precedent will be a law to you and your posterity; for if you had a right of deposing one king, and electing another, in the year 1688, who can say that the same right remains not in you? and if you asserted such a right then, who can doubt whether you will do the same in time to come? And if that right be in you, those that succeed to your estates, will believe that they succeed equally to the same right; so that nothing is more inconsistent with right reason, than a belief of the crown's becoming hereditary in the Brunswick family, unless the family itself can make it so by a standing army.

The few that were principally concerned in the Revolution, intended not an elective monarchy, as it now is, for their aim was at the ruin of kingly government: But the ambition of the Prince of Orange defeating that design, is the reason why they are fallen into the present measures, which they will continue till they can trip up the heels of him whom they have elected: For their design in the beginning was to break the line of succession in the glorious family of the Stuarts, which, if they could effect, they knew that your whole constitution would fall after it, and intended to erect your government upon a perfect new plan of their own making, which would make a vast provision for the few that should be concerned in it, though it would be the ruin of the people in general.

As the picking out of one stone from an arch renders it easy to sink the whole fabrick, so they foresaw that upon the dissolution of this fundamental point, or basis, of your constitution, the whole, in a gradual way, may be wrought into the form that is already in the idea of the artificer, for it would give him the power over you that the potter has over his clay; and your Revolution, as glorious as it seemed, was nothing less than a preface to this unhappy work, in which you and your posterity will undergo greater severities than were known to the Israelites, in the captivity of Babylon.

As a decoy to you, they pretend under all this the greatest regard to my preservation; but you already see in their practices, and may perceive in their principles, that which in a very little time (humanly speaking) will be my death; for there is a royalty in the church as well as in the state, and the hand that will destroy the one, will never be stretched out in the vindication of the other; for it may be a standing rule to you, that the enemies of monarchy will never be very great friends to episcopacy.

In showing you what an inundation of atheism, deism, infidelity, and immorality came in by the door which the Revolution opened upon you, I am to tell you,

That it was put to the vote in the first parliament which the Prince of Orange called, whether an oath of allegiance to him should be tendered to the people or not? which, after some debate, was carried in the affirmative. But the party that opposed it, finding that they were launched so far into the deep, as to endanger me and the state, they resolved upon a struggle for keeping our necks above water, hoping that God had still a reserve of mercy for us, and would help us to some expedient by which we might be saved: For whilst they could preserve a little life, they conceived some hopes. So the question was put, whether the oath should be tendered to the clergy or laity first? Verily believing, that if it were proposed to the clergy first (which was the point they endeavoured to gain) that it would be refused by them, and that their example would have such an influence upon their flocks, as would render the vote for the oath ineffectual.

They obtained a majority, and believed it would prove a great step to the retrieving of what they had lost by their past oversights; but upon the tender of the oath, there were but few of the clergy that had courage enough to refuse it: So the shepherds going quietly through the gap, the poor sheep unthinkingly followed, not doubting that their leaders had found out an endless paradise for them.

When the more discerning had compared this new oath to the Prince of Orange, with that which they had taken to King James, it appeared that the clergy, who had unfortunately taken both, were in a manifest contradiction upon the four gospels.

Upon this general defection, it began to be questioned, whether there were more truth in Christianity itself than appeared in the unhappy ministers of it? and in a short time religion and religious men were rendered as odious in every tavern and coffee-house as the most satirical of the prophane wits could make them.

Though Dr Burnett, and some other time-serving prelates, had strenuously taught the doctrine of non-resistance, as appears in their printed works, yet, because they had resisted, they delivered the doctrines of resistance for sacred truths, and would have St Paul and his adherents to pass for sowers of sedition.

Many of the younger divines were corrupted in the schools, by such as the men of loose principles had made their directors; and as bishopricks and parsonages became vacant, those were preferred that could measure their doctrines by the will of him who was called their king; and whether that corresponded with the will of God was no longer the question; for be that as it would, the pulpit was engaged in the cause of the usurper, and seemed resolved to propagate it, without any regard to the justice of the means by which it was to be done.

These contradictions were improved against you, and the town was soon filled with prophane books and pamphlets, that poisoned the growing youth of the nation, who not only ridiculed religion, but made it a part of their employment, to laugh those out of countenance that made any mention of it in a serious way.

The clergy perceiving the shame which they had brought upon themselves and their character, they endeavoured to mend the matter by setting up for a reformation of manners..

To this end, they procured acts and proclamations from their pretended king and parliament; but such as knew that they opened the gate by which these calamities came upon you, took it for a political turn, by which those temporals were to be saved, that were given as a consideration for the spirituals that were openly contemned, but this proved a heightner to the disgrace which they had brought upon religion before; and all that was said by them, upon the subject, was called the political cant of religious cheats, who would bugbear the world into an intolerable servitude.

To this another calamity succeeded; for the greatest artist in all evil, suggested to

the men in power, a necessity for qualifying such as were to preach to practise physick, or be concerned in many other employments, by taking oaths upon the four gospels that were directly contrary to the oaths which they had taken before: By this the roaring lion was let loose upon you, and he began to devour at a great rate: For, under these deplorable circumstances, it could not be supposed, that the concern of the clergy for your souls could be very great, since they could surrender their own in this unfortunate way; nor can it remain a wonder why great numbers die of the doctor; for he that can kill his own soul, that he may practise physick, it is to be feared will have no other regard to the life of your bodies, than what his credit in the practice of it shall require.

You are now driven to this dilemma, swear or swear not: If you swear, you kill the soul; and if you swear not, you kill the body, in the loss of your bread. A false oath upon the gospels, is become as light a matter as a word in course; and the time is come in which a man's property may be sworn away for a few shillings: So that you have but little remedy left, in any of your pretended courts of judicature, against the greatest wrongs that can be done to you. These are the liberties, and these the properties, that were secured to you, by the Revolution.

I must remind you again of the reproach you brought upon yourselves, from all nations, and the injuries you did to the Christian religion, by the contradictions that occurred to you upon the birth of the Prince of Wales, now your king.

The prince's birth had the clearest and strongest proof that ever was made of any birth before or since that time; the oaths of a great number of the best quality in the kingdom, who were then present, were recorded in the court of Chancery, where they are to be seen at this day. The prince was acknowledged by the king and queen; all Europe acknowledged his birth, and congratulated the king upon it; all the clergy of the kingdom, the lords, the commons, grand-juries, counties, corporations, boroughs, and the dissenters, under every denomination, addressed the king upon it; and (with the rest of the people) called heaven and earth to evidence the sincerity of those joys which they exprest upon the birth of the prince.

All the clergy, in their respective parish churches, prayed for six months, with their congregations, in the most solemn manner, that the prince might live to fill the throne of his ancestors. But the royal family was no sooner driven from its own country, but the prince's birth was called in question, and a perfidious fellow employed in writing the warming-pan story; which was printed and scattered about the kingdom to poison the lower degrees of men, with whom every lie against the royal family passed, at that time, for a sacred truth; but infinite justice remarkably exerted itself, in making that very story the occasion of many severe whippings to its author in Bridewell; and that by the order of a pretended parliament of the Prince of Orange's calling, though it was their cause that the story was contrived for; as if the divine goodness had directed those his most inveterate enemies to confirm that birth which they began to call in question. And it pleased God, in the trial of Dr Sacheveral, that the same party gave a further confirmation of it, by the mouths of Mr Stanhope, Parker, and others, who declared, That if the doctrines of hereditary right were true, that the queen had no right, because her brother then had a right before her; and since that, his birth has been acknowledged by all mankind.

Could there be a greater affront offered to Almighty God, than that of imploring (in his sacred temples) with hands and eyes uplift, blessings with your mouths, upon a family which you were then cursing in your hearts; as appeared immediately after, by your running to arms and slander, to destroy their persons and credit. What was this but a bringing the divine capacity to the human standard? Or endeavouring at least to convince the world, that the heart of man was not known to him that made

it? Or as if words without meanings could tickle the ear of Almighty God, as they sometimes do the ears of deluded mortals.

When this account of you shall reach the ears of the pagan or Mahometan world, will it not make them abhor the name of Jesus, on account of these sinful and unprecedented contradictions that appear in you, who call yourselves his disciples: If this had been the spirit of the primitive Christians, the name of Jesus would hardly have been known to the second generation: For such a stain as you have incurred, would have spoiled their credit with the unconverted.

Your credit indeed may not suffer so much in after-generations, for when your story shall be transmitted to them, they will never believe that their fathers were so impolitick, and so impious, unless you entail a string of curses upon them, by your perseverance in sin, that shall abundantly convince them of the truth of it.

Others are astonished at your celebrating the thirtieth of January, whilst you persist in those very principles and practices that occasioned its solemnity. You are equally concerned in the shame which that day gives to your enemy, for though it tells them that they did murder King Charles, yet it does not spare to tell you, that you would have murdered King James; and leaves you without argument, against the rebellious spirit that possesses your most inveterate adversary. Nor can you ever reproach those of the Romish religion with the deposing doctrine, till you have convinced the world (by a return to your duty) of your being in repentance for putting that very principle in practice.

The Prince of Orange having already accounted to Almighty God for the facts of his time, I shall instance no more of them to you, than may be necessary to convince you of the truth of what I have advanced, relating to the loss of your liberties, and the artifice of those by whom you have been deluded, from the beginning of the Revolution to this day.

The Prince of Orange protested in his declaration, printed at his coming into England, that he came not to take the crown from his father, but to settle him in peace upon the throne: But it is too well known to you, that he did take the crown, and punished most with prisons, all with double taxes, and many with death, that refused to forfeit that fidelity which was due from them to his father; and was so far from settling him in peace upon his throne, as that he turned him out of his own house in the dead of night, stept into his throne, and kept him thence (with sword and gun) to the day of his death.

To please you, he promised to protect me, and in order to it, forced my head from my body, wounded me by all the ways in his power, severely persecuted the few of you that firmly adhered to me, and precipitated you into a rebellion against me, which you now feel the dire effects of.

He promised to prove that the Prince of Wales was an impostor, but you know that the only step that was ever taken towards that, was the warming-pan story of William Fuller's, which (as I have already said) was exploded in the last of his own pretended parliaments; and its author the justice of God would have to be sentenced, (even by them for whose cause it was contrived) to a severe whipping in Bridewell for it.[1]

These untruths are too evident to be controverted, and the rest of his declaration was as false; yet this man was made your idol, and you were then so delirious as to think your civil and sacred rights well secured to you, under the guardianship of him who had never performed the least of those promises which he had made to you, and

[1] This impostor repeatedly attempted to revive the trade of bearing false witness, which had thriven so well under the auspices of Dr Oates. But standing convicted of perjury in his pretended discoveries as to the birth of the Prince of Wales, he was more than once sentenced to scourging and imprisonment as well as to the pillory.

from whose mouth you had never heard one word of truth, and were deluded by a number of falsehoods that would have ruined the reputation of any man then living but his, and would have destroyed his too, had you not before forfeited the divine favour, by which you might have discerned his treachery, and the calamities that he and his creatures had wheeled you into.

At his deplorable accession to the crown, he took down the tax that was upon chimnies to catch your affections; but he led you into a war immediately, under the pleasing pretext of advancing the trade and tranquillity of the nation; when the true intent of it was, the supporting himself in the throne, and the enriching and making conquest for the Dutch at your cost: And the abatement of chimney-money was only a political bait for your affections, which being thus caught, rendered him capable of bridling and saddling, and riding you to death.

Your lands were immediately taxed to one-fifth of their revenue; food and raiment were taxed; virginity was taxed; wedlock was taxed; your children and servants were taxed; a tax reached the very womb and the grave; every birth was paid for, and the dead themselves could not escape it: Nor was there any degree or state of human life excluded. A tax reached the very heavens, for you had no light through a window but what was paid for; and more money was raised under his usurpation of thirteen years, than was raised for all the Kings of England from the Conquest to his time; yet he pawned the very jewels of the crown for money, robbed the royal palaces, stripped them to the bare walls, and carried their hangings to his house at *Loo*; and at his death left a very great debt upon the nation, and bequeathed to you a foreign family, to pick up those remains of money that are yet amongst you: And all this you seem to undergo with pleasure under an usurpation, when a trifling tax upon chimnies, which was levied by a lawful authority, seemed to you an insupportable calamity.

Besides, the war which he had engaged you in, poured out your blood like water, filled your parish books with the widows and orphans of the slain, and has tied you to a conflict with other nations that will not end till the next generation, unless poverty puts a period to it, or the divine mercy shall interpose, and settle you upon the ancient foundation, by restoring his anointed, and your lawful king to you; which is the only remedy that is left against the destruction of one of the bravest kingdoms in the world.

What a breach did the Prince of Orange make upon your privileges by that horrid massacre (which was committed by his order, given under his hand and broad seal) upon the body of Macdonald, Laird of Glencoe, with the rest of his clan; and that after they had submitted to him, and thought themselves in the utmost security from the indemnity they had accepted, which he proposed to them by proclamation.

First, It was a most perfidious act in him, after he had taken them into his protection, to order that they should be fallen upon in cold blood, murdered in their beds in the dead of night, their houses plundered by those that did it, and then burnt to the ground.

Secondly, It was the most absolute breach that could be made upon the liberty of the people; for if they had done any thing contrary to law, they should have been tried by the law for it, and if any thing worthy of death, the law should have inflicted it upon them; but the usurper resolved that they should die, and because there was no law by which their lives could be taken from them (their reputed crime being nothing but an acknowledgment of their duty to their lawful king, in opposing the usurpation) this cruelty was exercised upon them without any regard to those souls which should have had time to have asked the divine mercy before they had been forced out of their bodies, or to the widows and orphans of the slain who perished in the snows

that fell after their poor little dwellings were destroyed by the fire of their barbarous enemy.

This breach upon your liberties, it might have been supposed, would have convinced you of that prince's insincerity, of a more cruel disposition being in him than does appear in the most savage creatures, under the make of mankind, and of a stronger tendency towards tyranny than appears in any of the most absolute princes in the world: For in all the world, this age has afforded nothing like it; and the pagan emperors were not so arbitrary nor so cruel, in grinding the primitive Christians to death with the teeth of lions, for in that they did nothing contrary to the laws of their time; and their captains knew their doom before their death, and could prepare for a state of bliss: But in this case, the hand that killed the body, might kill the soul together with it, which is a punishment that a man would believe could not be offered by any but the common enemy of mankind.

Yet, to save the credit of him whom you had placed on the throne, you smothered this black deed, as if you had consented to the loss of those advantages that used to flow from the laws of the land to the subjects; and had surrendered yourselves and your posterity to the same cruelties, when it should please that merciless prince, or any successor of his, by this precedent, to inflict them upon you.

If a lawful prince had laid but his finger upon you in such an illegal way, it is not to be doubted but you would have made the whole earth to have heard of it, and it may be, have deposed him too; when the unwarrantable murders committed by this usurper seemed not to deserve your notice.

The numerous colony of the kingdom of Scotland that went with their effects for Darien, had orders with them under the hand and broad seal of the Prince of Orange, to all your forts, towns, factories, and plantations in their way thither, to afford such refreshments as they should require: But that prince treacherously dispatched a single vessel, which arrived before them at the places they were to be relieved from, with orders of a later date, that they should be treated as enemies if they should put into either of them for refreshment.

After some sail, their water failed them, and the place they required fresh water from turned its guns against them, and they retired in astonishment: At length, most of their provisions failed, they sought relief in many places, but were every where treated as enemies: A terrible famine ensued, which destroyed some thousands. The fleet with its dead perished, and the very few that survived had endured the same fate, if a happy wind had not cast them upon the coast of Norway, of which small number the present Mr Patterson of Queen's-Square, Westminster, was one, but his lady perished.

Had these unfortunate people been of any other nation in friendship with you, what they required could not have been refused them; and if they had been of a nation at enmity with you, the worst that would have been done to them, would have been the seizing of their shipping and effects, with confinement to their persons, yielding them the conveniences of life till they could be redeemed; it being against the laws of nature and nations that any should be starved to death.

But these were called the subjects of him that wore the crown of England; yet he deprived them of the natural conveniences of life, and destroyed their civil rights, which entitled them to such refreshments as those in the same subjection could afford them, and to doom them to so severe a death without the proof or imputation of the least offence committed by them, when the greatest offender is entitled to the benefit of those laws that require his obedience, is not only as great a cruelty as ever was committed, but such a breach of privilege as none but himself dared to attempt, nor he neither, upon any other people than those he had betrayed into a most destructive rebellion, in which you seemed unwilling to see your danger, and to make it your choice

to perish in the dark rather than to receive those rays of light that might direct you to a way by which you might be saved.

You all know that Sir John Fenwick was in the most despotick manner deprived of his natural right (as an Englishman) who had his life taken away without any legal proof of his being guilty of the crime of which he was accused; and in so arbitrary a manner, that the very persons whom the Prince of Orange had engaged by money and promises to vote him to death, dreaded its consequences to them and their posterity; and therefore enacted it immediately, that it should never be a precedent in time to come.

Now, whether Sir John was guilty or not, was not the thing that you were to question, he being before his reputedly proper judges, whose judgments in the case was to be measured by the laws of the land: But the question, whether he was condemned by law or not, so nearly concerned every Englishman, as to require the inspection of the meanest subject, whose life an ill precedent might subject to the will of the usurper.

The act that immediately ensued against its being brought into a precedent, tells the world that their proceedings were against the laws of the land, and consequently perilous, and equally so to every Englishman.

What a man would suspect the least of any thing, was your being brought to believe that this act against its being a precedent, would preserve you and your posterity from the like injustices in time to come; for if they could break through the whole body of your laws, in the destruction of that gentleman, can it be supposed, that others of equal authority that may succeed them will be bound by this single act, when all the laws of England could not bind them?

When it shall be considered, that the laws which they violated were given by indisputable authorities, and that this act (in which you hope) was made by an illegal assembly, and never had the royal assent, without which it has no sanction, nor can never be a law that will bind any man's conscience, it will appear that there is nothing but moral rectitude to restrain you from the like barbarities, when you have a mind to commit them upon one another: And I have already shewed in part, that you have but little reason to depend upon the morality of each other.

By Sir John's case it may appear to you, that innocency will save no man, for every man is innocent in the eye of the law till guilt be proved as shall be required in law: No such proof was made upon Sir John Fenwick, your laws therefore declared him innocent, but it was the will of the usurper that he should die, and you consented therefore to his death.

By this it appears, that you have given up the laws that should bind the men in power; so that it is only for them to say that this man shall die, and the other shall have his estate taken from him, upon no other reason, than that of its being their will that it should be so, and it must be complied with: For you consented to the usurper's breaking your fence, and nothing but your lawful king can repair it.

From hence, judge whether that usurper was that faithful steward of the subjects liberty, as you were made to believe he would be? or question rather, whether he has not been that thief to the publick, as has robbed it of its blood, of its treasure, and of all its sacred and civil rights? And be the consequences of this pernicious precedent what they will to you or your posterity, you are to account for them, for there will not be a drop of blood spilt by it, but what will prove to be the natural result of your resistance in the Revolution, this very precedent being a consequence of it: So that if any of you die by it, your own blood will be upon you, and such of your posterity as may lose their lives by it, will accuse you in judgment of so many murders committed upon their bodies.

There are this day some gentlemen in Newgate, at Meldrum, Barnardy, and others, who were committed to that prison by the Prince of Orange's order, as persons concerned in the assassination plot, but nothing was ever proved against them, nor have they been brought to trial, in the nineteen years that they have been imprisoned.

They petitioned for trial many times, earnestly begging that if they had done any thing worthy of death, that they might die, rather than to be continued in the many miseries of a perpetual imprisonment; but if they had done nothing worthy of death, or bonds, or other corporal pains, that they might be acquitted, according to the direction of the laws of England: They have an indispensable right to the thing required, being born in subjection to the laws of the English nation.

Notwithstanding, they are committed to Newgate to this day, against the fundamental laws of England, and for no other reason than that of its being the will of the usurper that it should be so. Yet you are still so delirious as to believe that an arbitrary power was never known to the English nation since Oliver Cromwell, and that you are, and have been, in the full possession of your liberties and properties, and of all rights (both civil and sacred) from the Revolution to this day.

This has not yet had your notice, though there is nothing that more nearly concerns you; for these gentlemen are members of the common body, and what injures them, as they are such, must affect you; for the privileges that are taken from them, the same power may take from any of you when it pleases. Therefore this injustice offered to them may be of terrible consequence to you; for by this very precedent, any of you may be dragged from your business, driven from your families, and shut up for your lives in this tyrannical way, when it shall please an usurper to sport himself in your destruction.

The republican spirit that did this prevails now, and has pretty well proved that you are to have no mercy at the hands of those which it possesses: So that when the party has added sufficiently to its present power, you that cannot come into these measures, may very well expect that this unhappy precedent shall lead you into the same slavery.

I know that you depend upon your number; but if the number of those that are of you, were ever so much greater than it is, it may be reduced by a handful of resolute whigs, without much difficulty, if the same want of courage and conduct should attend you that has attended you hitherto.

Most certain it is, that if a lawful king were to imprison any of you, in this unwarrantable way, (under a full cry of your liberties and properties being in danger) you would go near to lay the place of confinement to the ground; but under an usurpation you tamely consent to it, though you and your posterity are threatened by it with the same injustice, when it shall be the will of the usurper to inflict it upon you; for if these things have been done, and are still continued (as will appear to any that will but ask for the persons, in their way through Newgate), why should you, who are as hateful to the present ministry as those suffering gentlemen, expect any thing better? They are subjects, and were born such, as well as you: Their protection by law, they have as good a right to as you have: But if their innocency, with the laws of the land, could not fence them from this cruelty, you have but little reason to expect that the same plea should save you.

The Prince of Orange was so regardless of his future state, as to sign the Abjuration Act in the very hour of his death, and after his death, an instrument was found in his strong box, by which it appeared that if she had lived three weeks longer, the late queen had been committed to the Tower of London, and her life taken from her in a short time after, as the present John How, Esq, particularly affirmed, having seen the instrument.

The parliament that was then sitting appointed a day for his coming to the bar of the Commons-house, to receive the sentence of that assembly, if he could not prove the truth of this assertion; but they found, before the day came, that he was capable of making his allegation good. All proceedings therefore were dropped, that this very dark account of the Prince of Orange might not reach the ear of the publick.

Those who had the administration of affairs at that time assured the queen, that it would be her interest that the utmost respect should be paid to the memory of the Prince of Orange, and advised her therefore to require Mr How's silence, and under their precaution this black deed was smothered.

It appears that these abominable actions were to cut off King James for ever from his own inheritance, and to destroy the late queen, that there might not remain a Stuart upon earth to interpose between the throne and the foreign family that now fills it.

Then, as if the people had not done enough by the false oaths they had taken before to destroy them eternally, this oath of Abjuration was added, by which the people should be obliged, upon the four gospels, to forswear and renounce him for ever whom the Lord had anointed their king, and from whom therefore they had no right of giving their allegiance to any other person or persons whatsoever.

Having provided thus against your eternal happiness, he seemed resolved not to be wanting in his endeavours against your temporal happiness also, for he would deprive you of a Stuart for your king, as if it were in contradiction to the Divine Providence which placed that family over you, to make you the happiest people upon earth: For it has been a family without fraud. The breast of every branch of it that God has given to you, has been replenished with mercy: They ruled without deceit, and were so tender of the subjects blood as to spare that of their known enemies, to their own misfortune, and still made the people's good preferable to their own; and it may be observed, that in all the world there has not been one family in which many branches have inherited that probity, that open and unmixt honesty, as have illustrated the family of the Stuarts, in every branch of it, that has sat in the throne of England.

Then, to fill the measure of your misfortunes, and to make your destruction sure, he endeavoured to make the crown elective, as if it were on purpose to put the whole kingdom into a ferment, by which it should destroy itself.

It is very much to find men (as you may some at this day) of opinion that the Prince of Orange was a favourer of religion, and particularly of that which you are of: For if the actions of a man are the index of his mind, it must appear to you that it was indifferent to him whether it were the Jewish, the Christian, or the Mahometan religion that should prevail: But among Christian societies he had the strongest tendencies towards that of Geneva; for in that he had his education; and to show that his education had some influence upon his actions, he destroyed episcopacy first in Scotland, as is very well known to you. And to do the same by it in England, he had new oaths coined for the episcopal clergy, which he thought they would never take. So their non-compliance was to be a reason for their deprivation, and the vacant livings were to be filled by the enemies of episcopacy, who (as is well known) would not have hesitated at any oath that could be coined for them by the way of a qualification for those preferments.

But when this design was defeated by the unexpected compliance of the clergy, an act of occasional conformity was coined, which was to qualify your enemies, by a strain of the conscience, if conscience they had, for places of honour, trust, and advantage, that your known enemies, in conjunction with your pretended friends, might do that by episcopacy, in a gradual way, which he endeavoured to do before at one blow.

This design was not perfected in his time, but it has entailed an hypocrisy upon the kingdom that has advanced the work, and may complete it in this generation, without the help of that occasional conformist whom you have elected to the throne, unless

you endeavour to exchange him for the only heir male that is left of a family, by whom the experience of several reigns will tell you, that you were never doubly dealt with.

I would speak with the utmost caution of the dead, every man having as good a right to his credit, when dead, as if he were living. Therefore what is said of the Prince of Orange, it would have been my choice to have forborn, that his crimes might have been buried with his body: But I am not conscious of the least injustice done to his memory, in any thing I have recounted; and since I found it absolutely necessary to remind you of the things I have instanced to you, and consequently in my duty towards God, if they had been omitted.

The matters of fact are too well known to you, to admit of the least doubt of their being true, the conclusions from them are natural, and I dare say that my reader will not believe, that they are forced, or too far fetched.

The late queen, finding the restoration of her brother impracticable, at the death of the Prince of Orange, she took the administration of affairs upon her, hoping thereby that it would please God to make her instrumental in his restoration, and in restoring to you your liberties and properties, tranquillity to me, and you to the obedience that was due from you to your lawful king, without which she foresaw that you could never be a happy people; but being plunged into a war, she found the restoration a work of more difficulty than she imagined,

Then the regard which appeared in all her actions to a publick good, engaged the affections of the people to her, even to her own disappointment; for she found that another obstacle to the work that she had at heart.

Your adversaries perceiving, that the queen made my interest much more her care than was consistent with the establishment of their republican schemes, they laboured incessantly to incline her to their measures, which they had disguised so as to bring her to a belief of their being sincere espousers of me and of the state.

The queen doubted not its being as fully intended by you, who were then distinguished from them by the tory character; yet as your means to that end were not the same with theirs, they had gained her belief of the means which they would make use of to be the product of a more certain and better concerted policy.

The credit of their scheme therefore prevailed with her, till that time that Dr Sacheveral, Mr Higgins, and others, had courage and Christianity enough to revive the ancient and apostolick doctrines of passive obedience.

The ministry of that time, composed of Christian men, if their own words may be taken for it, resolved to try Dr Sacheveral as a malefactor, for delivering the doctrines of Jesus Christ, and could think of nothing less than a severe punishment for him, for delivering the avowed doctrines of that church of which he was a minister, and of which they pretended to be members.

They obliged him to considerable bail for his liberty, in short, they brought me to a trial, in the person of the doctor; and in thirteen bishops, seven, with the majority of that assembly, voted me to three years silence, and in all likelihood would have voted me to death, if the awakened multitude had not made an unexpected appearance in my favour.

The queen being present at the trial, she there heard the mouths of prelates deny the doctrines which they had strenuously taught, and inculcated on pain of damnation. There she heard me reviled, and saw me treated by my pretended patriots with more contempt than the most inveterate of my declared enemies would have offered at.

This happy incident unfolded the curtain, and displayed to her their whole mystery of iniquity, and convinced her of my pretended friends being the most dangerous enemies that I had to encounter, which occasioned the change that ensued in most of the offices of the kingdom, to which a peace succeeded, and suspended the total destruction of this impoverished kingdom for a time.

The queen inclined all the southern princes of Europe to peace, upon which the ejected party insulted her, as if she had been the common enemy of mankind, in preserving the human blood that would have been lost in a war, and the greatest enemy to the English nation in preserving by the peace those small remains of money that were yet amongst you.

The English of their outcry against the peace runs thus: The peace was not of their making, and their hand in it was the only ingredient that was wanting to make it a safe and an honourable peace. Had they been concerned in the making it, the queen might have been now living. That blood which is threatened by a secret committee would have been spared; and the same peace would have been approved by the party that now talk of nothing but gibbets and scaffolds for every one that had a hand in it.

They incessantly petitioned the queen, that the king (whom they had acknowledged to be her brother, in her own hearing, at the trial of Dr Sacheverel) should be driven from Lorrain; and at her request too, that he might feel a want of all the conveniencies of life, unless the laws of hospitality should constrain some distant prince to communicate them to him; and continually pressed her to this cruel and unnatural action against her own brother, as if it were on purpose to make her detestable to God and man, in showing that she had no remains of nature, and was capable of exercising a cruelty against him, which, the bare relation of, would draw commiseration from the hardest heart in the world, excepting that of a whig.

They were continually affronting the queen, by the injuries which they offered every day to her brother, and in the stain they would have obliged her to bring upon her personal credit.

It is not hard to find a reason, either true or false, for the foulest action; so they fallaciously pretended the securing of religion, liberty and property, by this barbarity; but it was well known to them, that they had exchanged all these for Dutch kings, in the Revolution: So that this cruelty seemed to be levelled at the queen's credit, and to be persisted in, that they might have a king of their own making, though they lose their liberties and properties by it, rather than to have one of God's giving.

The queen, not countenancing these shocking petitions, their cry was, that she and her ministry were consenting to the restoration of her brother: Nor would any thing less appease them, than the queen's offering a sum of money for his blood; which she was advised to do, to wipe off the calumny that came plentifully upon her from the mouth of every whig.

The same disposition they imputed to the parliament, which extorted from them an offer of 100,000 pounds for the life of their king.

In all this they have treated the king, as if his being born of the queen's body had been in his own election, and his birth an injury to them of his directing; or as if he deserved to be murdered by the hands of ruffians, for refusing to quit his just pretensions to his own property.

If he is to be murdered thus, because he refuses to give up his right to his own dominions, do they not deserve to be knocked at head, because they'll not give up their estates to the needy? when they have convinced the world of the one's being reasonable, it is not to be doubted but the needy will soon find the other to be so too, and quickly dispatch them all by a law of their own making.

By way of reprisal, the king or any other person may offer money for their heads; and since the world does not want men that will do any thing for money, if such an offer were made, a few months would clear the kingdom of them and their posterity.

This inconveniency occurred to their recollection, and then they mitigated the matter, by ordering that the money should be for his life, in case he entered his own dominions; but in this case the danger returns: For if their servants, in measuring by their standard, should say (when any one of them approaches his own) This is the heir,

come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours; a short time would send them all into another world, and their own blood would abate their thirst after the blood of crowned heads.

They would doom servants, under such a combination, to the halter, so that their merit might be guessed at without much difficulty, by their own reckoning.

Had they not forgotten the great law of doing as they would be done by, and blowed their own passions, till their whole party was involved in a destructive phrenzy, they would never have given a precedent, by which the needy may warrant all the murders that can be committed upon them and their posterity.

Besides, this very precedent calls upon every man to arm against a whig, and at long run must call the very whigs themselves upon their guard against one another, for when men are in the way of bidding money for the blood of one another, a short time would reduce the world to its primitive state, of having but one man in it: The distinction of whig and tory would expire, and the strongest man would take all, and there would be the destruction of that fence by which the weaker are secured from the strong.

It is very remarkable that the whigs, who have gone thus far in taking down the common partition, should be in perpetual outery for the preservation of liberty and property, when nothing is more evident than the impossibility of any man's enjoying a property in any thing, if their principles and practices should be marks for other men's imitation; and this being a consequence of the Revolution, you may perceive by this, and what has been already said, by how many different ways your religion, your liberties and properties are endangered by it.

I know they affirm, that the laws of the land has destroyed the king's inheritance on the account of his religion; and that he pretends a right therefore to what is none of his. But,

First, You know that by the fundamental laws of England, the only right to the crown is in him, and in no other person till his death: And that there was never any thing called a law, in England, before the usurpation of the Prince of Orange, that cut off the heir from the crown, on the account of religion; unless it were an act of Oliver Cromwell's against the royal family, whose acts you never numbered with the laws of the land.

Secondly, When this act of the Prince of Orange's was made, you had no king in England, and consequently no parliament legally assembled. Therefore their acts became void in themselves, they being made by no better authority than Oliver Cromwell's was, and could not exclude him therefore, nor bind you or your posterity. And,

Thirdly, If the administration of that time had been legal, yet I could not make laws against a divine right that could bind the consciences of Christian men; for when human laws are so manifestly repugnant to the laws of God, they become void in themselves, because you are bound to obey God before all things.

The right of the crown is divine, therefore whatever laws are made to its prejudice, or to the prejudice of him in whom that right centres, are the highest breach upon the prerogative of God, and consequently a renunciation of the divine authority. Therefore the observers of that pretended law are in open rebellion to the King of kings.

Then if religion (by this pretended law) shall destroy the king's property, the same law will equally affect the properties of all the people that differ in principles with those that made it. Whig and tory differ in one very considerable point in Christian doctrine, if not in more. This pretended law was made by the whigs. Therefore, if it be a law, the properties of all the tories, papists, quakers, anabaptists, &c. are forfeited to the whigs, and are held by their courtesy only; and if you should ever get the ascendant over them, this is a precedent by which you may make a law that shall bring them under the same forfeiture; so that it is of as pernicious consequence to the makers of it as to the present sufferers by it.

You have joined with the whigs in the argument they built upon this pretended law, which speaks out your approbation to it; so that when they shall use it against you, or you against them, which is neither impossible, nor altogether improbable, each party in its turn must submit to its fate, under the reproach and sad remembrance of Perillus's dying in the body of that Bull of Brass which he had made for the death of others; your case being a parallel to his, and this calamity also is a consequence of the Revolution.

So vast a sum of money had not been offered for the king's blood, had it not been very well known, to those that extorted the offer, that he was their king; so that though they extorted from you an offer of money for the blood of your king, yet they brought out of you a proof, by it, of his being your king, though it was in a very unusual way.

The whigs were still implacable, and gave out, that the queen and ministry were then bringing the king upon them, which was another proof of his birth, from the mouths of those that called it first in question; for if they had not known, that the queen was assured of his being her brother, and the ministry of his being their king, what could they think should move them to make him a way to the crown, rather than the remotest and the meanest person in the world?

At length they hurried the queen out of the world, and on the day of her death the Elector of Brunswick was proclaimed, contrary to all the fundamental laws of England.

The sin and the shame you brought upon yourselves, and the elector, by it, time will severely punish; and the danger it may occasion to him and his posterity, (or to such as are said to be his) time may also convince both him and them, that they have but little reason to thank you for.

If any prince abroad should (in his absence) enter his town of Hanover, and reduce that country to his obedience, there is no doubt but he would cry aloud for justice, and think himself hardly used by such as should refuse to assist him against so vile an offender; and if such an usurper should vindicate his usurpation, upon the plea of an invitation made him by rebellious subjects, it cannot be supposed, that the Elector of Brunswick would take that for a reason, why the usurper should knavishly accept of it, to his prejudice, since the invitors invite him to that which is none of their own.

This is the case between him and your lawful king, and if he has either religion or morality, he will decline what he has so sinfully and so shamefully undertaken; but if he persists in this inhuman acquisition, it must fully convince you of his being a man that has no regard either to religion or morality, and if that be the case, you cannot depend upon him for the security of your religion or your liberties; for if he continues the possession of the king's property, you may be assured that he will not spare yours, when he shall be favoured with an opportunity of laying his hand upon it, it not being possible for him to have a greater dislike to the person of the king, than he has to the persons of any of you; and if ever he quits this nation, as is his bounden duty by the laws of God, of nature, and nations, he can never reflect upon what he has done, without shame, unless his front comes to that degree of hardness, which infernal assistance gave to Cromwell and the Prince of Orange; and the truth is, it is very much that he can appear amongst men, since he must believe, that no man can look him in the face, without a thought of his being one of the vilest things in human shape, for taking the crown and title of the King of England upon him.

In this usurpation he has fallen upon the properties of above forty princes, in their turns, before he can be a pretender to it; which (as is already said) has entailed a perpetual war upon you, which will be commenced as soon as the affairs of Europe are settled, that the parties concerned may be the better able to assert their rights; and how meanly soever you may think of the power of each of the injured princes, yet

when the forces of the King of Sicily, the house of Bourbon, and the house of Austria, and the rest that suffer by it, are cemented together against you, you will find it a power too strong for you (and the confederacy you can make) to struggle with; and if you put them upon a necessity of reducing you by conquest, you know (besides the loss of blood and treasure) what a forfeiture your liberties and properties will lie under to the conqueror.

Besides, this usurpation has involved you in the folly of treading the fence yet lower, which the laws of God and your country has made to every man's property, and the destruction of positive institution being confirmed by it, all things are laid open, and a man can call nothing his own, but what he has a natural right in, which are no more than the bare conveniences of life; for you have unbound the consciences of men, and the hands that were restrained by laws are now at liberty.

The Elector of Brunswick makes himself an occasional conformist for the crown, which involves him in an hypocrisy, that should convince you of his being an unsafe hand, for you to trust with your liberties and properties; for he that parts with his religion, upon considerations purely temporal, cannot be just to God and his own soul, and you have but little reason, therefore, to expect that he should be so to you; and it savours very much of Moorfields, in any one to imagine, that the person who parted with the religion which he knows not, (and therefore made all religions indifferent to him) should have a greater regard to yours than to any other; for as he parted with one religion for another, to make his way to the throne, can it be supposed, that he will not part with that for the presbyterian, or any other, that, in process of time, may seem to give him a better security in it?

Besides, you know that he was at Hanover, one of the most absolute princes in all the world; and yet he, who never knew any other law than that of his own will, must be called to the guardianship of your liberties and properties. He who never knew the least restriction, but had always a power without any limitation, must be placed in the gap to keep out a power which it is only supposed might prove absolute; which is as if the taking one into your house with the plague upon him were the best remedy against that distemper. But the English of this paradox, is the saving of three or four of the most considerable miscreants from the hands of that justice which they have offended; for if the will of this usurper from Hanover was the law of those that inhabit that country, there is no doubt but it may be so to you when the willing hand has gotten strength enough to lay its weight upon you. For (as a specimen of what you are to undergo) he has laid about you pretty handsomely already; and the younger gentleman, whom they call his son, has (through an infirmity which he is known to have in his head) declared, that if he were king, he would try whether he could not purge the kingdom of every tory that is in it within four months; so that you will have a fine time of it, when there shall be nothing but death or banishment for you.

I know that your hope of being secured from all the evils that you were threatened with from the foreign family centers in the Limitation Act; but the whigs already talk of complimenting him with some things it binds him from, others he will be sure to ask, and the rest he may then take; so that by their giving, and his taking, he would soon eat his way through that act; and you cannot well complain when it shall so happen, for it is well known to you, that the breaker of it has as good an authority as the maker of it had, and may therefore as well break it as he could make it.

The head of the illustrious house, by his coming hither, will, at long run, prove himself very wise, or extremely otherwise; for if he be wise, he must know that his makers are very well acquainted with the way by which a crowned head may be brought to the block, and he must have learned from their own mouths, that they place the power in themselves of making and unmaking kings, and by a strange paradox do affirm, that they are the rulers of him whom they shall elect to rule them; by which he

must perceive that the patent they granted him at his creation is made to run during their pleasure, and that at their scrutiny, the question will not be, whether he has behaved well, but whether he has behaved as they would have him; that if he makes but the least trip, down he must go, and that they will soon make him to understand, it had been better for him and his numerous issue, to have remained in their security on the other side of the water, than to have invaded the property of another prince at the hazard of their lives; and must see (if he knows not himself to be an extraordinary artist) that it may be a doubtful case whether he will play his game here with better success than the winter king his grandfather did his, in the kingdom of Bohemia.

Then, if he be wise, he must know that the most strenuous assertors of his pretended right are implacable enemies to kingly government, and therefore cannot long admit of his being king: So that upon the supposition of his being a wise man, you have reason to believe that a scheme was laid before his coming hither for the raising a standing army of French Hugonots, and other foreigners, whom he may rely on for his establishment, else how can he account to the family he has brought with him, since it is evident from whig principles, that they are invited hither as tools to work up the kingdom into the last disposition towards a republick, and to be laid aside when the work is done.

Upon the former condition of his being wise, he must know the party's reasons for the murder of King Charles the First; for their attempts to dethrone King Charles the Second, and their deposing King James; and that in Dr Sacheveral's trial, the doctrine of hereditary right was the highest of those pretended crimes for which the doctor was brought to trial. Therefore he could not believe them to be in earnest in their promise to make the crown hereditary whilst there shall be any of his supposed issue to succeed it, and must have a view therefore to somewhat more than their promises for the security of this succession, and that, in the ordinary way of thinking, must be an army of another nation.

Upon the same condition he must know that they will never reverse their old maxim of "The voice of the people being the voice of God;" and that as they create the king, he (as their creature) is to account to them as his creators; and if he cannot make both ends of his account even, and in their way of reckoning too, he is deemed a traitor to the people, that shall dispute their right of electing him or what other they shall think fit to his office, as must appear to him in his being on the throne: This being the principle that placed him there.

These being their principles, the natural result of them are the conditions upon which he wears the crown; and if he believes he can support it upon these ticklish terms during the course of his natural life, it will be a reason why he should not be numbered among the wise, for it will prove him extremely otherwise, and that he came into the world with that infirmity in his head which his reputed son is known to labour under. But if he be a man of that sagacity that was imputed to him before you saw him, he has some assurances of an army that will nail him to the throne, which seems highly probable when the steps which he has taken are considered.

First, he affronted, aspersed, and degraded the best quality of the kingdom, and advanced the meanest of your quality, the vilest and most notorious rebels to all the offices of honour, trust, and advantage. Their crimes have made them desperate; and to ward off the merit of their personal offences, it may be their choice to leave you to the outrage of a tyrannical army rather than hazard their being delivered up to that justice which they have offended; and thereby lead your liberties into a captivity from which they may not be delivered in many generations.

Then their avarice (with their ambition) may gain their consent to a standing army,

to support them in their posts of honour and advantage, and to confirm the conquest which they have lately made over you.

The exchequer has purchased a parliament that is to fall in with the measures of your pretended king and his ministry; and when the blood is drawn which they are hankering after, if an army should be required (under the pretext of an invasion) by him that has a prior title to the crown, you have no great reason to believe that it would be refused; but if they should hesitate upon that demand, that treasury that bought a parliament of the country, may buy an army of the parliament, and when that bargain is struck, Dutch bottoms can bring in more Prussians and Hanoverians (to the French you have already) than succeeding generations may be able to weed out again.

Then, as if it were to facilitate this design, your pretended king is at present a mere prostitute to the direction of a few that are in the most desperate circumstances; who, if their consciences were unburthened, would start at the thought of a standing army: But as they are labouring under a desperate evil, it may be their choice to make use of a desperate remedy. And as their pretended king has been very tractable hitherto, it may not seem to them so desperate a remedy as it may to others; for they may hope to govern him and his army, as he has been governed by them to this day, and then all will be theirs, even king, army, and people; which will put a face upon the government, that the most discerning eye will not be able to distinguish from that of a commonwealth.

The army being obtained, he may prove a man of the deep intellects that were imputed to him; and (by a turn of the tables) make himself as absolute in England as he was in Hanover, and make them know that made him, that he will govern them; and with Alexander's sword, at one blow, cut through the knot of those republican schemes which will be too hard for him otherwise to untie; and if all his compliances, with those that are now of his council, should be designingly made to counterfeit an ignorance that may complete the project, which is neither impossible nor improbable, then the property of whig and tory will fall a victim to the avarice of the army and its commander: There will be no partiality of affection in the prince, for (like Jupiter's stork) his prey will be made upon all that his hand can reach; that what you enjoy to-day may be the spoil of Prussian, Hanoverian, or Hugonot plunderers to-morrow, without any respect to party or persons. And if they should imitate the Danes of old, in ravishing your wives and daughters before your faces, it is hard to know how you will prevent it. For when he has an army, he may augment it to a number that shall make you hewers of wood and drawers of water; which deserves the notice of whig as well as tory, for the calamity will be general, and therefore equally affect both.

This usurpation, if continued, may eclipse the liberties of all Europe, and at the ruin of this miserable nation too; for if your pretended king should think of enlarging his dominions in Germany, he will not come to ask you whether he shall do it at your cost or not; for his army will fetch in the money he shall need, and will very well pay its keeping: He will then have but little occasion for parliaments, for he will know how to raise money without them.

The King of Prussia is a prince of great power in the empire, and to make him yet more powerful, your pretended king has engaged the Dutch to be concerned with him in an expedition which they say is to be very manfully made, under an equipment of above thirty men of war, English and Dutch, against the poor young King of Sweden, who has many of the most powerful northern princes upon him already, and whose present circumstances demand the assistance of every one that has a turn to the service of God and man.

When English and Dutch bravery, in conjunction with the Muscovite, the Danish, the Saxon, the Polish, and the Prussian, have reduced him, Prussia, it may be supposed, will be a sharer in his dominions, though he has not borne any proportion of

the burthen of the war that may reduce him, which will enlarge his dominions upon evry easy terms.

Prussia and Hanover being in the same interest, when what Prussia may thus acquire(with what he had before) is cemented to the force of England and Hanover, and such other troops as the British treasury is capable of keeping in pay, they may become princes of too much power for any, if not for all the rest, of the German princes to contend against.

Every inch of dominion they shall obtain will give them an increase of power, and carry their conquests, in a progressive way, through the dominions of all the princes of the Germanick body, and at the cost of the English nation, which they will see shall never share in the advantages that shall accrue to the conquerors.

It might be imagined, that the power that accrues to the houses of Prussia and Brunswick, should awaken all the princes in Europe, but your Dutch neighbourhood more immediately; for that balance of power which occasioned the late war, and has cost so much blood and treasure, is in the hand of the two houses, who, in any quarrel that may arise in time to come, may bring what force they please, with English money on one side of them, whilst a superiority of English shipping shall invade them on the other; by which that republick may quickly come to a period.

It may be believed that France (upon such an occasion) will exert itself, to lessen the power that such an attempt may give to the house of Brunswick; but the king is arrived to a great age, and at his death, the minority of the dauphin may engage that kingdom in intestine troubles, that may be a full employment for it for many years.

Besides, if the kingdom of France should not feel the calamity of an insurrection in the minority of the present dauphin, yet factions will be unavoidable consequences of his minority; councils therefore will be divided, and money, from England, may do very much with those that are of the council, and prevent all determinations that otherwise might be made to interrupt such an undertaking against the Dutch.

When they have reduced that republick, whither may not their conquests be carried, and to how many miseries will the English be exposed, when its blood and its treasure shall run (like water from a fountain) to satiate the ambition of two or three tyrannical princes!

Your pretended king cannot be ignorant of the uncertainty of the English humour, in respect to crowned heads, nor of the vast confederacy that may be made against him (in time convenient) by those that have a right to the crown of England before him; therefore, and in case a standing army should not answer all the ends proposed (no man being able to know what unforeseen accidents may prevent it) it may be expected that he should make use of your blood and your treasure, before his harvest be over, to enlarge his dominions in the empire, and to fill his foreign coffers, that if the princes abroad, or the people at home, should oblige him to retire, he may have the larger country, and the better purse to retire to.

This being foreseen, by the makers of the Limitation Act, was the reason why they provided against it, by a clause that forbids a war on the part of the British nation in the defence or increase of your pretended king's dominions in Germany, without the consent of the British parliament; but when that act is dissolved (as unquestionably it will) then it will appear that this provision was made to very little purpose, and that the labouring oar will be your lot.

If the present Elector of Brunswick, or any of his pretended issue that may succeed him, should aspire to the imperial diadem, it may be obtained without much difficulty, if the confederacy between him and Prussia be continued: In that case his residence will be at Vienna. England will then become a province of the empire, and every three years may bring you a fresh spunge, under the name of a viceroy, to cleanse your coffers: For it has been the policy of all sovereign princes, to send (to

their remoter dominions) such of their noblemen for viceroys, as have been under hard circumstances.

First, That they may squeeze out of the people committed to their care, fortunes to repair their decaying families.

Secondly, That large sums may be drawn by it, from the remoter dominions, to center in the nation where the sovereign resides, that part of his dominions being his principal care, as the mistress of all the rest.

Thirdly, That the remoter nation may be impoverished by it, to a degree that may preserve its subjection.

Then it is generally the policy of the sovereign to depute a viceroy that is an alien to the people he is to govern, that he may not attract their affections, so as to acquire a power that may set him up for their sovereign; it being the choice of all wise nations to be governed by a native rather than by a foreigner.

Therefore, when you become a province to the empire, which may be expected, if this usurpation be continued, you will be impoverished by all the means in your pretended king's power, to continue your subjection to him; and will be insulted and squeezed by foreigners that will be constituted your rulers, who will carry your treasure into the countries where they are to end their days; and there will end all the felicities which you may reasonably promise to yourselves from the government of your lawful king.

I know that the people of England have stomach, and will say (upon the reading of this) that they will not endure what I foresee will be their fate, but if they tamely yield their hands and feet to the chains of a foreign family, it will prove an oversight that they will not be able to recall; for they ought not to forget what came of the wood that granted an helve to the hatchet; nor must they expect (after they have given their strength into the hand of another nation) that it will return by miracle, as Sampson's did.

The princes of other nations, it might reasonably be supposed, should exert all their power, in forcing a thief and a robber out of the house, even of an enemy, lest the same thief (or some other, by his example) should visit them all in the same way, when time shall serve. No trifling robbery is committed but the country is alarmed, and every man is a pursuer of him that commits it, till he is chased out of the world; and the same policy should equally alarm the princes in our present case: For it is but one that is robbed, yet it is every man's business to pursue the thief. The great thief that gives our subject, hangs those that have not stole a shilling, where he has stolen millions; and the law that hangs them, pleads a greater necessity for his being brought to the same justice; because his continuing in the throne of another warrants all the robberies that men can commit. And it is surprising to see him, or his creatures in his name, in judgement upon such as steal for the bare conveniences of life, when they sit in judgment, by virtue of one of the greatest thefts that ever was committed, in the name of the most notorious thief that is now in being.

Besides, this precedent may excite rebellions in other nations, that may make all the crowns in Europe sit uneasy upon the heads of those that wear them; for he that can be a silent witness to the sufferings of a royal brother (in so just a manner) may very well expect that the justice of God should permit his own people to punish him in the same way: For it is to be considered, that the person of a man suffers not by itself in this case, but that royalty lies a-bleeding, which makes it as much the concern of those that immediately suffer by it; for the doctrines of resistance are not taught by it to the English nation only, but to all the nations upon earth, and may spread through the world, like a canker: So that the King of England's cause is their cause, and what he suffers in it they must share in.

Then, if the kings upon earth are in subordination to the King of kings, the King

of England's cause is the cause of God: Therefore the representatives of God to other nations (that look with silence upon the sufferings of his cause) betray their office and character to all the injuries that can be offered, and must account at the great tribunal for so pernicious a contrivance.

Upon the whole, nothing is more evident than that of your being an undone people, if this usurpation be continued. For,

First, An usurpation is the invasion of another man's right; therefore it is unjust, and cannot be pleasing to him who is infinitely just, and that injustice having gained a national assent, you may well expect that a national calamity should ensue. Then,

Secondly, It has brought you under the dilemma of maintaining a standing army, to perpetuate this succession, or of being torn to pieces by the many armies that an elective monarchy will infallibly produce; one or the other of these must be your lot, under the usurpation, and be it which it will, it is your unavoidable destruction.

Under this reflection (which I am sure is a very just one) it is surprizing to find that the usurpation should be favoured by either whig or tory. For,

First, It is diametrically opposite to the principles of a tory. And,

Secondly, It is very much that the whigs (who are in perpetual outcry upon the business of liberty and property) should surrender both, to save the vilest mortal and ungrateful nobleman now in being, with a few of his adherents, from the hand of that justice which they have offended, when the life of that miserable creature, by the course of nature, cannot run to a much greater length, though the captivity they submit to to save him will be without end.

To all princes I cry aloud, in the name of an injured prince, for justice, they being the ministers of it, as well to one another as to the people that are committed to their care.

I hereby acquaint the Elector of Brunswick, that it may be his prudence to walk out of the kingdom of England whilst the door is open, and to rest himself satisfied with his own, as every honest man would do; for he may go with that in peace to the grave, when his countenance with you (unless he be early with his intended army) may shorten that life, which in his own country might have many more years to run; for there is no pleasing the party that made him, and the hand that led him to the throne will (if strength remains) lead him to the scaffold, if they should come to dislike but the very countenance of the man.

By the artifice of your enemy you were made to believe that your pretended king was a man of profound piety; but his parting with a religion that he knew for a religion which he knows not, upon arguments purely temporal, is a testimony of the standard by which his devotion is measured.

He was represented a man of exquisite justice; but his possessing the dominions of another by violence, proves that the representors were deceived by others, or would have deceived you.

He was said to be a man of marvellous chastity; but I refer you to Madam Kilmanseck, and others of the foreign harlotry, for the truth of that assertion.

He was reported so vastly rich, as to give every body hopes of a mighty flux of silver and gold after his arrival; whether he were rich before his coming to you is a doubtful question; but if he stays any time with you, it is not to be doubted but he and his people will be so.

It was said that the treasure of Hanover was to pay the debts of the English nation; but all that you have seen of that was what entered the city of London with him (in a cart) under the appearances of mops, brooms, buckets, tubs, earthen pans, and close stools, which will not go a great way in paying the debts of the nation if they should be ever so well sold.

And that you may be sure to know what you are like to have more of the foreign

treasure, I refer you to his speech (at his meeting his pretended parliament) where, from his own mouth, you will find him a person in great want, and the numerous issue (called his) in the very same circumstances; for he carefully sets forth their necessities, with the people's happiness in seeing such a string of needy persons at his elbow, whom he hopes no man will grudge to relieve; though it is hard for any man to enter into the reason, why they should have relief from the parish of St James's rather than from the parish where they were born.

The English nation had always poor enough of its own, and to them the French and Palatine were added; and the Hanoverian being now added to them, your labours may be eaten up by the foreign poor in your keeping.

The wisdom imputed to that family does not yet appear in the reputed father of it; and it is confidently reported, that it never will in the reputed son, and that it never can in the said son's son.

Your pretended king is one of the remotest relations to the crown, a stranger to you, and altogether ignorant of your language, your laws, customs and constitution.

But your lawful king was born in the royal palace at St James's: He is a Stuart, perfect in your language; and though driven by you into another nation, yet his and his father's court was still English, and his education English; by which he as well understands your language, your laws, your customs and constitutions, as if he had never been out of his own dominions, and it may be much better: For his misfortunes have given him a larger experience, and a stronger tendency to the knowledge of men and books, than he might have had in a life of uninterrupted tranquillity.

Your pretended king is a native of another country, and nature therefore must give his affections a stronger turn towards its inhabitants than it is possible for him to have towards you: They will be his chiefest care, and you may be assured of his enriching them at your cost.

But the heart and affections of your lawful king must be with you, for this is his country, the place that gave him birth.

You are his all, your prosperity is his prosperity, your wealth and your grandeur is his glory: Therefore his whole care will be employed (by all the ways in his power) to make you a rich, a happy, and a flourishing people.

The title of your pretended king will be in perpetual dispute, which will lay you under a double load of inconveniences; for,

First, A great part of your blood and treasure will be wasted in the contest. And,

Secondly, It will make him think it is his prudence to make a lodgment of all the English money he can, at his capital in Hanover, that he may be able to say (if he should be obliged to withdraw) that still he has made a saving bargain of it.

But the right of your lawful king is not disputed by any other prince in all the world; therefore his hope is to end his days with his own people: So that he will never think of plundering your pocket, but of improving your trade and your treasure, your interest and his being the same: When the gentleman from Brunswick will be to you, as a bad wife, that makes a separate purse, at the ruin of her husband.

Your pretended king cannot be a man of probity, whilst he takes the title and property of another; and therefore not a person under whom you can be happy.

Then, as another mark of his insincerity, he has already violated his coronation oath; for the religion which he pretends to be of, and has sworn to maintain, is the only religion in England that is discountenanced by him; for every thing is preferred and caressed that goes under any other denomination than that of a churchman, and every churchman that is so high as to acknowledge that he wishes the preservation of that church of which he is a member, is too high to be deemed worthy of your pretended king's service, which may be another reason to you why you should not expect the performance of any of the promises he has made to you, unless it be those which he

has made in every action since his arrival, and they are to be dreaded by you, for they seem fatal to me, and to your liberties.

But the actions of your lawful king have corresponded with the most exact justice and honour, and his being a Stuart, is the best pledge that you (who have experienced the probity and clemency of that family) can receive for his perseverance.

The love of your lawful king for his own country has been sufficiently attested, by the many marks of affection which he shewed to the English officers and soldiers that were taken into France in the late war; though the cause of their confinement was, their being in arms against him and that interest that sought his restoration.

As he seems the inheritor of his grandfather King Charles the First's virtue, for the most malicious of his enemies never could reproach him with those impurities that are incident to his years: But your pretended king (in the fifty-fifth year of his age) has many lewd foreign women in English pay.

Your lawful king has also a capacity that has raised the admiration of all the princes with whom he has conversed; he is so well acquainted with the art of government, as that a man would imagine he had presided with all the councils of past ages; he is as well acquainted with the art of war as if he had commanded in all the battles and sieges of the wars of Europe; and his behaviour (in the battle of Malplaquet) was so brave as to attract the affections even of Prince Eugene and others, whom he fought against.

He is so great a master in the art of reasoning, as to have obtained the character of the finest and most promising prince that is at this day in all the world; he executes nothing rashly; he is not positive, but is easy of access, and ever ready to hear.

His actions are so well concerted as to lead always to their end, and under a regularity that speaks him one of the best economists in the world; and his person (as he conducts it) at once moves all the passions of those that are so happy as to have their eyes upon it: For the clemency of the Stuart appears in all his actions, and at the same time majesty is preserved in the same person, so as to raise the reverence that is due to one of his distinction.

He is, in every respect, that perfect man as have made all nations ambitious of the honour and credit of giving him birth, excepting the unhappy nation that really gave it him; which, by a deplorable fatality, has rejected him whom the world admires, and has filled his throne with one of the most tyrannical and most scandalous families in Europe.

Your lawful king has promised to make the laws of the land the rule of his government; and to hear what I have to say in the business of religion, when he comes into a country where it may be done with conveniency; and to be determined by that as shall appear to him the better argument; and has farther promised (be his determination what it will as to himself) to protect and maintain me, and has offered you should secure the things he has promised, by the surest expedient you yourselves can propose: And upon the whole, it should be your prudence to rely upon the promises of him who is of unblemished reputation, rather than upon the promises of a man who has already violated the laws of God, the laws of the land, and all the vows he made to you (upon the four gospels) at his coronation. And I do still hope that your infatuation is not for ever, and that the goodness of God will restore your reason to you, that you may obviate the dangers with which you are threatened, both spiritually and temporally, and make you instrumental in the restoration of your lawful king, without which it is impossible for you to regain the liberties that were enjoyed by you and your fathers; for your inheritance is given to strangers, who will not give you your own water without money, and your own wood they will sell unto you, and your bread will be gotten at the peril of your lives.

Postscript.

April 26, 1715.

The fear of running these reflections to a length beyond the patience of my reader, is the reason why the work is not so perfect as was intended; but I do hereby promise you a supplement that shall make the deficiencies good.

For what I have done already I do expect that your pretended king and his ministry (as a mark of their affection for me) should punish me with death if they can; for those truths which they neither like nor are able to answer by dint of reason, it may be they may (as their custom is) stigmatize them with the words libel, sedition, rebellion, treason, &c.; which words alone (without farther argument) gave the reason why the divulger of those truths should be whipped, hanged or pilloried; and these punishments that set of men take for a full and a convincing answer to all that may be said against them by the person that is punished.

The facts I have delivered, you are all witnesses to the truth of, and the reflections I have made upon those facts, you will find to be measured by your principle in religion and by the laws of the land, and if they offer to punish me for it, in the person of my faithful orator, it will be a standing monument of their dislike to the religion which they pretend to be patriots of, and that constitution that has been universally acknowledged to be the peculiar happiness of the English nation.

The British Subject's Answer to the Pretender's Declaration. By Sir Richard Steele. Printed in the Year 1716.

Tihis Tract was composed in order to raise the spirit of the nation against the Jacobite insurgents. The proclamation to which he here replies, was that sent forth by the Chevalier de St George, preparatory to the insurrection of his adherents in Scotland, in 1715.

JAMES, VIII. By the grace of God, of Scotland, England, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting. As we are firmly resolved never to omit any opportunity of asserting our undoubted title to the imperial crown of these realms, and of endeavouring to put ourself into the possession of that right, which is devolved upon us by the laws of God and man, so must we, in justice to the sentiments of our own heart, declare, that nothing in this world can give us so great satisfaction, as to owe to the endeavours of our loyal subjects, both our and their restoration to that happy settlement, which can alone deliver this church and nation from the calamities which they lie at present under, and from those future miseries, which must be the consequences of the present usurpation. During the life of our dear sister, of glorious memory, the happiness which our people enjoyed, softened in some degree the hardship of our own fate: And we must further confess, that when we reflected on the goodness of her nature, and

her inclinations to justice, we could not but persuade ourself, that she intended to establish and perpetuate the peace, which she had given to these kingdoms, by destroying for ever all competition to the succession of the crown, and by securing to us at last the enjoyment of that inheritance, out of which we had been so long kept; which her conscience must inform her was our due, and which her principles must lead her to desire that we might obtain.

2. But since the time when it pleased Almighty God to put a period to her life, and not to suffer us to throw ourself, as we then fully purposed to have done, upon our people, we have not been able to look on the present condition of our kingdoms, or to consider their future prospect, without all the horror and indignation which ought to fill the breast of every Scotsman.

3. We have beheld a foreign family, aliens to our country, distant in blood, and strangers even to our language, ascend the throne.

4. We have seen the reins of government put into the hands of a faction, and that authority, which was designed for the protection of all, exercised by a few of the worst, to the oppression of the best and greatest number of our subjects: Our sister has not been left at rest in her grave; her name has been scurrilously abused; her glory, as far as in these people lay, insolently defaced; and her faithful servants inhumanly persecuted: A parliament has been procured, by the most unwarrantable influences, and by the grossest corruption, to serve the vilest ends; and they, who ought to be the guardians of the liberties of the people, are become the instruments of tyranny. Whilst the principal Powers engaged in the late wars enjoy the blessings of peace, and are attentive to discharge their debts, and ease their people, Great Britain, in the midst of peace, feels all the load of a war; new debts are contracted, new armies are raised at home, Dutch forces are brought into these kingdoms; and by taking possession of the duchy of Bremen, in violation of the publick faith, a door is opened by the usurper to let in an inundation of foreigners from abroad, and to reduce these nations to the state of a province to one of the most inconsiderable provinces of the empire.

5. These are some few of the many real evils, into which these kingdoms have been betrayed, under pretence of being rescued and secured from dangers purely imaginary; and these are such consequences of abandoning the old constitution, as, we persuade ourselves, very many of those who promoted the present unjust and illegal settlement never intended.

6. We observe, with the utmost satisfaction, that the generality of our subjects are awakened with a just sense of their danger, and that they shew themselves disposed to take such measures as may effectually rescue them from that bondage, which has, by the artifice of a few designing men, and by the concurrence of many unhappy causes, been brought upon them.

7. We adore the wisdom of the Divine Providence, which has opened a way to our restoration, by the success of those very measures that were laid to disappoint us for ever. And we most earnestly conjure all our loving subjects, not to suffer that spirit to faint or die away, which has been so miraculously raised in all parts of the kingdom; but to pursue, with all the vigour and hopes of success, which so just and righteous a cause ought to inspire, those methods which the finger of God seems to point out to them.

8. We are come to take our part in all the dangers and difficulties to which any of our subjects, from the greatest down to the meanest, may be exposed on this important occasion, to relieve our subjects of Scotland from the hardships they groan under, on account of the late unhappy Union; and to restore the kingdom to its antient, free, and independent state.

9. We have before our eyes, the example of our royal grandfather, who fell a sacrifice to rebellion; and of our royal uncle, who, by a train of miracles, escaped the rge

of the barbarous and blood-thirsty rebels, and lived to exercise his clemency towards those who had waged war against his father and himself; who had driven him to seek shelter in foreign lands, and who had even set a price upon his head.

10. We see the same instances of cruelty renewed against us by men of the same principles, without any other reason than the consciousness of their own guilt, and the implacable malice of their own hearts; for in the account of these men, it is crime sufficient to be born their king. But God forbid that we should tread in these steps, or that the cause of a lawful prince, and an injured people, should be carried on like that of usurpation and tyranny, and owe its support to assassins. We shall copy after the patterns above-mentioned, and be ready, with the former of our royal ancestors, to seal the cause of our country, if such be the will of Heaven, with our blood: But we hope for better things: We hope, with the latter, to see our just rights, and those of the church and people of Scotland, once more settled, in a free independent Scots parliament, on their antient foundation: To such a parliament (which we will immediately call) shall we entirely refer both our and their interests; being sensible, that these interests, rightly understood, are always the same: Let the civil as well as religious rights of all our subjects receive their confirmation in such a parliament; let consciences truly tender be indulged; let property of every kind be better than ever secured; let an act of general grace and amnesty extinguish the fears even of the most guilty: If possible, let the very remembrance of all which have preceded this happy moment be utterly blotted out, that our subjects may be united to us, and to each other, in the strictest bond of affection, as well as interest.

11. And that nothing may be omitted which is in our power to contribute to this desirable end, we do by these presents, absolutely and effectually, for us, our heirs and successors, pardon, remit, and discharge all crimes of high treason, misprision of treason, and all other crimes and offences whatsoever, done or committed against us, or our royal father, of blessed memory, by any of our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who shall, at, or after our landing, and before they engage in any action against us, or our forces from that time, lay hold of mercy, and return to that duty and allegiance which they owe to us, their only rightful and lawful sovereign.

By the joint endeavours of us and of our parliament, urged by these motives, and directed to these views, we may hope to see the peace and flourishing estate of this kingdom in a short time restored; and we shall be equally forward to concert with our parliament such further measures as may be thought necessary for leaving the same to future generations.

And we hereby require all sheriffs of shires, stewarts of stewarties, or their deputies, and magistrates of burghs, to publish this our declaration, immediately after it shall come to their hands, in the usual places and manner, under pain of being proceeded against for failure thereof, and forfeiting the benefit of our general pardon. Given under our sign manual and privy signet, at our court at Commercy, the 25th day of October, and in the fifteenth year of our reign.

Answer.

1. Whereas our forefathers, for the many and intolerable acts of tyranny committed by the late King James II. against the churches and states of England and Scotland, now united into the kingdom of Great-Britain, did in full parliament, after the flight of his said majesty, pronounce the said King James to have abdicated and forefaulted the empire of the said kingdoms; and for the safety of themselves, and us their posterity, placed in the said thrones, William III. of glorious memory; which said King William was succeeded by the late Queen Anne under the same title. And where-

as, the Pretender to these dominions has, by an open declaration, set forth, That the said queen had been seduced from the maternal care and protection of her people, which she had in the most solemn manner undertaken, as our queen and sovereign lady, to enter into measures for favouring his, the said Pretender's succession to these thrones: We, the free subjects of Great Britain, do, with utter abhorrence to such a design, ascribed to a princess who had reigned many years over us in justice, mercy, and glory, surpassing any of her predecessors, declare, that we receiving with the utmost horror the imputation of so cruel, monstrous, and unnatural crime against a people, as treason in the throne of their prince, do, for the honour of human nature itself, as well as regard to our own rights and liberties, turn away from such an insinuation, but call all the assistances with which we are blessed by the light of our religion, the justice of our laws, and the possession of our properties, to awaken a just resentment against all those, who, by base arts and insinuations into our late sovereign's favour and councils, acted in direct opposition to the interests of her their queen, and us their fellow subjects, and gave colour for this horrid infamy cast upon the British name by these insolvent invaders.

2. And since the said Pretender, at this time openly avowing, that in concert with persons late in the administration of this kingdom (for we will not impute ought even to our sovereign deceased) he was disappointed of a favourable conjuncture to throw himself upon his people; having hitherto stood in suspence, and therefore not till now called us to his obedience; We do with the highest disdain, abjure, disclaim, and contemn this groundless allegation of right; but in consideration of many who may have been misled by wicked favourers of the said Pretender, by persons whose character and stations in church and state require of them to inculcate nothing contrary to justice and truth, and who, by that authority, gradually insinuated into the people, principles which naturally tended to revive such a title as is now set up against all that is sacred and valuable amongst us: In tender regard to our weak brethren so insnared, we take the patience to consider the assertions of the Pretender, and set over against them facts and arguments, by which we confirm our own minds, and endeavour to recall those of our wavering and mistaken fellow subjects. The assertion of an undoubted title, without arguments for it, is a reason to believe that he is conscious that 'tis doubtful, hid under the disguise of its being taken for granted. His pretence is, that he is son of King James; if he were such, it does not follow that a son is necessarily heir to his father. In many nations the eldest son is not heir to his father's estate, and no man ever thought this a breach of the law of God; much less is it a law of God to make a man successor to his father's office; and to be a king is to bear the highest office in human society. A succession from father to son has been preserved for many generations in no country of the universe. The exigencies of respective times and places have not admitted it: Had such a succession been unalterable, the family of which the Pretender boasts himself, had never ascended our throne. It was the law of this kingdom before, as well as since the Revolution, that the limitation of the crown is in the parliament. According then to the laws of our country, we have sworn inviolable allegiance to George, our sovereign lord and king, the next capable heir to the throne of these kingdoms, who governs us with justice and equity, and supports us by our laws, and preserves us in the possession of our religion, against a pretender who is bred a stranger and an enemy both to our constitution and our faith; even they who disown the king's government enjoy the protection of it free from hardship.

3, 4. The rents of government are put in the hands of ministers, who, by their actions, eloquence or council, have strenuously opposed the abuse of the late authority of this kingdom, exercised by wicked men, who abused her late majesty's power when living, as they do her name now dead, to give sanction to their iniquities. The chief officers, civil and military, in that fatal distribution of power, are either fled, in arms,

or in custody for their services to the enemy of that power and that settlement to which they were sworn servants. Our sovereign has obtained (since his accession) from his own coffers, not by the expence of our blood, or that of the subjects of any other his nations, new duchies, new territories; we love, honour and obey him, not only as the most gracious sovereign, but also the most powerful ally of Great-Britain. We see new armies raising, new debts contracting; but we see it with pleasure, since they both serve to support our king, and oppose the Pretender to his dominions.

5. These are some few of the many real evils into which these kingdoms were betrayed; such were the dangers which our forefathers did not think imaginary. Let us then recite the reasons for which, according to the old constitutions, they made a new legal settlement; which evils, we suppose, many of our fellow subjects have forgotten, or they would not at this day of peril be indifferent to the said legal settlement, when they put King William and Queen Mary into the throne, which they said, in the act of parliament for that purpose, he had abdicated, by exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending laws; by committing and prosecuting divers prelates for petitioning against the said power; by issuing, and causing to be executed, a commission called, A Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes; by levying money for the use of the crown in other manner than was granted by parliament; by keeping a standing army in this kingdom in time of peace without consent of parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law; by causing protestant subjects to be disarmed, while papists were armed and employed contrary to law; by violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament. We persuade ourselves very many of those who promote the repetition of the above-mentioned calamities, by their cool and indifferent behaviour, have forgot their country was ever before exposed to them.

6. We observe, with the utmost satisfaction, that the generality of our fellow subjects are awakened with a just sense of imminent danger which they have escaped, at a conjuncture wherein, after the death of our queen, the late French king had meditated to depute and impose a popish tyrant upon these protestant nations; and we have seen our abandoned countrymen engaged in the design.

7, 8. We thank and adore the wisdom of the Divine Providence, which, by an union of England and Scotland, makes the protection and care of the whole island, at this instant of difficulty, less subject to delays and distractions. We observe, with joy, the enemy calls it an unhappy union; we slight the rage which so terms it, without assigning an instance wherein it is so, and rejoice that he finds it, as he calls it, unhappy to himself. We detest the endeavours to disunite us, and think any one unworthy the blessing of being a native of either part of Great-Britain, who makes a distinction in his good will from a consideration of birth in the northern or southern parts of it. It is an union of protestants and fellow-subjects, fighting for their civil and religious liberties; an union that, we trust, will be ever hateful and terrible to the friends of slavery and popery.

9. We remember with horror, the rebellion which ended in the murder of our sovereign lord Charles I., who fell a sacrifice against the known rule which makes ministers answerable for the mal-administration of the state, and renders princes, in their own persons, sacred and inviolable. We detest also the memory of the rebellion from the sufferings and exile of our sovereign lord Charles II.—We remember in him the restoration of the royal family after an usurpation, as we do in King William the restoration of the constitution after a tyranny.

10. Lest we should see the returns of such tyrannies and usurpations, we are to consider the justice of our cause. Law and equity are to contend against invasion and rapine; honest and faithful subjects against rebels and assassins. Our captains who have fought for the cause of liberty in foreign nations, against lawless power, conduct our armies in the cause of religion, against the leaders of rude multitudes, who have fled from our altars and sacraments, and in violation of the oaths there made, are endea-

vouring to cover their native country with the carnage and bloodshed of their friends, relations, fellow-citizens, and brethren. We promise ourselves the success due to so glorious a cause, and presume upon the iniquities more than the inferior force of our enemies. We abhor the ambiguous term of the church of Scotland; if the Roman catholick religion is meant, it is prevarication not to say so; if the protestant church, we know the Pretender bound in conscience to destroy it; and, if he should do a prudential act in her favour, he would be obliged to rescind it. As to the confirmation of civil rights, we have, before our eyes, the example of King James II., who, in two acts of parliament in Ireland, destroyed the whole protestant settlement, subjecting old age and childhood, without regard to their necessary impotence to offend, to the pains and penalties inflicted by the act of a superstitious tyrant, and his mercenary slaves, under the name of a free parliament.

11. In defiance therefore of an outlaw, devoted for past treasons with a price on his head, educated in superstitious hatred to our religion, and urged by revenge against our persons and principles, and in contempt of all his abettors both publick and private, we will not suffer the British spirit to faint and die away; but resolve, in defence of our king and our country, in the joint cause of heaven and earth, to avenge us of our enemies like ministring angels, or fall by their hands like an army of martyrs.

A Declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops in and near London, testifying their Abhorrence of the present Rebellion; with an Exhortation to the Clergy and People under their Care, to be zealous in the Discharge of their Duties to his Majesty King George. Printed in the Year 1715.

"In that juncture of affairs, when the Pretender's declaration was posted up in most market towns, and, in some places, his title proclaimed, it was thought proper, by most bodies of men, to give the government all possible assurance of their fidelity and allegiance; and accordingly there was published a declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops in and near London, testifying their abhorrence of the present rebellion; and an exhortation to the clergy and people under their care, to be zealous in the discharge of their duties to his majesty King George. This paper the Bishop of Rochester, and, by his instigation, Bishop Smalridge, refused to sign, on pretence of a just offence taken at some unbecoming reflections cast on a party, not inferior to any (they said) in point of loyalty. The words objected to were these: 'We are the more concerned, that both the clergy and the people of our communion should shew themselves hearty friends to the government upon this occasion, to vindicate the honour of the church of England; because the chief hopes of our enemies seem to arise from discontents artificially raised among us; and because some, who have valued themselves, and have been too much valued by others, for a pretended zeal for the church, have joined with the papists in these wicked attempts; which as they must ruin the church, if they succeed, so they cannot well end without great reproach to it, if the rest of us do not clearly and heartily declare our detestation of such practices.' The reader must be left to judge whether there be any thing in these words so exceptionable as to countenance such behaviour at such a time."—*Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p.* 340, *fol. London* 1778.

WHEREAS an unnatural rebellion has been raised against our lawful and rightful so-

vereign King George in several parts of the kingdom, and is still threatened in more, we have thought it incumbent on us, out of our duty to God, to our king, to our country, and to our holy religion, in this publick manner to declare our abhorrence of it, and to warn both the clergy and people under our charge, of the great obligations they lie under, upon all these accounts, to shew a hearty and an open zeal for the government in this conjuncture.

The providence of God has indeed so wonderfully appeared hitherto, both in timely discovering the treason, and in disappointing our enemies of several advantages they expected, that we have great reason to trust in him, that the event will be to the confusion of the wicked actors in this rebellion; but however in a matter of this high nature, wherein our duty and our dearest interests are so deeply concerned, no endeavours ought to be thought superfluous, nor zeal unnecessary.

We are the more concerned, that both the clergy and people of our communion should shew themselves hearty friends to the government upon this occasion, to vindicate the honour of the church of England, because the chief hopes of our enemies seem to arise from discontents artificially raised among us, and because some who have valued themselves, and have been too much valued by others, for a pretended zeal for the church, have joined with papists in these wicked attempts, which as they must ruin the church if they succeed, so they cannot well end without great reproach to it, if the rest of us do not clearly and heartily declare our detestation of such practices.

We are not surprised that the papists should rise up against a government which they would never yet own, and endeavour to set a person upon the throne who will establish their religion and ruin ours: (though rebellion is but an ill return for the quiet they have enjoyed) But that professed members of the church of England should join with them in this, and out of private discontents, attempt to set up a person whom they have so often and so lately abjured, is so vile and detestable a thing as may justly make them odious both to God and man; but at the same time to pretend a zeal for the church, that is, to join with papists to set up a popish Pretender to support the church of England is such an imposition upon the common sense of mankind, that nothing even in popery itself can be more absurd, and nothing but an infatuation from God, justly inflicted for our sins, can suffer to pass upon the nation.

How much blood this may cost, or what ruin it may bring on our country, God only knows; but we think proper to observe to you, that the more clearly and openly we declare ourselves for the government, the less it will probably be: And that all those must have a share in the guilt of the innocent blood that shall be spilt, not only who actually join in the rebellion, but who do any way promote it, or even by their silence at this juncture, shall give hopes to the Pretender and his friends, and just cause of jealousy and suspicion to the government.

And is this a time to stand neuter when all lies at stake? Or is popery become so innocent of late, that it is indifferent whether a popish or a protestant prince be on the throne? This we speak to those who have owned the king's title, and have sworn to maintain it, and are ready to do it again as occasion offers; who, we have reason to believe are so many, that if they are true to their oaths, the government (humanly speaking) cannot be in any danger. And is it not fit for all such persons to consider seriously what those oaths are with which they have bound their souls? They have not only abjured the Pretender and his title, but have sworn to defend King George to the utmost of their power against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his person, crown, and dignity, and to the utmost of their power to maintain and defend the succession of the crown against the said Pretender and all other persons whatsoever.

These words do not only import that we will not rebel against the king, but that we will be active for him according to our several stations, especially in times of danger.

when rebellions are raised against him; they who are called to be soldiers, by fighting courageously for him; they who are magistrates, by using their authority for his support; they who are ministers, by their prayers, by their preaching, and by their admonishing those under their care of their duty to him, and all of us by a chearful ready declaration of our resolution to stand by him.

Such a conduct would discourage the rebels, and animate the government, would put an end to our troubles, and support his majesty in the just possession of the crown, which was settled upon his family with mature consideration, and for just and weighty reasons, as being the next family of the royal blood that were protestants; from whom only we could expect protection in our religious and civil liberties, which are the birthright of the people of England, and which no man has a right to invade. This settlement was established by the whole legislature, and confirmed by many acts of parliament, made in two different reigns, and under the prevalency of each of the unhappy divisions of parties among us; several of them in the last years of our late gracious queen, and has been, from time to time, sworn to by almost all of all orders and degrees of men among us.

As this settlement was made for the security and benefit of these kingdoms, so have we all the reason in the world to think ourselves happy in that person, who, by all this authority, at present reigns over us. Even his enemies are forced to confess, that he is a very good and gracious prince; he lives in the constant communion of the church of England, and has given us both his oath and his repeated royal word to protect it; and he has not, by any thing he has done, given us the least reason to suspect but that it will flourish, at least as much under his government as under that of the best of his royal predecessors.

But if the Pretender should prevail, what can the church of England expect, but ruin and destruction? A popish prince upon the throne, bigotted to his religion, and heated with what will then be called ill usage, together with a long train of papists in the succession, can bode nothing but fatal and irrecoverable ruin to it. May not we in this matter appeal to the experience of all countries, whether a succession of popish princes have not ruined the protestant religion wherever it has been planted. They are obliged by the laws of their church, to extirpate out of their dominions what they call heresy, which their canonists treat as a crime more heinous than either murder or rebellion. And these laws they never fail to put in execution when they have full power to do it; as we may be satisfied from what was done in Flanders, where, according to the account of writers of that communion, above fifty thousand were put to the most miserable deaths.

T pass over the massacres and horrible persecutions in France, Savoy, and other foreign countries, let us call to mind how much this church and nation suffered in the bloody, though short reign of Queen Mary, contrary to solemn promises; when not only many were put to death, as hereticks convict, but the torture was ordered for all whom they suspected, and who would not confess, according to the barbarity of the Inquisition; which horrid court, or something very like it, would probably have been set up in this kingdom, had that popish reign lasted but a little longer; and we have reason to fear it would effectually be established here, if ever God, for our sins, should suffer another popish prince to be settled on this throne.

The progress that was made toward the bringing this yoke of bondage upon us, and the miseries with which we were threatened under the late unhappy King James, are too fresh in our thoughts to be forgotten; and what befel that unfortunate prince, will certainly be remembered and resented by him who claims an indefeasible right to his kingdoms.

But besides this, how must the Pretender look upon the clergy of the church of England, after all that they have been doing for near thirty years together? They were

the clergy, that in the time of King James, did justly alarm the nation with the dangers of popery; from whence followed all that was done at the Revolution. And the clergy have every year since that, upon the fifth of November, given God thanks for what was then done, for making all opposition fall before him (the Prince of Orange) till he became our king. They have not only taken all the oaths established by law, but have used the daily prayers, and those of the several fasts and thanksgivings, for the prosperity of the government. They have frequently, from time to time, in their addresses from the convocation, and from their respective dioceses, promised to stand by the protestant succession. How must the Pretender look upon persons that have done all this? That have prayed against him, that have addressed against him, that have sworn against him, and abjured him for so many years together.

What a reproach will this matter then be to the church of England? Such of us as stand true to our oaths, will then be called rebels and traitors; and such as do not (if any shall be so wicked) will be called atheists and infidels for taking abominable oaths against their consciences. What scandal will this give to our people? and how will they be apt to turn papists in great numbers, when we, that should direct and stand by them, shall fall under such reproaches? But we hope better, though we thus speak; and that God will not suffer these sore judgments to come upon us and our country.

We do therefore, in the name of God, call upon all those who are under our care, in the first place to humble themselves before God, for the great and crying sins of the nation, for that spirit of infidelity and libertinism, of unthankfulness for the mercies of the gospel, of formality and hypocrisy, of strife and envy, of hatred and animosity, which are so rife among us, and which are generally the forerunners of the destruction of any people; let us all cry mightily to God, to avert these judgments, which we have so justly deserved; that he would save his people, so often and so wonderfully preserved by him, and not give his heritage to reproach; that he would not suffer this church to be over-run with superstition and idolatry, or leave us to the mercies of them, whose mercies are cruel. Let us particularly pray for the preservation of the person and government of our most gracious sovereign King George, that God would cover his enemies with shame; but that upon himself and his posterity the crown may ever flourish. We do also charge both clergy and people, as they will be answerable for the destruction that may otherwise come, both upon the church and nation, that they endeavour to strengthen the hands of the government in this dangerous conjuncture; the clergy by plainly admonishing their flocks of their duty, both to their king and country, and the people by a cheerful declaration of their readiness to stand by the government. And let all of us, forgetting all differences and animosities, make this the great contention, who shall act with the truest zeal against the common enemy.

And God grant, that we may all, in this our day, see the things that belong to our peace, before they are hid from our eyes.

Tho. Cantuar.	W. Lincoln.
Joh. London.	C. Norwich.
Jonathan Winchester.	W. Ely.
Jo. Lichfield and Cov.	Tho. Chichester.
Ric. Peterborough.	Rich. Gloucester.
W. Sarum.	John Asaph.
Jo. Bangor.	Jo. Oxon.

Bishop Atterbury's and Bishop Smalridge's Reasons for not Signing the Declaration, lately put forth by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Bishops. With Considerations of the Bishop of L——n's Letter to his Clergy, immediately after his Lordship's Signing the said Declaration. Printed in the Year 1715.

This is an ironical defence of Atterbury and Smalridge for their refusal to sign the preceding declaration, a line of conduct which sufficiently implied their hostile sentiments to the House of Hanover.

When we consider how much these reverend fathers have deserved of the church by their distinguished zeal, learning, and piety, we can't but be concerned at the liberty some prejudiced people take to censure their conduct, though so just and irreproachable. These men do not weigh the circumstances and reasons of persons and things, but are led away by passion, and arbitrarily condemn what deserves rather to be approved of at least, if not applauded. For my part, I could not imagine that two such renowned prelates could stand out against the sense of fourteen of their right reverend brethren, without having very substantial reasons for it; such reasons as are indeed obvious to all thinking men, but the world is so corrupted by party that few will give themselves time to think, and thence proceed those rash judgments that are made of the best of men and the best of things. If it could be laid to the charge of one of these two excellent bishops, my Lord of Rochester, that he had once in the whole course of his life shewn the least spirit of contention, something might be said against his present singularity, as if it arose from resentment and disgust. But let us look into the whole conduct of his life, whether as Archdeacon of Totness, Dean of Carlisle, Dean of Christ-Church, or Bishop of Roffen, we shall find it adorned with all the purity and meekness of manners which gave so much credit and authority to the primitive bishops. I know it will be objected, that when he was archdeacon only, he fell furiously on the whole order of the British bishops, and would have deprived them of the just superiority which they have always claimed over their clergy in convocation; that he wrote against the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, with a most unchristian and indecent asperity: but this objection is very easily answered, had it been a thousand times stronger than it is; and to do it, I shall only repeat what his reverend brother Dr Smalridge said of him with respect to this, in an oration he made to the upper house of convocation, when Dr Atterbury was presented to them as prolocutor of the lower. *Ea fuit rerum nostrarum conditio, cum synodi Anglicanæ jura, potestates ac privilegia in aperta Luce collocanda, &c.* Such was the state of affairs when this very learned person thought it proper to place the rights, powers, and privileges of our English Convocation in an open and true light, &c. Can one suppose that so discreet and so orthodox a divine would have told the upper house of Convocation, that Dr Atterbury had fully answered all their claim of right, if he had not done it, especially Dr Wake, but Dr Kennet, and Mr Hoadly, had come off so scurvily in that notable and important controversy

If Dr Atterbury, when he was Dean of Carlisle, had a quarrel with the bishop, one ought to imagine he was not instigated to it by any hopes of profit or view of revenge, but was acted by the same principle that inspired him in the vindication of the inferior clergy, that of right: The same may be said of his brawls with the canons of Christ-Church when he was dean there, and of his suit with the parish of St Margaret's, Westminster, and his dispute with the prebends when he was dean there too; it came doubtless all from the same source, and whether it was from pride and avarice, or from wisdom and piety, let the world judge. I will not injure so illustrious a character so far as to suppose they can need any determination of mine in a case so very plain. I grant there may some infelicity attend a man who has been forced to quarrel with every body he has had to do with, but if that man's character be adorned with piety, prudence, humility, and charity, I shall always impute it to him not as guilt, but as misfortune.

A greater matter of scandal urged against this prelate by the enviers of his merit and dignity, is a ridiculous notion that his lordship had a hand in Dr Sacheverel's speech at his trial. Now to have a hand in a friend's vindication is without doubt very justifiable, but, say they, the doctor is made to declare solemnly, and call the Omniscient to witness, that he never intended to reflect on the Revolution, the ministry, or the Toleration, in his sermon. This they cry was a most cruel imposition on the conscience of that poor man; to which I shall only answer, that I make no question Dr Atterbury knew the inside of Dr Sacheverel better than any of his censurers, and therefore could better judge of his intention. From the whole of what I have said it appears that my Lord of Roffen must have weighty reasons for every thing he does, and his refusing to sign the bishops declaration in favour of the government, must be as well grounded as any other of his actions, and be built on the same foundation. 'Twas necessary to premise thus much, that when I enquire into those weighty reasons of his, the character of so pious and primitive a prelate may help me and the reader out in many places where we might otherwise be at a loss to find out what principle he was guided by.

I am now to do the same justice to my Lord of Bristol, but as his lordship has not done quite so many extraordinary things as his brother of Rochester, I shall take notice of but one only, for in that will appear so much integrity and veracity that one cannot doubt of his lordship's sincerity and uprightness in all his actions, those especially that have relation to the grandeur and empire of our flourishing church.

When her late majesty, who had an undoubted right to place and displace her servants at pleasure, as well as to make peace and war, changed her ministry, and dissolved her parliament in the year 1710, the whigs published a parcel of sad papers to keep up the spirits of the ruined party, and one among the rest entitled, "A Test offered to the Consideration of the Electors of Great-Britain," upon which this good bishop and the Brewer of Westminster put out an answer to it, called, "A Detection of a Falsehood endeavoured to be imposed on the Publick;" in the aforesaid paper, which answer was signed in print George Smalridge, D. D., and Thomas Crosse. The main design of the test was to shew how the tories in a debate about the Hanover succession divided against it in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, which this reverend doctor and this worshipful Brewer endeavour to prove to be a falsehood. But the late Arthur Maynwaring, Esq., looking upon this detection of theirs to be, as he said, equivocating, published a true representation of that matter as follows.

"When the House of Commons proceeded, (according to order) to take into consideration, three amendments by the lords to a bill, entituled, An Act for enlarging the Time for taking the Oath of Abjuration, &c. the debate was chiefly held upon the subject-matter of the second amendment; and those gentlemen that were against giving that security to the House of Hanover, principally insisted on the danger of multiply-

ing treasons, the great inconveniences that might arise from making new treasons, and other arguments to that effect. But though hardly any notice was taken of the amendment, it was in course to be first put. And now comes the great art and parliamentary skill of those persons that were against the second amendment: They resolved (according to the most usual piece of management in that house) to try their numbers, by dividing upon the first. But that was so little thought to be the business of the day, or indeed of the first division itself, that two or three staunch old members went out just before the division, having some particular views at that time, which made it inconvenient for them to declare against the protestant succession. And those of their friends who staid the division, and whose names are set forth in the printed test, under the title, No's against agreeing with the Lords, may strictly and properly be said, in parliamentary language, to have divided against the amendments; the rather, because few instances can be given that ever the weaker side, upon losing such a previous question, divided again upon any subsequent clause, that had been mixed in the same debate.

"But I believe there's nobody alive that does not think, if they had thrown out the first amendment, they would immediately have proceeded to throw out the second: And there were two circumstances attending this affair, which must needs put it out of all doubt, how it was understood both abroad and within the house. Mr Dyer, the common news-writer, expressed himself thus in his letter to Chester upon this occasion, that the Prince of Wales had lost it in the House only by one vote; or, that the house of Hanover had carried it but by one vote: One of them I am sure it was, for which he was punished by the House, upon the complaint of a member for that city. And to shew what the members themselves thought of it, the only gentleman that gave a negative to the first bill for establishing the protestant succession, who was then of that House, though soon after called up to the other, saluted Sir Ma—— *Dud*—y, when this division was over, in these words, "How fare ye, Minheer D—y?" upbraiding him by that expression for having voted for the interest of the house of Hanover, which the late king and the Dutch had espoused: To which the other replied, "Fort bien, Monsieur Gran—lle," alluding by that to his vote, which he took to be for the French name, which had been changed not many years before from a plain English one, as it is still printed in the History of the Earl of Clarendon.

"If I should say therefore, that these gentlemen were not for throwing out the second amendment, it would perhaps be a logical truth, because they did not just divide upon that cause: But it would be a mortal lie, and a fallacy, that I ought to be ashamed of, because every step they took that day was in order to throw it out; and they went the best way to work that they could. So that after all the clamour that has been raised against the test before-mentioned, since that paper does not affirm that the division was upon this clause; but that after debate, the question being put for agreeing with the Lords in the amendments, the House divided, as actually they did: It is left to every impartial person, who knows any thing of parliament proceedings, to determine whether the charge which is set forth against them in that paper, stands good or not; and whether they shewed upon this occasion the same abhorrence of the Pretender, and the same zeal for the house of Hanover, which has flamed out indeed in their late addresses; but which (if one may use the expression of a very great minister in another nation) has rather amazed than convinced the world." I am, &c.

By this one would think, that the Reverend Doctor printed his paper to give countenance to the cause of the Pretender, but when one examines the affair impartially, we find that though the division seems to be against the protestant succession, yet the clause which the doctor insisted upon, not to be divided against by the tories, was not the occasion of the division, and the testimony he bore, together with the Brewer

of Westminister, was such as good church-men might stand by. This is sufficient to satisfy one, that both this prelate and the other prelate must have very solid reasons for refusing to sign the new test or declaration of loyalty to King George, which fourteen fathers of our protestant church set their names to. Though I cannot be sure what those strong reasons were, yet probably these may be some of them. As, for instance:

Bishop Atterbury might imagine,
1. That it was too late.
2. That it was needless.
3. That it was dangerous.
4. That it was antimonarchical.

First, that it was too late. When all the forces in the three kingdoms could not suppress the rebellions in Scotland, and the north of England, what could a declaration do? This argument might be branched into several parts, but that must be a very presumptuous man who will undertake to make arguments for a bishop, that argued so very successfully with Mr Headly and others.

Secondly, It was needless. After so many addresses, after so many oaths, after his lordship had abjured the Pretender, and sworn allegiance to King George, what need of any other declaration?

Thirdly, That it was dangerous. The very declaration itself shews the danger of it, where 'tis said, "How must the Pretender look upon persons that have done all this, that have prayed against him, that have addressed against him, that have sworn against him, and abjured him for so many years together? What a reproach will this matter then be to the church of England? Such of us as stand true to our oaths will then be called rebels and traitors."

Fourthly, That it is antimonarchical. Is not the Revolution one of the greatest reproaches in the world to the doctrine of passive obedience, hereditary right, &c. and does not the declaration justify that Revolution, nay, does it not lay it on the very clergy, "they were the clergy that in the time of King James did justly alarm the nation with the dangers of popery, from whence followed all that was done at the Revolution. And the clergy have every year since, upon the fifth of November, given God thanks for what was then done, for making all opposition fall before him, the Prince of Orange, till he became our king."

Such reasons as these must have great bias in the mind of a prelate, who has been preaching these thirty years for hereditary right and non-resistance, principles which are inconsistent with the tenour of the declaration: However, one cannot suppose, that so orthodox and pious a bishop thinks hard of those of his brethren, who, acting according to their conscience, declared it to be their duty to keep their oaths, and confess their religion, though his own conscience may be so scrupulous as not to think itself bound up by oaths, when the divine right of a popish prince is in question, and not to prefer the interests of the protestant religion to the direct line of King Fergus; sure he cannot but pay a great deal of deference to the sense of the fathers of our church, who do believe that there is no reserve in a positive solemn oath, and that they ought to withstand to the utmost a Pretender whom they have abjured, who are of opinion, that to swear to a king, and serve his enemy, to pray for a government, and act against it, is a prevarication with God Almighty, who is the searcher of hearts, and will not be mocked. And it will be in vain at the great day of account for any political double-dealer to say, that when he took the body and blood of the Lord as a test of his allegiance to King George, he meant the hereditary prince, and reserved his allegiance for him. All the false prayers of such a man shall stare him in the face, and the most invincible impudence shall then be abashed with confusion, which is not

to be uttered, at a charge of dissembling with the Omniscient. Will it not be said, How often didst thou call upon me for this man in my temple, and hast thou betrayed and renounced him?

The reverend Dean of Christ-Church could not want much stronger reasons than those already given for the Dean of Westminster, for refusing to sign the royal declaration. I can immediately think of four for him also, which could not fail of having their due influence on a person of so much penetration and sincerity. As,

1. That it had too much of party in it.
2. That it would give offence to the university of Oxford.
3. That Bishop Atterbury would not sign it.
4. That it was not of his lordship's own composition.

First, That it had too much of party in it. I doubt not if ever his lordship declared any such thing, it was occasioned by this paragraph. "We are the more concerned, that both the clergy and people of our communion should shew themselves hearty friends to the government upon this occasion, to vindicate the honour of the church of England, because the chief hopes of our enemies seem to arise from discontents artificially raised among us, and because some who have valued themselves, and have been too much valued by others for a pretended zeal for the church, have joined with papists in these wicked attempts, which, as they must ruin the church if they succeed, so they cannot well end without great reproach to it, if the rest of us do not clearly and heartily declare our detestation of such practices." When general Forster, that arch-rebel, proclaimed the impostor king at Penrith, he made as good a speech as he could to the rabble, and told them, he took arms for defence of the true high church of England. When the mob lately endeavoured to pull down an honest man's house in Cheapside, and to massacre him and his family for their loyalty to his majesty, their cry was high church, and the church of Rome; I heard it. There was a cry for our protestant streets! but to deter such practices smells however of party; so it does, so it ought to do, in the opinion of some men, because that party is the king's party, the country's party, the protestant's party; and their opposers, the party of popery and rebellion. Many men have valued themselves too much on being of this latter party; Sacheverel, Welton, Smith, Milbourn, Higgins, Swift, Trapp, and a long etcetera of such Christian heroes have valued themselves, and been too much valued for a pretended zeal for the church; but while they are valued, while the populace crowd about them, and they keep up an interest, no matter what it is. It is not inconsistent with human discretion to be well with numbers, and to avoid, if possible, the smelling of party. But to declare an abhorrence of rebellion, to warn the people of their obligations to the government, to shew a hearty zeal for it; if that which is the intention of the declaration be party, as wise, as cautious, and as religious a man as Dr Smalridge, as abundance of sober intelligent men will say, might very well have run the risk of being thought a party-man upon this occasion. The declaration itself lets us into a very good light of the causes of the late rebellion, that neither the church of England nor even the Pretender are so much intended by it as interest and revenge. Those who four or five years ago got some into place, some into sees by the prevalence of faction, seeing their protectors not only in disgrace, but in danger for the abuse of their ill-got power, are piqued, and the church is ever the word when the publick peace is to be disturbed. There is a sort of gratitude in being true to a cause by which one has got well, and to persons that have done one kindnesses, and for such reasons as these private discontents may have ill effects in publick events. To be for calling Lord Oxford, and the rest of them to account, is party, 'tis true, but then 'tis the party of justice. What, if it is, had that lord given me a mitre, should I not deem every

man that was against him a party-man? Lilly taught us at the grammar-school, *donec eris felix*, &c. The prosperous man a crowd of friends will find. To dance attendance on a great man when he has a white staff, and by his favour can make deans and bishops, is not uncommon, but to follow a friend to the Tower, to hang about with a charge of high treason at his back, there must be something generous in that. A man cannot keep company with a chimney-sweeper but he will have some of his soot about him, nor with an infected person, but it is a hundred to one that he shares in the infection. Neither can an innocent man attach himself to a guilty one, without rendering himself suspected; when, therefore, a man of virtue and piety sticks close to a wicked wretch, how great must be such love, how powerful such friendship, that even the love of one's king and one's country cannot prevail over it!

A second reason my Lord of Bristol may have for refusing to set his hand to the declaration may be, that it would give offence to the university of Oxford, where he has a good dignified benefice. That university has unhappily acquired the characteristick of Jacobitism. The impostor has been proclaimed there, his majesty's title disowned, and his friends abused and insulted. The sophs have dared the lenity of the government, and lived in open defiance to it. They have harboured Owen, Dorrel, and other such execrable traitors and villains, who were plotting to drown these nations with a deluge of protestant blood. They have made no address to his majesty since the discovery of the damnable plot to bring in the Pretender, and they would never forgive a man who should say to them in the words of the declaration, "Is it not fit for all of you to consider seriously what those oaths are, with which you have bound your souls; you have not only abjured the Pretender and his title, but have sworn to defend King George to the utmost of your power against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity, and to the utmost of your power to maintain and defend the succession of the crown against the said Pretender, and all other persons whatsoever. These words do not only import, that you will not rebel against the king, but that you will be active for him according to your several stations, especially in times of danger, when rebellions are raised against him." Would the reverend doctors like to have this picture set before them? "At the same time to pretend a zeal for the church, and join with papists to set up a popish pretender to support the church of England, is such an imposition upon the common sense of mankind, that nothing, even in popery itself, can be more absurd, and nothing but an infatuation from God, justly inflicted for our sins, can suffer to pass upon the nation." Would any wary person sign such things as these, when he is to lead his life with men who abhor them more than popery and slavery? People will consider what is convenient as well as necessary; and if one can regain the love of such a community as the university of Oxford, by a little seasonable perverseness, sure it is worth venturing a few censures for it; nay, if one should lose a place for it, may one not hope to get a better by the prayers and affections of so religious, humane, and powerful a body as that university, where one sucked in all those precious tenets that have been so serviceable to one in making one's fortune. Some may object, that the right reverend bishop of the diocese of Oxon did sign the declaration, so did the Archbishop of Canterbury, and twelve very learned and pious bishops more. But the old saying, So many men, &c. is as good an answer to that objection as can be expected, and the third reason why the Dean of Christ-Church did not sign the declaration, knocks down all such arguments at once.

Thirdly, That Bishop Atterbury would not sign it. Whoever has read this reverend prelate's panegyrick on that reverend brother of his, will readily believe, that he who preferred his judgment, when only a member of the lower house of Convocation, to that of the whole upper house, in the dispute about the prerogative of the bishops, and the rights of the priests, which he did as good as tell them to their faces, such a

one, I say, would certainly not matter the sentiments of fourteen or fifteen fathers of our church, as long as he had the sense of so primitive and pious a bishop on his side, as my Lord of Roffen. He told the bishop, "that Dr Atterbury's merits sufficiently recommended him to their esteem, and the esteem of all good men. That he had talents which deserved all manner of praise, and was so high in fame as to need none. That he had a store of exquisite learning, was acquainted with all parts of literature, and was perfect in those sciences which admit of the greatest perfection. That he could express, by his single tongue, the sentiments of many eloquent men. That he was a man of good will, a man of authority; nay, that he was a man of so gentle a disposition, such a sweetness of temper, as to allure all mankind by it to the study of peace and unity." Now, because mention has been made of certain quarrels and wranglings at Carlisle, at Christ-Church, and at Westminister, by this reverend person of so sweet a temper, so gentle a disposition, by this pattern of peace and unity; and some people may thence conclude, that Dr Smalridge did not say this of Dr Atterbury, or that I wrong him in the quotation or translation, I will repeat his very words: *Quem potius optemus rerum inter nos disquirendarum arbitrum, quam virum placidissimis moribus ita popularem, ut omnes bonos atque humanos indolis suæ suavitate ad pacis et concordiæ studium facile speret allicere,* &c. He adds, that Dr Atterbury was a man, the dignity of whose looks would immediately suppress commotions. And then Dr Smalridge put those reverend fathers in mind, how he exploded all their stale pretences to superiority in synods. "By divine incitement," says he, "he strenuously endeavoured, by divine favour happily effected this, that synods in this nation are not altogether lost and dead, nor entirely speechless: 'Twas he who placed the rights, powers, and privileges of our English Convocation in an open and true light: 'Twas he who ventured to walk in a dark way without a guide." But I must confess, three or four lines before, we are told, he had a guide, and an infallible one, if we believe the true high church; for he had the registers of popes, *pontificum fasta.* He adds, that in his writings, which, by the way, attacked the prerogative and authority of his primate, and the upper house of convocation, he drew the very picture of the Church, and revived the matron, as it were, from the dead; that he should wrong so dear a friend, if he did not take his word for it, when he said, he wrote not out of private resentment, or view of interest; that it was his duty to endeavour to make every body think as well of him as he did. But as gentle a disposition as he had, and as sweet a temper, the good doctor cannot help owning, at last, that that temper of his was of itself too warm, *ingenium suaptè naturâ aliquantulum præfervidum;* and was it likely, that such a genius should do what the orator prophesied of him, exert all his powers of art to promote and confirm the peace of the church? I cannot, without injustice, omit that part of this admirable panegyrick, where the doctor remembers us, how Queen Mary, now gathered to the saints above, was charmed with his eloquence. How much more powerful had been his charms, had she lived to have heard him crying aloud, and sparing not the indulgence she gave to dissenters, and the right of her father at St Germains, which was the only hereditary right that has been heard of since the Revolution.

At the close of this oration we are informed of the zeal of the ministry, most of whom are now under impeachments and attainders of high treason, and the agreement between the queen and parliament who were for the Utrecht peace, and the Convocation: The House of Commons, and the House of Convocation, when Mr William Bromley was speaker, were like sisters, and the doctor tells us, they would be more like than ever sisters were, and more nearly related now Mr Bromley is speaker of one house, and Dr Atterbury prolocutor of the other, both of fixed fidelity to their prince and country. Does not the declaration bear its testimony to this, who both make us hope great things, but will do greater than we hope? The one asserts the government, the other the church, &c. and if the assertor of the church refuses to set his name to

a thing, most certainly his dear friend could not help following his example. What is a little odd in this eulogy is, considering 'tis made on a Christian, on a protestant divine, that we do not hear a word of his piety, his humility, his meekness, his charity. Are they not Christian virtues? How comes it that a divine of our protestant church, who took such delight in praising a brother of his, should not so much as give one hint of those graces, which are the characteristicks of a good Christian? Is it enough to to have been "bred under Dr Fell at Christ Church, at the same time with Mr Bromley, to write warmly for the rights of the priesthood, to have bought up scattered and loose manuscripts almost obliterated by time, to have read much, and to speak handsomely;" is this, I say, enough to purchase a preacher of the gospel a high reputation? Do not purity of manners, innocence of life, and unaffected good will to men, deserve a place in the encomium of a doctor of divinity? I cannot but wonder how such topicks as those, so natural to such a subject, could be forgotten, and the orator be so full of the merit of it, as to seem to take pleasure in dwelling on all those parts of it that he took to be shining. But, I think, the imitation of a man's actions is the best proof of approving them, and the panegyrist, by doing what the quondam prolocutor has lately done, or rather by not doing what he would not do, has shewn what a value he set on so valuable a man, and that he will continue, whether presbyter or prelate, to be his brother in all things, especially those wherein the power of the church and the divine right of the prince are concerned. This reason is sufficient to stop the mouths of all gainsayers, and if one might compare serious things with gay, as well as great with small, I could not think of a more apt image to represent these two loving deans, than that of King Phiz and King Ush, in the Rehearsal, fondly smelling to one nosegay.

The fourth reason why the Dean of Christ Church refused to sign the declaration might be, because it was not of his own composition. No man is so good a judge of another's sentiments as himself, nor so capable of expressing them. Had the Bishop of Bristol been the penman of the declaration, no doubt all the exceptionable parts of it would have been left out, and it would have been so drawn up, that even Sacheverel himself might have set his hand to it. It would then have been so florid, and so full of temper, that whatever turn affairs took, a man needed not be in any pain for his appearing in it. Besides, care would have been taken to let no expressions drop, which might give offence to those of the clergy, who have been crying aloud for passive obedience and hereditary right almost ever since the Revolution. The late ministers would have had nothing to complain of, nor the present to be pleased with. There has been a strange affectation of coolness and mystery in some people's loyalty. They were so used to compliment Queen Anne on her hereditary right, though in flat contradiction to fact and common sense, that they know not how to join heartily in addresses to, and declarations for a prince who has only a parliamentary one; but what sort of parliamentary right is it? The fathers of our church tell us, "'tis a settlement that was established by the whole legislature, and confirmed by many acts of parliament made in two different reigns, and under the prevalency of each of the unhappy divisions of parties among us, several of them in the last years of our late gracious queen, and has been from time to time sworn to by all of all orders and degrees of men among us." Why then all this coolness, this caution, but to countenance a party that looks upon acts of parliament as tender twigs, and on right of birth as a tough bough that will not bend to them that have the same sense of both that Lesley has, and though they swear and abjure, have a reserve still for their divine right. I do however believe, that this reserve is not for conscience sake; I have no notion of conscience where there is such double-dealing and dissembling with God and man. Besides a pure conscience will shine out not in one thing only, but in all things, in every action of the upright man, whether divine, moral, or political; and it is observable, that the men of the most ten-

der consciences in politicks, such as Welton, Sacheverel, Higgins, Sutton, and the rest of them, have nothing like squeamishness in their manners; it is very well if they carry themselves so evenly as to defend themselves from scandal. This observation is so general, that 'tis very evident that religion is not at the bottom of the business. Indeed 'twould be very extraordinary if these men could have any true zeal for our protestant church, who are for setting up a popish pretender to support it. As they affect to express on all occasions the highest veneration for the memory of Queen Anne, one would think they should take more care not to injure it by their wicked practices against a succession which she always declared she had nearest her heart. She did not from the beginning to the end of her reign omit any opportunity of expressing her affection to the illustrious house of Hanover, and her resolution to support their title to this crown. Is not the piety of that princess sufficient to convince them of the justice of that title, and determine their obedience to it? there want no arguments in that case. There is not a clergyman in Great Britain but sins against conviction, in betraying by his indifferency or disaffection, the government, to support which he has taken so many solemn oaths; nevertheless, there may be here and there a man to be met with, who will not explain his loyalty in any terms but his own, and who thinks he can speak so well for himself, that eloquence itself cannot do him justice from any other man: It is not numbers that sway with persons of penetration. If it had, there had not been a Jacobite now in Great Britain; not one in fifty of all the British clergy refused the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, yet the non-jurors were extolled as the only men of principle in the world, and truly they are much more so than those who, having sworn to the government, do act contrary to its interest; and do not those act contrary to its interests who refuse to warn the clergy and people under their charge of the great obligations they lie under to shew a hearty and open zeal for it?

Having thus enquired into the reasons of these two excellent prelates for refusing to do as their brethren did, I, who am heartily an enemy to the Pretender, must, though a layman, warn all good Britons not to be led away by these or any other reasons, to grow lukewarm in the cause of our king and country; for whatever airs these men assume, whatever dignified denominations they go by, whatever applauses are given them by party, they still are but men, and liable to the same failings, as Welton, Milbourn, Smith, Higgins, or any other of the undignified priesthood. The Dean of Christ Church has taken a step, which has a face of ingratitude as well as indiscretion in it. 'Twas expected by some hot men, that his majesty would not have employed a prelate as his almoner, whose mitre had been given him in the worst of times, and by the interest of ministers, that are now declared traitors to their country; but our sovereign is a prince of so much wisdom, and such exemplary moderation, that he resolved to make use of those men whom his enemies had placed about him, to make a trial of their professions of loyalty, and by giving them a share of his royal favour, win them over to his and their country's interests. Such treatment one would think should have had a good effect on Christian minds, and that there was no need of a sentiment of religion, to engage subjects to make a dutiful return to so gracious a king, where a sentiment of generosity and gratitude was more than sufficient.

I have often thought that some divines who signalize their zeal for high church, are no more in pain about her than the papists themselves. Can I imagine, that persons who breathe nothing but fury and fire, are in any concern for virtue and religion? Is not the spirit of God a spirit of meekness and charity, and are not cruelty and rage the spirit of the devil? Zeal is highly commendable, when it is guided by wisdom, but no wise zeal ever animated Christians to destroy their brethren. And as I never knew a persecutor a good or an honest man, so I shall always distinguish a zealot and a churchman: For the differences in religious matters among Britons, are not of sufficient importance to warrant the committing outrages against one another on that score,

and indeed, I am satisfied, that if high church was not to get a penny by opposing it, she would not care how fast sects multiplied. 'Tis not the salvation of the souls of men, that the high-flying zealots have at heart; they will damn a man, that is, excommunicate him, and shut him out of the communion of the saints for a groat. But profit is always made of power, and therefore it is that they are so jealous of parting with it by acts of indulgence. This is what common sense has taught every one to believe, with respect to the zeal of our high church clergy, and their politicks are of the same make. Whatever prince will grant them an independency of the state, his title will they always preach up, and conscience has had nothing to do in this controversy these twenty years.

I cannot forbear mentioning a pastoral letter of one of the bishops, who signed the declaration, to his clergy, wherein great pains is taken to excuse the cold indifferent manner of praying for his majesty before sermon, as, to use the Reverend Dr Moss's phrase, "Pray we, or we are commanded to pray." Grant that neither canon or edict enjoined such a prayer, instead of countenancing a known prevarication in this case, should not the reverend bishop have admonished them to act openly in a time of rebellion, and his majesty's own cause, as often as occasion requires? Does his lordship think those priests avoid praying for the king, because the canon does not oblige them to do it? Is it not rather a sign of their tenderness to his majesty's enemies, whose ears they would not shock with the sound of his name, and whose party they would not offend with prayers, for one they are plotting to destroy?

Is not this the best gloss we can put upon their silence? Is there one of those clergymen who do heartily wish well to his majesty's government, that will avoid any opportunity of expressing it? What signify canons, when popery and tyranny are armed against us? Those that do not pray for King George before sermon, would be glad to be discharged of praying for him in the liturgy; and I recommend to all such as have read this the Bishop of London's letter to his clergy, to read also the declaration which his lordship signed, and particularly the last paragraph of it.

"Let us pray for the preservation of the person and government of our most gracious sovereign King George, that God would cover his enemies with shame; but that upon himself and his posterity the crown may ever flourish. We do also charge both clergy and people, as they will be answerable for the destruction that may otherwise come, both upon the church and nation, that they endeavour to strengthen the hands of the government in this dangerous conjuncture: The clergy by plainly admonishing their flocks of their duty, both to their king and country; and the people by a cheerful declaration of their readiness to stand by the government. And let all of us, forgetting all differences and animosities, make this the great contention, who shall act with the truest zeal against the common enemy."

A Letter from the Earl of Mar to the King, &c before his Majesty arrived in England. With some Remarks on my Lord's subsequent Conduct. By Sir Richard Steele. Printed in the Year 1715.

Sir Richard Steele, the steady adherent of the house of Hanover, for whose sake he had suffered

so much during Oxford's administration, was immediately admitted into the confidence of George I.'s ministers, and lost no opportunity of assisting his cause.

The Earl of Mar, the head of the Scottish insurrection in 1715, a nobleman of considerable talents, but of a versatile disposition, had, at the king's accession, protested his zeal for the house of Hanover, but finding himself the object of suspicion to the new government, he fled into Scotland privately, and set up the Chevalier's standard at Brae-Mar, where his own feudal influence lay, and where he was in the vicinity of his Highland friends. A letter to his baillie of the lordship of Kildrummie, urging him to raise his vassals for King James, under the pain of fire and sword, is contrasted by Steele with that which contains his professions of attachment to King George. The former is ridiculed by Tickel in a humorous poem, entitled, An Imitation of the Prophecy of Nereus, which may be found in Dodsley's Collection, vol. I. p. 30, and concludes with these lines:—

> While thou, pursued by vengeful foes,
> Condemn'd to barren rocks and snows,
> And hinder'd passing Inverlocky,
> Shalt burn thy clan, and curse poor Jocky.

It gives me a lively sense of the hardships of civil war, wherein all the sacred and most intimate obligations between man and man are to be torn asunder, when I cannot without pain represent to myself the behaviour of Lord Mar, with whom I had not ever the honour of any farther commerce than the pleasure of passing some agreeable hours at different times in his company: I say, when even such little incidents make it irksome to be in a state of war with those with whom we have lived in any degree of familiarity, how terrible must the image be of rending the ties of blood, the sanctions of affinity and intermarriage, and the bringing men, who, perhaps, in a few months before, were to each other the dearest of all mankind, to meet on terms of giving death to each other at the same time that they had rather embrace? I am forced to reflect, that Lord Mar has already taken measures for bringing brother against brother, and son against father, to do with satisfaction to myself, the duty which I think I owe my king and my country, of exposing to publick view his present behaviour. As it cannot be so fairly done by any method as by vouchers under his own hand. I shall produce such before I can acknowledge I have effaced out of my mind all remains of good-will or pity towards a man, whom to serve I would very lately have hazarded a great deal; but as circumstances now stand between him and every man who is faithful to the king, his nearest friend is obliged to blot out all tender considerations for him, which is not more hard to do in any one that knew him than myself.

Repeating that this is a test of the smarter pain of wounds in domestick war, I must acquaint the reader, that the following is a true copy of my lord's letter to the king when his majesty was in Holland. I have the original in my custody, where it may be perused by any one who has a curiosity to see it.

Lord Mar to the King.

Sir,

Having the happiness to be your majesty's subject, and also the honour of being one of your servants, as one of your secretaries of state, I beg leave by this to kiss your majesty's hand, and congratulate your happy accession to the throne, which I would have done myself the honour of doing sooner, had I not hoped to have had the honour of doing it personally ere now. I am afraid I may have had the misfortune of being misrepresented to your majesty, and my reason for thinking so is, because I was, I believe, the only one of the late queen's servants who your ministers here did not visit,

which I mentioned to Mr Harley and the Earl of Clarendon, when they went from hence to wait on your majesty, and your ministers carrying it so to me was the occasion of my receiving such orders as deprived me of the honour and satisfaction of waiting on them and being known to them.

I suppose I had been misrepresented to them by some here upon account of party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our parties here too often occasion; but I hope your majesty will be so just as not to give credit to such misrepresentations.

The part I acted in the bringing about and making of the Union, when the succession to the crown was settled for Scotland on your majesty's family, where I had the honour to serve as secretary of state for that kingdom, doth, I hope, put my sincerity and faithfulness to your majesty out of dispute.

My family hath had the honour for a great tract of years to be faithful servants to the crown, and have had the care of the king's children (when Kings of Scotland) intrusted to them. A predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your majesty's grand-mother when young, and she was pleased afterwards to express some concern for our family in letters which I still have under her own hands.

I have had the honour to serve her late majesty in one capacity or other, ever since her accession to the crown. I was happy in a good mistress, and she was pleased to have some confidence in me, and regard for my services: And since your majesty's happy accession to the crown, I hope that you will find that I have not been wanting in my duty in being instrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the country to which I belong and have some interest in.

Your majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant as ever any of my family have been to the crown, or as I have been to my late mistress the queen. And I beg your majesty may be so good not to believe any misrepresentations of me, which nothing but party hatred and my zeal for the interest of the crown doth occasion; and I hope I may presume to lay claim to your royal favour or protection. As your accession to the crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your majesty's reign be long and prosperous, and that your people may soon have the happiness and satisfaction of your presence amongst them, is the earnest and fervent wishes of him who is with the humblest duty and respect,

Sir,
Your majesty's most faithful,
most dutiful, and most obedient,
subject and servant,

Whitehall, Aug. 30, *O. S.* 1714.

MAR.

It is a very wide step from this dutiful letter to the following declaration to all the world, and order to his own agent, which we have seen in the Gazette of the 14th instant.

Our rightful and natural King James VIII. by the grace of God, who is now come to relieve us from our oppressions, having been pleased to intrust us with the direction of his affairs, and the command of his forces in this his ancient kingdom of Scotland. And some of his faithful subjects and servants met at Aboyne, viz. the Lord Huntly, the Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Marischall, the Earl of Southesk, Glingary from the clans, Glenderule from the Earl of Breadalbine, and gentlemen of Argyleshire, Mr Patrick Lyon of Auchlerhouse, the Laird of Auldbair, Lieutenant-General George Hamilton, Major-General Gordon, and myself, having taken into our consideration his majesty's last and late orders to us, find that as this is now the time that he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him, so it seems to us absolutely necessary for his majes-

ty's service, and the relieving of our native country from all its hardships, that all his faithful and loving subjects, and lovers of their country, should with all possible speed put themselves into arms.

These are therefore in his majesty's name and authority, and by virtue of the power aforesaid, and by the king's special order to me thereunto, to require and impower you forthwith to raise your fencible men, with their best arms, and you are immediately to march them to join me and some other of the king's forces at the Invor at Braemar, on Monday next, in order to proceed in our march to attend the king's standard with his other forces.

The king intending that his forces shall be paid from the time of their setting out, he expects, as he positively orders, that they behave themselves civilly, and commit no plundering nor other disorders, upon the highest penalties and his displeasure, which it is expected you will see observed.

Now is the time for all good men to shew their zeal for his majesty's service, whose cause is so deeply concerned, and the relief of our native country from oppression and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our posterity to bear, and to endeavour the restoring not only of our rightful and native king, but also our country to its ancient, free, and independent constitution under him, whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations.

In so honourable, good, and just a cause, we cannot doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often rescued the royal family of Stuart, and our country from sinking under oppression.

Your punctual observance of these orders is expected, for the doing of all which this shall be to you and all you employ in the execution of them a sufficient warrant.

To the Baillie and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Lordship of Kildrummy.

Given at Braemar, the 9th of Sept. 1715.

MAR.

Jocke, *Invercauld, Sept.* 9, *at Night,* 1715.

Ye was in the right not to come with the 100 men ye sent up to-night when I expected four times the number; it is a pretty thing when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their king and country's account; as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the gentlemen of our neighbouring lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my men should be only refractory; is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these 26 years, and now when it is come, and the king and country's cause at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish?

I have used gentle means too long, and I shall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent enclosed an order for the lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals; if they give ready obedience it will make some amends, and if not, ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them (were I willing) from being treated as enemies by those who are ready soon to join me, and they may depend on it that I will be the first to propose an order for their being so. Particularly let my own tenants in Kildrummy know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, that I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taken from them, and they may believe this not only a threat, but by all that's sacred, I'll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen that I'll expect them in their best accoutrements on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of; go about this with all

diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so; all this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to ye king and country.

Your assured friend and servant,

To John Forbes of Increrau. Baillie of Kildrummy.

Sic subscribitur, MAR.

This noble lord, with the rest of the nobility, took the oaths to his majesty King George, and did homage to him at his coronation; both which acts are but further expressions, not more binding to a man of honour than what he had said before in his letter. It appears prodigiously unaccountable how it is possible that corruption should so far prevail, as that there does seem to arise among some men very little horror when this obligation of an oath is mentioned as broken in political occasions. If a man may upon oath declare, That the person pretending to be Prince of Wales, and taking upon himself the title of James III. has not any right or title to the crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereunto belonging, and promise according to the same oath he will defend King George to the utmost of his power against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, and under the shelter of the security and confidence reposed in such obligation, betray his sovereign, there can be no such thing as any band of society. But men's own private interest and ambition put their conscience out of its office, and make it obsequious to their will, instead of being a check upon it. Men who have brought themselves to this standing inadvertency, have brought their consciences to be very profitable tools for the improvement of their fortunes; for it seems it can purchase for them; but it cannot alienate. If a man has a mind to an employment he may take the oaths to possess himself of it, but that oath cannot detain him to the allegiance of his prince when he is turned out of his office. My lord has not given one example of injustice on the part of the government, which he can pretend diminished his sovereign's right to the duty he subscribes in his letter of the 30th of August 1714, and therefore is, as well in common sense as law, a traitor for his declaration, that another is his rightful and natural king, on the 9th of September, 1715.

His lordship in his declaration speaks of oppression for these twenty-six years past in general terms; there is not one instance wherein the king's is severed from the two preceding reigns; so that the reign of his good mistress was an oppression, as well as this in which he rebels: But my lord assigns the reasons which sanctified her power to him; he had the honour to serve her in one capacity or other ever since her accession to the crown.

But it has been long the language of all the conspirators who have manifested themselves of late, to cover themselves by extolling the queen whom they betrayed, and at the same time imputing their ill conduct to her commands: My lord, in the same temper and spirit with the rest, seems to impute his disrespect to the Hanover ministers carrying so to him, occasioned that he had such orders as deprived him of the honour of being known to them.

My lord supposes he has been misrepresented upon account of party. I hope that phrase will be utterly lost, or be spoken of another kind of men than hitherto it has been understood to describe. Is it then true what the whigs intimate, and the more moderate of them would not believe, that whig and tory were at the bottom, jacobite and Hanoverian, the promoters of slavery and the friends of liberty? Poor Jocke in the Highlands has, for the fourth part of a century, known more than any of us in town: The Lordship of Kildrummy was in the secret all along. Is not this (says my lord to them) the thing we are now upon which they have been wishing these twenty-six years? It's a pretty thing, as my lord very well expresses himself, that none

of those who meant this all along should shew themselves now, but have perjured themselves in vain for these three last reigns, to sit still and see all perish at last.

A leader who has so little force at present, and is little skilled in the art of persuasion, cannot, in himself, appear very formidable; but when the most solemn ties are of no manner of force, who can avoid apprehending, even from his next friend or neighbour, all the miseries of war, as occasion shall offer? We have, with some narrowness of spirit, in many cases, been very harsh upon poor nonjurors, who have denied giving the government the security that is required of them, and pretended to nothing but bare protection, and leave to live. But we have no name for men who act publickly under the same government with us, and are constantly meditating our ruin. These conjurors, with whom we repeat the same words at a bar or a table, and have gone on very lovingly after the clerk, and begin all together with one voice, do swear, it seems have minded what they said no more than if it were a mere matter of form, like taking up or laying down a mace, or bowing to an empty chair, which is done only as an overt act, signifying that we are now going upon business, or the like. We have all seen and heard the conjurors speak very roundly out, (though now and then one repeats as if chewing thistles;) and indeed some have observed, that they showed little relish to, or over-acted what they were doing; but I have always thought, till of late, that these reflections were unmanly and uncharitable. But it is not growing insolent to take notice from events; there are every day new proofs that what, in common charity and humanity, one would have thought the most cruel aspersion, is not only true, but with greater aggravations than their most violent enemies could have supposed the conjurors could have been guity of. We have long had this kind of imputation laid at the door of the church of Rome. They, it has been said, have had, for the service of the faith on particular occasions, a suspension of the divine vengeance from the pope, by plenary letters of indulgence; but our conjurors, whom we have looked upon, as to the generality of them, as misled, thoughtless, but far from a designing set of men, are so far from wanting dispensations, that they are void of all sense of conscience, when they betray, and use perjury as a mere expedient to do it with better opportunities.

It is hard not to grow very grave on such occasion; but, without pretending to set up for much of the divine or the casuist, who is there that does not know that the foundation of moral virtue is justice? This is what respects the community; one might desire these gentlemen to recollect that when a man offends against temperance and the like, he hurts only his individual self; but society cannot subsist without the practice of justice; it is from this that nothing is more highly resented, or esteemed so odious, as breach of promise; and notorious neglect of this kind always makes a man, according to the respective cases in which he trespasses, either detestable or inconsiderable. To guard against this loose behaviour in matters of moment, and to secure human society against breaches of faith, God is made a witness in the promises which man makes to man on pain of his displeasure. We know that he knows all we do, and in this act call upon him to observe what we do, and avenge himself in case of our falsehood. What was before purely morality, is by this act become religion; how great then is the guilt of breaking through this solemn appeal? Will our taking it lightly make it less sacred? If not, what is the guilt of entering into this obligation with no other view but to violate it?

It is certain that he who does not think a government just ought not to swear to it, but when he has done so there is no consideration can absolve him of that oath; a mutual faith is the support of society, an oath is the highest obligation to keep that faith inviolate. But this question is excellently well considered in a little pamphlet, called "Advice to the Tories who have taken the Oaths," to which I recommend my reader. What I thought serviceable in publishing this paper is to shew that my Lord Mar,

whatever the guilt of professing to be in the king's interest, and being at the same time in measures against him has that guilt upon him: The poor vassals who follow him as their leader, and a man of honour and quality, that should know better than themselves what is the duty of an honest man, are not acquainted that he has violated all that is good and sacred; and all who may be in inclination with him, may, from the knowledge of his personal behaviour to the king, either change their minds, or at least not chuse to follow one who has been guilty of so solemn a falsehood. It is not possible to have any notion, consistent with honour, to reconcile this treachery. Perjury is not a fault incurred by surprise, by sudden instigation of desire, or passion, it is no way to be accounted for by the force which false gallantry or mode of life has upon our actions; perjury is a cool deliberate crime, committed in defiance of God, to do violence to man. How monstrous therefore must it appear, that a man who barely to mend his own affairs, or to gratify his ambition, can meditate the disturbance of all the rest of the world, and at the expence of the lives and fortunes of the best of a whole people, break through all that is sacred, only to be himself a little more at ease, and enjoy that silly pleasure pomp?

In fine, the Earl of Mar, without any provocation, or pretended provocation, to exasperate him as a man, as a subject, as a gentleman, as a nobleman, laying aside his private faith given under his own hand, as well as the publick obligation of the most sacred oaths, is now in rebellion against a sovereign, who had, at his humble suit, consented to let him feel his annual bounty; to introduce an outlaw whom he abjured from no other motive but hopes of larger supplies to his avarice and ambition.

His ingratitude is not only that of a subject who had the protection of his prince in common with the rest, but that of a man who stood justly suspected by the king; and after his majesty's most generous neglect of all that might be objected against him, was further engaged by the receipt of undeserved, and therefore the more binding, favour.

The Oath of Allegiance.

I, *A. B.* do swear, That I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty King George.

So help me God.

The Oath of Abjuration.

I, *A. B.* do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, That our sovereign lord King George is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majesty's dominions and countries thereunto belonging; and I do solemnly and sincerely declare, That I do believe in my conscience that the person pretended to be Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James, and since his decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the style and title of King of England, by the name of James III., hath not any right or title to the crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereunto belonging. And I do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to him. And I do swear that I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty King George, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which I shall know to be against him or any of them. And I do faithfully promise, to the utmost of my power, to support, maintain, and defend the limitation and succession of the crown against him the said James, and all other persons whatsoever, as the same by an act, entitled, An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, is, and stands

limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and heirs of her body, being protestants. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition, acknowledgement, abjuration, renunciation, and promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian.

So help me God.

An Abstract of the Publick Funds, granted and continued to the Crown since 1 Wm. and M., and still existing, viz. I. The Revenue of the Civil-List. II. Annuity-Funds for Ninety-nine Years. III. Lottery Funds for Thirty-two Years. IV. Perpetual Funds redeemable by Parliament, viz. 1. To the Bank of England. 2. To the East India Company. 3. To the Bankers in Car. II. 4. To the South-Sea Company. With an Essay for the more speedy Redemption of the Perpetual Funds; an Apology for the same, and an Appendix, for Exchange of a Revenue in Ireland. Written by Mr Asgill. 1715.

John Asgill, the free-thinker, was author of a remarkable treatise upon the possibility of avoiding death, which occasioned his being expelled, on account of blasphemy, from the parliaments both of Ireland and England. His private affairs being in great disorder, and he himself a prisoner in the King's Bench, he judged he was in a fit situation to write treatises upon natural wealth and public freedom. Many of these appeared, but without exciting half so much attention as his blasphemous reverie. Among others was the Abstract of the Public Funds. He died in extreme old age in the rules of the King's Bench, in the year 1738.

The Revenue of the Civil List (by Act 1 Anne, Stat. 1, C. 7, settled on her Majesty for Life) according to a Computation thereof made in order to the Union in 1706. *Taken from a Medium of Three Years then last past.*

The Great Branches of the Revenue, viz.

	l. per ann.
1. The temporary and hereditary excise on beer, ale, and other liquids, granted to the crown, 12 Car. II. (excluding 3700l. a week, since taken out, by subsequent acts, for publick use) and including the charges of management paid by the cashier	286,178
2. The additional customs of tunnage and poundage on wines and other goods, granted to King William for life, exclusive of drawbacks and allowances for damaged goods	256,841
3. The revenue of the post-office, including charges paid by the receiver	101,101

The small Branches of the Revenue.

1. Fines on alienations, including charges	4,804
2. Post fines by a rent reserved thereout	2,276

	l. per ann.
3. Wine licences, including charges	6,314
4. Sheriffs proffers, about	1,040
5. Compositions in the exchequer	13
6. Seizures of unaccustomed and prohibited goods	
7. The revenue of the duchy of Cornwall	9,869
8. The revenue of the principality of Wales	6,857
9. Other revenues, by rents of lands, and fines on leases	2,906
Total	691,204

The first-fruits and tenths, since remitted to the clergy, was about 18,000l. per ann. charged with several pensions.

By an act 1 Georgii, the same revenue it settled on his majesty for life.

Subject to	*l. per ann.*
1. 700l. a week taken out of the post office, by 9 Anne, to make up one of the lottery funds	36,400
2. 35,000l. per ann. charged on the temporary and hereditary excise for 32 years from Michaelmas 1713, for the queen's debts	35,000
3. The revenues in Wales and Cornwall, now belonging to his royal highness as Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall	16,726
Deductions	88,126
Remaining to the crown	603,078
	691,204

Annuity Funds, granted for 99 Years.

		l. per ann.	*s.*	*d.*
4 W. & M.	On the first 9d. per barrel, &c. additional excise; for which the fund, after June 1700, was to be 70,000l. per ann.	70,000	00	0
5 W. & M.	On two sevenths of another 9d. per barrel additional excise	40,000	00	0
2 Anne.	On part of 3,700l. a-week out of the temporary and hereditary excise	105,945	10	6½
3 Anne.	On surplus of the said 3,700l. a week	46,000	00	0
4 Anne.	On one-third additional tunnage and poundage, and another 9d. per barrel excise	184,242	14	0
5 Anne.	On low wines, hawkers and pedlars, part of stamp duties, and 1l. 16s. a barrel additional duties on sweets	72,187	10	0
6 Anne.	On the annual surplus of three former annuity funds, viz. 3d. tunnage, 4 Anne; annuity fund, 5 Anne; annuity fund, 4 W. & M.	40,000	00	0
6 Anne.	On one half of tunnage and poundage granted Car. II. for life, and by 5 Anne continued to 1712	80,000	00	0
	Total per ann.	638,375	14	6½

Lottery Funds, granted for 32 Years.

		l. per Ann.	*s.*	*d.*
8 Anne.	On duties continued on coals, &c. and additional duties on houses	135000	00	0

		l. per ann.	*s.*	*d.*
8 Anne.	3d. per barrel new excise, customs on pepper, &c.	81,000	00	0
9 Anne.	12d. per pound granted Car. II. on goods imported, duties on water-borne coals, additional duties on candles	135,000	00	0
9 Anne.	Duties on hides, &c. licensing hackney coaches, &c. 700*l.* a week out of the post-office	186,670	00	0
10 Anne.	Duties on soap, paper imported and made, printed linens, silks and stuffs, new stamp-duties	168,003	00	0
10 Anne.	Additional duties on hides, vellum and parchment, new duties on starch, coffee, tea, drugs, wine, policies of insurance	168,003	00	0
12 Anne & 1 George.	Additional duties on soap, paper, &c.	116,573	12	0
	Total per ann.	990,249	12	0

Perpetual Funds.

To the Bank of England.

		l. per Ann.	*s.*	*d.*	*Redemable on payment of, l.*	*s.*	*d.*
5 W. & M. & 7 Anne.	On five months of 9d. additional excise	100,000	00	0	1,600,000	00	00
5 & 7 Anne.	On duties on houses, called the window-tax	106,501	13	5	1,775,027	17	10
		l. per Ann.			*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
7 Anne. 8 Anne. 9 Anne. 12 Anne.	On two-thirds additional tunnage and poundage, first granted 3 Anne, for four years.						
	Duties on coffee, &c. granted 6 Anne.						
	Half subsidy of tunnage and poundage, by 6 Anne continued to 1714.						
	The surplus above 80,000*l.* per ann. of the other halves of tunnage and poundage, by 6 Anne continued for 96 years	327,818	00	0	4,580,312	10	00
	Totals	534,319	13	5	7,955,340	07	10

Perpetual Funds.

	l. per Ann.	*s.*	*d.*	*Redeemable on payment of, l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over the several funds to the bank	534,319	13	5	7,955,340	7	10

To the East-India Company.

9 W. & 6 Anne.	Additional 6d on stamps, additional duties of 7d per gallon on salt. East-India silks	160,000	00	0	3,200,000	0	00

		l. per ann.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
	The Bankers Debt, Car. II.						
12 W.	Part of 3,700l. a week out of hereditary excise - -	39,855	16	0	664,263	0	00
	To the South-Sea Company.						
9 Anne.	Duties on wine and vinegar, tobacco, East-India goods, wrought silks, whale-fins. Surplus of salt &c. - - -	568,279	10	0	9,471,325	0	00
Totals of perpetual funds redeemable		1,302,454	10	5	21,290,928	0	00

Totals of the Annual Issues out of the Public Revenue, payable to the several Funds aforesaid, besides the Civil List.

	l. per Ann.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
To the the annuity funds - - - -	638,375	14	6½			
To the lottery funds - - - -	990,249	12	0			
To perpetual funds, redeemable - -	1,302,454	10	5			
Total of annual issues - - - - - - -				2,931,079	16	11½
The annual incomes of the publick revenue, by the computation made for the Union in 1706, (excluding the land tax, malt tax, and civil list) were - - - - - -	2,352,836	00	0			
The new duties granted since the Union, being mixed with former funds, cannot be exactly accounted, but are computed at (per ann.) about - - - - - -	852,804	12	0			
Total of annual income - - - - - - - -				3,205,640	00	0
Income more than issues - - - - - -				274,560	00	0

But surplusses or deficiencies in several of the funds may alter this computation.

An Essay for the more speedy Redemption of all the Perpetual Funds (except the original Fund of 100,000l. per Ann. annexed to the Bank of England upon their first Creation) viz.

By raising another perpetual fund of 120,000l. per ann. as an interest of 6 per cent. for borrowing two millions thereon in specie, and paying the same into the bank of England, for circulating and maintaining the credit of exchequer bills, to be issued with an interest of 3 per cent.

That thereupon the parliament (according to their power of redemption) may please to give notice for redeeming such of the former perpetual funds as they shall think fit first to redeem.

And that thereupon the exchequer issue out to the bank as many exchequer bills as will pay off the funds so to be redeemed.

That these bills be current in all receipts of the publick revenue, from the time of the issuing, and payable by the bank at demand, till they are all sunk and cancelled.

And then the two millions lodged in the bank, shall be repaid out y them, in discharge of the tallies of loan, upon the said new fund of 120,000l. per ann. which fund shall from thenceforth cease.

A Computation of the Gain to the Publick by the Success of this Essay.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The total of the principal to be paid for redemption of all the perpetual funds in the abstract (deducting 1,600,000l. secured upon the original fund to the bank) is - - - - -	19,690,928	00	0
Taking this to be twenty millions:			
The annual interest at 3 per cent. on 20 millions in exchequer bills, is - - - - - - - - - -	600,000	00	0
To which add the interest of 6 per cent. for two millions on the new fund - - - - - - - - - -	120,000	0	0
Both -	720,000	00	0
The annual interest now payable for all the perpetual funds in the abstract (except the 100,000l. original fund to the bank) is	1,182,454	10	5
From whence deducting the 720,000l. the residue anually gained by the publick towards discharge of the principal, will be - -	462,454	10	5
Add to this the annual surplus of the last fund to the bank, which by the act is to be annually applied towards discharge of the principal of exchequer-bills (in case there be such surplus) -	270,999	00	0
Remaining to be annually applied towards discharge of principal - - - - - - - - - - -	733,453	10	5

And thus by the use of two millions for about thirty years, twenty millions on the perpetual funds will be discharged near about the time of the expiration of the last lottery funds.

An Apology for this Publication.

Having a little more leisure than I would have, I spent part of last summer in making an abstract, from the acts of parliament, of all aids granted and continued to the crown since 1 William and Mary.

And from that abstract I again abstracted what I now publish, as the long funds still continuing: For there are some other temporary loans yet unsatisfied; but the funds granted for them being near expired, and by which they are like to be satisfied, I have omitted them in this abstract.

And I make my first apology for the abstract itself.

For that by reason of several contingencies happened since passing the acts abstracted (to which I could not be privy, without being conversant in the exchequer) there are several variances in this abstract from the account of the same publick debts delivered in by Mr Lownds to the former parliament.

The chief of which is the first article of the annuity funds; which in the abstract is 70,000l. per ann. that being the sum allowed by the first proposal in the act, to be paid from 1700, for raising a million on lives, with advantage of survivorship, at 7 per cent. But that proposal failing, and the million being chiefly raised on the second proposal, at 14l. per cent. for one life only, the annual fund, by Mr Lownds's account, is 62,041l. more than the 70,000l.

In the subsequent annuity-funds there are some lesser variances, which being easily reconcileable, I omit to mention them.

In all the lottery-funds, the abstract agrees with the account, except the transposing the fund of 81,000l. which in Mr Lownds's account is joined to the annuities for 99 years, as being first proposed in the act for an annual fund of 9l. per cent. absolute. But on failure of that, the money was raised (on the last proposal in the act) by a lottery, and is therefore inserted in the abstract amongst the other lottery-funds.

In the funds to the East-India company, the abstract and the account agree.

And so do they in the bankers debt, Car. II. except that in the account that fund is ranked with the annuities for 99 years, and in the abstract amongst the perpetual funds redeemable, as being so in fact.

In the two first funds to the bank of England, the abstract and account agree.

In the last fund (which was for the present exchequer-bills) the principal sum in the account is 63,120l. 14s. 6¼d. more than in the abstract; which seems to be for so many more bills issued for quarterly interest, not ascertained in the act.

In the fund for the South Sea company, the abstract makes the principal to be 293,357 l. 4s. 8d. more than in the account, which seems to arise from hence, that of the sum of 1,296,552l. 9s. 11¼d. one of the articles of deficiencies provided for by that act, there was but 1,001,426l. 11s. 0½d. subscribed into the company; and the residue being 295,125l. 18s. 10¾d. is charged in the account among other temporary loans. And then the difference remaining between the abstract and the account is only 1768l. 14s. 10¾d.

And as for the computation in the abstract of the total of the publick issues and incomes, I took the issues before the Union from the computation then made thereof in order to the Union. But for the issues granted since the Union (having seen no other computation of them) I made a computation of them by guess, which is the computation in the abstract, and therefore I do not offer it as authentick.

Having thus made my apology for the abstract, I will apologize (as well as I can) for the essay made upon it.

For that the essay seems to take for granted two things, when perhaps neither of them will be admitted:

First, it seems to take for granted, that all the perpetual funds (except the original fund to the bank) were redeemable at any time, whereas the time for redemption of the rest is not yet come.

To this the answer shall be historical.

5 W. & M. The original fund of 100,000l. per ann. annexed to the bank on their first creation, is by that act made redeemable at any time on twelve months notice, after August 1, 1695.

8 W. & M. Upon enlarging their capital stock, the time for redemption is enlarged till after the 1st of August 1712, on the payment of the 1,200,000l. advanced on their original funds, and all other monies due on any tallies then in their hands; which tallies being then on temporary loans, are supposed to be since satisfied.

And by that act no other bank is to be established during the continuance of this.

5 Anne. The first duties on houses (called the window-tax) first granted 7 W. are made perpetual, for paying to the bank an interest at 4l. 10s. per cent. for circulating 1,500,000l. &c. in exchequer bills.

But this fund is by the same act made redeemable at any time, without redemption of their former funds or tallies.

7 Anne. Upon their advancing 400,000l. more on their original fund, the time for redemption thereof is enlarged till after August 1, 1732, on payment of 1,600,000l.

12 Anne. On their last agreement for circulating the present exchequer-bills, the fund granted for those bills is made redeemable at any time, without redemption of

their former funds (as the window-tax was by the former act.) But the time for redemption of their original fund is thereby enlarged till after August 1, 1742, and thereupon their corporation to cease.

12 W. The redemption of the bankers debt is left indefinite, and so is redeemable at any time.

9 W. The fund for the East-India company was at first made redeemable at any time on three years notice, after September 11, 1718.

6 Anne. Upon their advancing 1,200,000l. more upon the same fund, their redemption is enlarged till after March 25, 1726, on payment of 3,200,000l. And thereupon their fund and corporation to cease.

10 Anne. This redemption is again discharged, and the fund made again redeemable on three years notice, after March 25, 1733, without determining their corporation.

9 Anne. The fund for the South-Sea company is made to commence from December 25, 1716, and redeemable at any time upon one year's notice, after the said December 25, 1716.

10 Anne. Their corporation and sole trade is to continue for ever, notwithstanding the redemption of the fund.

Now as to the East-India and South-Sea companies, it is easily guessed that what they chiefly aimed at, was not the continuance of their funds, but of their corporations and sole trades.

And the fund to the East-India company being now reduced to five per cent. it cannot be esteemed but they will esteem it a favour, rather than an injury, to have that redeemed, leaving them their corporation and sole trade.

And if the South-Sea company were so apprehensive of the value of their trade, that they have obtained an act to perpetuate it before they will adventure to begin it, would not they also esteem it a favour to have their fund redeemed, and their sole trade left them into the bargain; and if they should not, the time given for their redemption draweth nigh.

Taking it, therefore, that all the perpetual funds (except the original fund of the bank of England) are or may be immediately redeemable by the parliament, I shall make no farther apology in that point.

The part remaining for farther apology is, that the essay seems to take for granted that two millions of money in specie will be sufficient for circulation or maintaining the credit of twenty millions in bills issued at 3 per cent.

Now as I do confess that I have no affidavits for proof of this in the affirmative,

So I take myself to be secure against any honest man's affidavits for disproving it in the negative.

And though the computation of gain is made upon the whole, yet the essay itself is not made absolutely, but on such funds as the parliament shall think fit to redeem.

The drift of the essay being levelled rather to find out the nature, than to adjust the quantity of the thing essayed.

In arithmetick we know that each figure stands for more or less, according to the position or placing it to the right or left.

If it stands in the extreme to the right, it is but a unit, signifying its own single value or first denomination.

But by every remove or degree from thence to the left, it gains an additional value of ten times more than it did before.

And in the use and productions of nature this remark is left us by the author of it:

"Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

And he hath also left us a parable, as the duty of all men (bodies personal or politick)

to use and improve all their talents of life to the best advantage, so as to increase and make them prolifick.

And hath set a doom upon our keeping or hoarding them in their own single value only, as dreadful as that for losing or squandering them.

To bring this to the point in hand:

The annuity and lottery funds being temporary only, will discharge themselves by efflux of time, if not otherwise provided for.

But besides those, here is an annual issue of about thirteen hundred thousand pounds granted in perpetuity, and which will never spend or be diminished by efflux of time.

And so must remain a perpetual rent charge upon the kingdom:

(Of which, the proprietors of the funds are landlords,
The subjects tenants,
And the crown collector,)

Unless some other provision be made for redeeming the same.

And this provision must be,

Either by raising twenty millions more upon new funds, and paying away the whole in its own single value only, for discharging the like value upon the former funds:

(Which would be but a bare exchange of taxes, without any gain to the publick, or ease to the subjects.)

Or else these present funds must be redeemed from their own produce, if such redemption be feasible.

To manifest which, is the drift of the essay.

That money (by a due position and proper application of it) is capable of an addition beyond its first single value, and of being prolifick in multiplying its own species (or somewhat equivalent to it) hath been made so evident by use and practice, that I need no other arguments but the facts.

And therefore I will be a little historical in this also.

In which though I may vent some things that may not be true, yet my conscience so shall guide my pen, that none of them shall be lies.

He that relates a truth which he himself doth not believe, telleth a lie: "Surely when they say the Lord liveth, they swear falsely."

Therefore he that vents an error which he thinks to be true doth not lie.

5 W. & M. The first bills issued by the bank, were 1,200,000*l.* (under their common seal) at 3 per cent. which they paid at the exchequer for their original fund of 100,000*l.* Which bills had no currency in the revenue by that act, and were issued in the recency of the notions of publick credit, and in opposition to the private bankers, who had most of the cash then in their hands; and in the recency of the Revolution, and heat of a war, which annually drained the kingdom.

To circulate and maintain the credit of these 1,200,000*l.* in bills, the bank called in from their members 300,000*l.* only, being 25 per cent. of the 1,200,000*l.*

On the foot whereof, they gained for the 300,000*l.* twenty per cent. clear of the 3 per cent. on their bills, (besides 4000*l.* a-year, intended for their charges.)

Of this 300,000*l.* it was said, they did not find occasion to use 40,000*l.* in circulating the 1,200,000*l.* bills so issued.

But launching out afterwards into a larger credit on their cashiers notes (issued without interest) they called in more payments from their members.

And by these cash-notes without interest, they (by degrees) drawed in their 1,200,000*l.* bills at interest, and did not re-issue them.

5 Anne. Upon their agreement for circulating 1,500,000*l.* &c. exchequer bills on the window-tax, at 4*l.* 10*s.* per cent. the exchequer were to issue the bills either with or without interest, as the bank should desire.

And the bank, by giving out their own bills without interest, kept the exchequer bills to themselves, and thereby gained the interest on them.

7 Anne. The bank agreed to cancel these bills, and to accept an interest on the same funds of 6 per cent. instead of the 4*l.* 10s.

And by the same act agreed to circulate 2,500,000*l.* more exchequer bills, to be issued with interest at 3d. per cent. per diem, (being 3*l.* 10d. per ann.) besides which, the bank were to have (for circulation) a further interest of 3*l.* per cent. Which bills were issued accordingly upon their last funds.

But in the middle of this act there is inserted a short proviso, That the bank should not be obliged to pay these bills, till they had passed through the publick revenue; after which they were called specie bills.

8 Anne. The bank agreed to circulate 400,000*l.* more of the like bills on the same fund, and at the same interest; making together 2,900,000*l.* with further bills for interest till the commencement of the fund.

9 Anne. Reciting the provisos 7 Anne, That the bills should not be payable by the bank, till they had passed through the revenue, it is enacted, that for paying them as well before as after, the bank should have 45,000*l.* per ann. more, till a million of the bills should be cancelled.

12 Anne. Reciting that the bills issued for the interest to Lady Day 1713, amounted to 480,312*l.* 10s., it is enacted, That 1,200,000*l.* more of like bills, on the same fund and interest, should be circulated by the bank (as the former) for which they had 8,000*l.* per ann. more added to the 45,000*l.* making 53,000*l.* per ann. for circulation, over and above the 3*l.* per cent. and 3d. per diem.

All which makes the interest payable by the publick to be 7*l.* 6s. 8d. per cent. on the present exchequer bills; the total whereof, by Mr Lownds's account, is 4,643,433*l.* 4s. 6½d.

These bills thus issued by the exchequer to the bank, and remaining in their power, either to keep them in the bank, and thereby gain the whole interest upon them for the company, or to issue them out for payment of their own bills, it doth appear in fact, that they elect to pay their own bills in specie, rather than part with exchequer bills for them. Nor will they give out any exchequer bills for less sums than 100*l.*

If therefore the bank do thus maintain the credit of their own bills without any interest upon them, and that their creditors do rather keep those bills without interest, than receive their money in specie, how much rather would the creditors accept bills with interest, and keep and transfer them from one to another for lucre of the interest, than bring them to the bank for payment.

From whence I hope it is already evident that the nature of the essay for payment of debts by bills at interest is not notional or chimerical, but rational and practicable, and warranted by usage and custom.

But as to the quantity essayed, it is not in me to give an inventory for the bank, of all the receipts and payments (publick and private) that pass through their hands; and consequently what is the amount of their credit, by all bills standing out against them, or what sums they have in cash to answer them.

And much of this being occasional and uncertain, there is no certain account to be given of it.

But from consideration of the publick funds granted to themselves, and their manner of purchasing the same with bills, and their maintaining the credit of the same bills, there may be a guess taken, and a comparison made, how, and in what quantities, the same, or other funds, may be repurchased or redeemed with like bills.

And if the bank in their first creation (under a juncture of difficulties) did esteem 300,000*l.* in specie sufficient for maintaining the credit of 1,200,000*l.* of their own bills issued at 3 per cent.,

It is no false arithmetick to compute thereupon that two millions in specie will now maintain the credit of eight millions in exchequer bills issued at the same interest, with an addition of a currency in the revenue, which their bills then had not.

And should the essay be advanced no farther than for eight millions, even that in length of time would redeem the whole twenty millions; viz.

Taking the medium of interest on the present perpetual funds to be 6 per cent.

	l.
The interest on eight millions is	480,000
The farther sum annually paid for circulation of exchequer bills	53,000
Present annual payments	533,000
Interest of this eight millions at 3*l.*	240,000
Interest of two millions on new funds	120,000
	360,000
Annually gained	173,000
Add to this the surplus of the last fund to the bank	270,999
Remaining for annual discharge of principal	443,999

This being a calculation of gain by redemption of eight millions only, it may be farther considered whether it is not probable that the whole twenty millions may be thus redeemed.

And remembering that from the first success of the bank one hundred thousand pounds (or less) had been sufficient to have maintained the credit of their 1,200,000*l.* in bills at 3 per cent. in case they had continued them at that interest;

And that the bank have since advanced their credit for vast sums on their own bills without interest, and hereby also drawn in their bills at interest, it doth not seem any false computation in arithmetick to suppose that two millions in specie will maintain the credit of twenty millions in bills, carrying an interest of 3 per cent. nor that it can be any hazard (upon calling in the two millions on the new fund) forthwith to issue out eight millions in bills at 3 per cent. for discharging so much of the present funds: The success whereof would give the parliament a specimen for all the rest.

But am not I, all this while, reckoning without my host?

For though the essay itself should seem feasible, if the bank should think themselves *felones de se*, in executing it, by redeeming their own funds (on which they now receive so large an interest) can any one expect that they should serve the publick at their own expence?

I do not expect they either should or ought; nor am I prophesying what the bank will do, but essaying to shew what they may do.

The bank of England are a thinking body, and do not want me to think for them.

And if they think that the use of two millions in their bank, and so much of the 3 per cent. on the bills, (given out for redemption of other funds) as will fall to the share of the bank in circulating them, will more than answer any loss by redemption of their own funds, then their own interest would seem to lead them into the thing.

But if they should be of opinion in the negative, then I desire to be called and non-suited. For they being (in this cause) both judge and jury, I would not stand a verdict against their opinion.

But though I must not think for them, I hope it is no offence to think of them. (A cat may look on a king.)

And this is one of my thoughts of them, that if they would exert their credit for the redemption of these funds, in like manner as they have done for the purchase of their own, they would thereby render themselves really (what they are now nominally) the bank of England.

And would well entitle themselves to a perpetuity of their bank and original fund, *quamdiu se bene gesserint;* and no honest man desires to hold his office by any better title.

And being thus united to the landed interest, these bills would be as current in the rents of the subjects as the present bills are in the revenues of the crown.

And this would do them no hurt; for though none but monied men can pay bills, landed men may receive them.

But for fear of the wits falling upon me as a land-bank man (from whence *libera nos domine*) I will touch no farther upon that string.

But if the bank would do their part in this, where is the two millions?

I wish it were come to that. And if there were no other fund to be found but a perpetual land-tax of three-pence in the pound redeemable, the landlords would be no losers by it, in case they and their tenants might thereupon be immediately discharged of the window-tax now payable to the bank, which the parliament might do by directing that fund to be first redeemed.

This tax has galled and disgusted the subjects more than any other, and especially since they esteem it a re-imposition (by a new name) of the hearth-money; from which (as a badge of slavery) they were released by King William and Queen Mary in their first parliament.

Nor doth the change of the name seem to better the case, but rather makes the tax more unnatural.

The former being a tax upon lights kindled by man, but the present a tax upon the lights of heaven.

A *Simon Magus* tax, farming out the gifts of God for money.

Whereas Diogenes in his tub demanded it as a natural right from the conqueror of the world, to stand out of the sun, and not take that from him which he could not give to him.

And though the excises on food and raiment may be at bottom as extensive and universal as this window-tax, yet they being not so visible, are paid more insensibly, and with a less eye-sore to the people; ("for what the eye cannot see, the heart doth not rue.") I can walk all day long with a hole in my stocking (very well contented) if I myself do not know it, nor any one else tells me of it. *Non videmus id manticæ quod a tergo est.*

And having an entire confidence in his majesty's sincere intentions of gaining the affection of all his subjects, and in the resolutions of the legislature to execute those intentions, I have presumed to quote the commencement of this tax, and to mention a release of it in the first annual of his reign, as what would leave a grateful impression of him upon the minds of all his subjects, and give them occasion to make a pleasing recognition (within themselves) of the choice of their representatives in his first parliament.

To whom I make my last apology, as seeming to dictate (if I do seem.)

But far be that from me!

I am but a passenger, telling a tale I have met with in my travels.

In which I am the reverse of other quacks, for I profess a publick way of practice to be my way.

Nor have I said any thing but what any one else did or might know before.

However, perhaps, it is no hurt to know it over again.

Running to and fro seems to be the posture of children and madmen, rather than of students or philosophers.

And yet there is a saying, that knowledge shall increase by it; "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

For that, by traversing the same ground over and over again, we may chance to find something we had not before observed.

Knowledge is easy to him that understandeth.

When the fact is truly stated by one, the conclusions upon it are the easier to be made by others.

Nor do I esteem myself (for starting these facts) above the degree of an almanack-maker; venting some memorandums of common things, to help the memories of men of more superior genius, whose greater affairs do not admit them to keep those accounts themselves: *Non vacant exiguis.*

Therefore, though nothing that I have said should be received, if something of it be but remembered, it is as much as one of my trade can expect.

And then though the essay be rejected, the abstract may stand for an old almanack.

But if any of my readers should be so angry as to strike them both out because I made them,

I humbly desire the favour of them (on behalf of the printer) to let the apology stand, being what (I fancy) he chiefly depends on.

An Appendix for Exchange of a Revenue in Ireland.

Since I am playing the fool I will have my game out, by traversing from Great Britain to Ireland.

In 1650. Upon the restoration of King Charles II. he gratified the subjects in what they had so long desired, by giving his royal assent to an act for exchanging the tenures in *capite* of lands in England held of the crown, for an hereditary excise then granted to the crown in lieu thereof, and which is still continuing.

In 1663. A court of claims was erected in Ireland, for all lands seized and sequestered on account of the rebellion there in 1641.

And it is said, that all the lands that passed that court were 6,883,846 acres.

In Leinster - - -	4½d.	per acre.
In Munster - - -	3½d.	
In Connaught - - -	2½d.	
In Ulster - - -		

These quit-rents lying hard upon the whole, and on many of the barren lands exceeding the yearly values thereof, King Charles II. by several letters patents reduced the same so far, that the whole now remaining (by the accounts I have had) is about 60,000*l.* per ann.

And these quit-rents being first charged on each estate in gross, and several parts of those estates being since sold, the same hath occasioned difficulties in the apportionment, and frequent distresses and oppressions on the tenants; from whence the proprietors of the lands have long desired to have their lands discharged of this rent.

And though I never heard any mention made by others of an exchange for them,

By the act of settlement (or explanation) afterwards passed in Ireland, there was imposed a quit-rent (out of those lands) to the crown by way of acridge, viz.

Yet I have heard that mention made of them, that induced me to believe, that if his majesty with his parliament of Great-Britain (for he cannot without them,) will be pleased to accept an equivalent for that revenue, the parliament in Ireland would grant an hereditary excise or custom to the crown in lieu thereof.

And that such an exchange would be very grateful and acceptable to the subjects of that kingdom.

And therefore I have vented my own thought of it; in which I speak feelingly (as a party concerned.)

But I speak foolishly, without commission.

However, having broached it, I will leave it to run to and fro itself; by which it may fall into better hands.

And having thus hinted this, I will hint one thing more with it.

22d February, 1688. King William sent a declaration to Ireland, that the forfeited estates there should be distributed to them that should be aiding in the reduction of that kingdom.

In this reduction the garrisons of Londonderry and Enniskilling were the most signal, and have ever since had repeated assurances of recompense from the crown.

But the forfeited estates in Ireland, being afterwards diverted out of the crown by the parliament of England, and sold for the satisfaction of other debts, the demands of those garrisons have ever since been applied for to the parliament of Great-Britain.

And the commissioners appointed by her late majesty for stating the debts in King William's reign, reported their arrears of pay to be 195,091*l.* 5s. 6d. From which return the chairman of a committee of the House of Commons made a report of the same to the House.

But by reason of the continuance of the war, no further application was made for payment during the last reign.

Now if his majesty and his parliament of Great-Britain will be pleased to accept of such an exchange for the quit-rents in Ireland, and will admit of a small collateral thing, (rather a kindness than a prejudice to the subjects of Great-Britain) perhaps the subjects of Ireland would submit to ease the subjects of Great-Britain from the demand of those garrisons, by making some provision for the same in Ireland.

But I also speak this foolishly, without commission, and, therefore, will not further explain it, unless I meet with better authority than my own.

However, be that as it will, the demands of those grievances cannot now remain much longer unsatisfied, (one way or other) without treating them as malignants, for being the first that stood to their arms in defence of the protestant interest in Ireland, and thereby facilitated that Revolution, which introduced the Hanover succession to the crown.

Two Lists; shewing the Alterations that have been made in the House of Commons, from the Beginning of the Reign of King Henry VIII. to the End of that of King James I. and in the House of Peers, from the Accession of King James I. to this Time; with some Observations. Printed in the Year 1719.

This Tract appeared during the dependence of the bill for settling and binding the number of the British peerage. The author endeavours to meet and refute the arguments urged against this daring innovation upon the constitution by Sir Robert Walpole, Sir Richard Steele, and others.

GREAT industry being used to prejudice the publick against the bill now depending in the House of Peers, for settling the peerage of Great-Britain, by representations and insinuations equally false and malicious, it will at least be pardonable in one who is no less concerned for the preservation of our happy constitution, than desirous that the publick should have a just opinion of the present administration, to reprint a List already published, setting forth the number of the peerage at the accession of King James I. and the alterations it has since undergone, and to subjoin to it a List shewing the state of the House of Commons when King Henry VIII. came to the crown, and what counties and boroughs were by him and his successors privileged to send members to parliament; and add to these lists some few obvious remarks, which may perhaps contribute to set this matter in a true light.

A List of the Peers existing at the Time of King James the First his Accession to the Crown, and of those who have since been advanced to the Peerage by Claim of ancient Right, by Writ, or by Patent; as also of the several Peers extinct in his and the succeeding Reigns.

N. B. Those printed in Italic are the present peers.

List of Peers, as it stood at King James the First his Accession to the Crown, the Twenty fourth of March, 1602-3.

MARQUIS.

Winchester, D. of *Bolton.*

EARLS.

Oxford.
Northumberland.
Shrewsbury [†]
Kent, D. of *Kent.*
Derby.
Worcester, D. of *Beaufort.*
Rutland, D. of *Rutland.*
Cumberland.
Sussex.
Huntingdon.
Bath.
Southampton.
Bedford, D. of *Bedford.*
Pembroke.
Hertford, D. of *Somerset.*
Lincoln.

VISCOUNTS.

Montacute [†]
Bindon.

BARONS.

Audley, E. of Castelhaven [†]
Willoughby of Ersby, D. of *Ancaster.*
De La War.
Berkeley, E. of *Berkeley.*
Stafford.
Morely.
Darcey.
Dudley.
Zouche.
Scroop, E. of Sunderland.
Grey of Wilton (attainted.)
Lumley.
Stourton [†]
Ogle.
Mountjoy, E. of Devonshire.
Cobham (attainted)
Monteagle (merged in Morley
Sandys.
Vaux.
Windsor, E. of *Plymouth.*
Wentworth, E. of Cleveland.
Mordaunt, E. of *Peterborough.*
Cromwell.
Eure.
Wharton, D. of *Wharton.*

BARONS.

Sheffield, D. of *Buckinghamshire.*
Rich, Earl of *Warwick.*
Willoughby of *Parham.*
Paget, E. of *Uxbridge.*
Darcey of Chiche, E. *Rivers.* [†]
Howard of *Effingham* (then E. of Nottingham.)
North and *Grey.*
Chandois, E. of *Carnarvan.*
Hunsdon.
St *John* of *Bletso* (afterwards E. Bolingbroke).
Buckhurst E. of *Dorset.*
Burleigh, E. of *Exeter.*
Compton, E. of *Northampton.*
Norris, E. of Berkshire.
Walden, E. of *Suffolk.*

J. I.	*Created, &c.*	*Extinct.*
	King James I.	
1	E. of Arundel, restored and placed as first Earl. D. of *Norfolk.*	B. Grey of Wilton.
	Viscount *Hereford* then E. of Leicester, restored, takes place as first Viscount.	B. Cobham.
	Say and *Seale* claim allowed and placed after V. Montacute.	
	Bar. *Abergavenny* claim allowed, as first Baron.	
1	Baron Cecil, E. of *Salisbury.*	
	Sidney, E. of *Leicester.*	
	Knolles, E. of Banbury.	
	Wootton.	
	Thornaugh, merged in Bedford.	
	Grey of Groby, E. of *Stamford.*	
	Petre. [†]	
	Harrington.	
	Danvers, E. of Danby.	
	Gerard Bromley.	
2	Spencer, E. of *Sunderland.*	
3	Ellesmere, E. of *Bridgewater.*	
	Marnhill, E. of Northampton.	B. Ogle.
	Hume, E. Dunbar in Scotland.	B. Lumley.
	Stanhope of Harrington.	B. Zouche.
	Arundel of *Wardour.* [†]	
	Cavendish, D. of *Devonshire.*	
	Denny, E. of Norwich.	
	Carew of Clopton, E. of Totness.	
	Earl Montgomery, merged in Pembroke.	Earl of Devon.
5	Baron Knivet of Escrick.	
6	Clifton.	
9	Earl of Somerset, attainted.	B. Hume
11	Baron Settrington, D. of Richmond.	B. Harrington.
12	Dacres, of Herstmonceaux, E. of Sussex, claim allowed and placed next Lord Morley.	
13	Hay of Sawley, E. of Carlisle.	E. of Northampton

J. I.	*Created, &c.*	*Extinct.*
	Dormer of *Wenge.* [†]	
	Whaddon, D. of Buckingham.	
4	Houghton, D. of Newcastle.	E. of Somerset.
	Tenham.	
	Stanhope, of Shelford, E. of *Chesterfield.*	
	Noel, E. of *Gainsborough.*	
16	Digby, E. of Bristol.	
	Verulam, V. St Albans.	B. Monteagle.
17	Eaversdale, E. of Camb. M. Hamilton in Scotland.	B. Clifton.
	Baron Leighton, D. of Richmond.	Viscount Bindon.
	Viscount Purbeck.	
18	Baron Newenham, E. of *Denbigh.*	
	Kingston, E. of Holderness.	
	Ogle, D. of Newcastle	
	Montague, E. of *Manchester.*	
	Brook.	
	Hicks, V. Cambden.	
19	Montague, of Boughton, D. of *Montague.*	Earl of Berkshire.
	Howard of Charlton, E. of *Berkshire.*	
	Lepington, E. of Monmouth.	
	Cranfield, E. of Middlesex.	
	Viscount Faulkland.	
20	Baron Kensington, E. Holland, mer. in Warwick.	B. Knivet of Escrick.
21	Eastwell, E. of *Winchelsea.* [†]	
	Grey of Werk, E. of Tankerville.	
	Daventree, E. of Anglesea.	
22	Somerhill, E. of St Albans.	
	Deincourt, E. of *Scarsdale.*	E. of Holderness.
	Fane, E. of *Westmoreland.*	D. of Richmond.
	Ley, E. of Marlborough.	
	Roberts, E. of *Radnor.*	
	Earl of Conway.	

King Charles I.

1	Baron St John Tregose.	Viscount St Albans.
	Carleton, V. Dorchester.	
	Tufton, E. of *Thanet.*	
	Craven, E. Craven.	
	Cecil, V. Wimbleton.	
3	Mountjoy, E. of Newport.	B. Thornaugh.
	Faulconberg, V. *Faulconberg.* [†]	
	Lovelace.	
	Poulet, E. *Poulet.*	
	Harvey of Kidbrook.	
	Brudenell, E. of *Cardigan.*	

C. I.	*Created, &c.*	*Extinct.*
	Pierrepoint, D. *Kingston.*	
	Viscount Bayning of Sudbury.	
	Baron *Maynard.*	
4	Coventry, E. of *Coventry.*	
	Howard of Escrick.	
	Weston, E. of Portland.	
	Goring, E. of Norwich.	
	Mohun.	
	Savile, E. of Sussex.	
	Wentworth, E. of Strafford.	
	Dunsmore, E. of Chichester.	E. of Totness.
	Boteler of Bramsfield.	V. Campden.
5	Powys, Marquis of Powys.	B. Wootton.
	Baron Herbert of Cherbury.	E. of Montgomery.
		B. St John Tregose.
7	Cottington.	E. of Sunderland.
		Visc. Dorchester.
		E. of Banbury.
16	Littleton.	B. Darcy.
	Fordwiche.	Visc. Wimbleton.
	Trowbridge, merged in Somerset.	Visc. Sudbury.
		B. Stafford.
	Viscount Stafford.	E. of Norwich.
17	Baron Bruce, E. of *Aylesbury.*	E. of Sussex.
	Capel, E. of *Essex.*	B. Harvey of Kidbrook.
	Darcy, E. of *Holderness,* claim allowed and placed next Lord Dacres.	
18	Newport, E. of *Bradford.*	
	Craven of Ryton.	
19	Wilmot, E. of Rochester.	
	Leigh.	
	Hatton, V. *Hatton.*	
	Hopton.	
	Loughborough.	
	Jermyn, E. of St Alban's.	E. of Cumberland.
	Byron.	Visc. Faulkland.
	Vaughan, E. of Carbery in Ireland.	E. of Danby.
	Carrington.	
	Widdrington, attainted.	
20	Duke of Cumberland, Prince Rupert.	
	Baron Ward, merged in Dudley.	
	Earl of Brainford, E. of Forth in Scotland.	
	Baron *Colepeper.*	
	Astley.	
	Clifford, E. of *Burlington.*	
	Lucas.	
20	Baron Bellasyse.	
	Rockingham, E. of *Rockingham.*	B. Littleton.
	Cobham.	
	Cholmondeley of Wichmalbank.	
21	Gerard Brandon, E. of Macclesfield.	

	Created, &c.	*Extinct.*
	Lexington.	
	Newbury, E. of Litchfield, merged in Richmond.	
C. II.	*King Charles II.*	
2	Baron Wootton.	B. Craven of Ryton. B. Cobham. E. of Cambridge, M. Hamilton. B. Cottington. E. of Brainford. B. Hopton. E. of Chichester. E. of Bath. Visc. Purbeck.
10	*Langdale.* [†]	
	Crofts.	
	Berkeley of Stratton.	
11	Duke of York.	
	of Gloucester.	
	Baron Mordaunt, E. of Monm. merged in Peterborough.	E. of St Alban's.
12	Potheridge, D. of Albemarle.	B. Cholmondley of Wichmalbk.
	Butler, D. of Ormond, attainted.	E. of Carlisle.
	Hyde, E. of *Clarendon.*	E. of Litchfield.
	Montague, E. of *Sandwich.*	E. of Anglesey. B. Fordwiche. D. of Gloucester.
13.	Annesley, E. of *Anglesey.*	B. Vaux.
	Granvile, E. of Bath.	E. of Monmouth.
	Holles of Ifield.	
	Cornwallis.	
	Delamere, E. of *Warrington.*	
	Townshend, V. *Townshend.*	
	Ashley, E. of *Shaftsbury.*	
	Baron *Crew.*	
	Dacres of Gillesland, E. of *Carlisle.*	
15	Tindale, D. of Monmouth, attainted.	
16	Arlington, E. of Arlington.	
	Fretcheville.	
	Botetort, E. of Falmouth.	
	Arundel of *Trerice.*	
		E. of Falmouth.
		B. Loughborough.
18	Butler of Moor Park.	E. of Southampton.
		E. of Cleveland.
19	Saville, M. of Hallifax.	B. Boteler, of Bramsfield.

C. II.	*Created, &c.*	*Extinct.*
21	Howard of Castlerising, E. Norw. merged in Norf.	
22	*Fitzwalter*, claim allowed, and placed next Lord Darcey.	E. of Northumberland.
	Nonsuch, D. of *Cleveland.*	
24	Sudbury, D. of *Grafton.*	E. of Sussex.
	Clifford of *Chudleigh.*†	D. of Richmond.
	Duras of Holdenby, merged in Feversham.	E. of Norwich.
	Butler of Weston.	
25	Osborn, D. of *Leeds.*	E. of Holland.
	Grey, merged in North.	
	Paston, E. of *Yarmouth.*	
	Daventry, E. of *Nottingham.*	
26	Spelbury, E. of *Litchfield.*	E. of Middlesex.
	Patersham, E. of Guilford, D. Lauderdale.	
	Pontefract, D. of Northumberland.	
27	Dartmouth, E. of Plymouth.	B. Trowbridge.
	Settrington, D. of *Richmond.*	
	Cranfield, E. Middlesex, merged in Dorset.	
28	Norris of Ricot, E. *Abingdon*, claim allowed by descent from E. Berks, and placed accordingly.	
	Heddington, D. of St *Albans.*	B. Stanhope of Harrington.
29	Throwley, E. of Feversham.	B. Grey.
	Ferrers, E. *Ferrers*, claim allowed, and placed next to Lord Morley.	B. Crofts.
	Baron Mowbray, merged in D. Norfolk.	E. of Norwich.
		E. of Middlesex.
31		B. Duras.
	Grey of Ruthen, E. of *Sussex*, claim	E. of Newport.
32	allowed, and placed next Lord Fitzwalter.	B. Manners.
	Manners, merged in E. Rutland.	E. Marlborough.
	Deincourt, merged in E. Scarsdale.	V. Stafford.
33	Conyers, merged in E. Holderness.	
	Noel, merged in E. Gainsborough.	E. of Plymouth.
	Wootton Basset, E. *Rochester.*	B. Mowbray.
	Lumley, E. of *Scarborough.*	B. Deyncourt.
34	*Carteret.*	E. of Rochester.
	Ossulston, E. *Tankerville.*	B. Fretchville.
	Dartmouth, E. *Dartmouth.*	E. of Guilford.
	Alington.	D. Cumberland, Prince Rupert.
	Thynne, V. *Weymouth.*	B. Noel, merged.
35	*Stawell.*	
36	*Guilford.*	E. of Conway.
	Godolphin, E. of Godolphin.	B. Sandys.
		B. Butler of Moor Park.
		B. Wootton.
		D. of York came to the crown.

II.	*Created, &c.*	*Extinct.*
J. II.	*King James II.*	
1	Baron Dover.	D. of Monmouth.
	Churchill, D. of *Marlborough.*	E. of Arlington.
	Jefferyes.	B. Butler of Weston.
	Waldegrave.†	B. Cromwell.
	Tindal, E. of Derwentwater, attainted.	E. of Portland.
3	Bosworth, D. of Berwick, outlawed.	D. of Buckingham.
4	E. of *Stafford.*†	D. of Albemarle.
	Griffin, outlawed.	B. Astly.
Wm. and *Mar.*	*King William and Q. Mary.*	
1	Baron Oking, D. of Cumberland, Prince George of Denmark.	B. Bellasyse.
	Cirencester, D. of *Portland.*	Conyers.
	Baron Milton, E. of Rumney.	
	Cholmondeley, E. of *Cholmondeley.*	
	Teyes, D. of *Schomberg.*	
	Herbert, E. of Torrington.	
	Ashburnham.	
2	Willoughby of Eresby, merged in Linsey.	
	Berkley, merged in E. Berkeley.	
	Sidney, merged in E. of Leicester.	
	Granville, merged in E. of Bath.	
	Osborn, merged in D. of Leeds.	
	Clifford, merged in E. of Burlington.	B. Herbert of Cherbury.
3	Villiers, E. of *Jersey.*	D. of Newcastle.
4	Capel.	B. Alington.
	Lempster.	E. of Strafford.
5	*Weston,* E. of Arran in Ireland.	
	Raby, E. of *Stafford,* by descent from E. Strafford, and placed next Lord Mohun.	B. Holles.
7	*Herbert of Cherbury.*	D. of Berwick.
	Willoughby of Brook, claim allowed and placed next to Lord Stourton.	E. Craven.
	Craven, by descent from E. of Craven, and placed before Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.	
8	*Haversham.*	B. Clifford.
		B. Morley.
		E. of Monmouth.
9	Enfield, E. of of *Rochford.*	B. Capel.
	Ashford, E. of *Albemarle.*	

Wm. and *Mar.*	*Created, &c.*	*Extinct.*
	Lowther, V. *Lonsdale.*	
	Russel E. of *Orford.*	
	Summers.	
10	*Barnard.*	E. of Bristol.
		B. Ward.
		B. Sidney.
		B. Berkeley.
	Alford, E. of *Grantham.*	M. of Hallifax.
12	Hallifax, E. of *Hallifax.*	B. Willoughby of Eresby.
		E. Macclesfield.
		B. Granville.

Anne.	*Queen Anne.*	
1	Baron Granville.	M. Powys.
	Gernsey, E. of *Aylesford.*	B. Jefferyes.
	Gower.	E. of Oxford.
	Conway.	B. Dover.
	Harvey, E. of *Bristol.*	B. Griffin.
3	Berkeley, merged in E. Berkeley.	E. of Rumney.
4	Chatham, D. Argyle in Scotland, E. of *Greenwich.*	B. Carrington.
		B. Lucas.
	Duke of Cambridge, *Prince of Wales.*	B. Grey of Werk.
	Cowper, E. *Cowper.*	B. Eure.
	Pelham, D. of *Newcastle.*	B. Jermyn and Dover.
		D. of Cumb. Pr. Geo. of Denmark.
	Chesterford, E. of Bindon, merged in E. Suffolk.	B. Granville.
10	Harley, E. of *Oxford.*	
	[*Compton*, will merge in E. Northampton.]	B. Gerard Bromley.
	Clifton, claim allowed, and placed next Lord Dormer.	E. of Feversham.
	[*Bruce*, will merge in E. Aylesbury.]	
	Harcourt.	
	Boyle, E. Orrery in Ireland.	
	Hay, Lord Duplin in Scotland.	
	Mountjoy, V. Windsor in Ireland.	
	Burton, merged in E. Uxbridge.	
	Mansel.	
	Middleton.	
	Trevor.	
	Lansdown.	
	Massam.	
	Bathurst.	E. Bindon.
11	St John, V. Bolingbroke, attainted.	B. Berkeley.
	[*Osborn*, will merge in D. Leeds.]	D. of Newcastle.
		E. of Bath.

Ann.	*Created, &c.*	*Extinct.*
12	*Bingley.*	B. Mohun.
	Foley.	B. Vaughan.
		B. Osborn.
		B. Clifton.
		B. Burton.

Geor. *King George.*

1	Vis. *Tadcaster.* E. Thomond in Ireland.	E. Escrick.
	Baron Sanderson, V. *Castleton.*	D. of Ormonde.
	Harborough, V. *Sherard.*	Visc. Bolinbroke.
	Pierrepoint.	B. Pierrepoint.
	Carleton.	
	Cobham, V. *Cobham.*	
	[*Willoughby* of *Erseby*, will merge in D. of Ancaster.]	
	[*Lumley*, will merge in E. of Scarborough]	
2	*Parker.*	E. of Derwenwater.
	Coningesby.	B. Widdrington.
		E. of Torrington.
		B. Somers.
	Onslow.	D. of Northumberland.
	Torrington.	
	Cadogan, E. of *Cadogan.*	
	Romney.	
	Newburgh.	
	Battersea, V. St. *John.*	
	Duke of *York.*	
3	Baron Stanhope, E. *Stanhope.*	
4	[St *John* of *Basing*, will merge in D. of Bolton.]	
5	[*Lucas* of *Crudwell*, will merge in D. of Kent.]	

King James the First found the
Peerage 59

	Created, &c.	*Extinct*	*Added*
K. Charles I.	59	21	38
K. Charles II.	64	53	11
K. James II.	8	8	0
K. William and Q. Mary.	30	21	9
Q. Anne.	30	24	6
K. George.	20	10	10
	332	154	119

Deduct Ext. 154

Remains 178

The present List

The Prince and the Duke	2
Dukes	22
Earls	73
Viscounts	13
Barons	68
	178
Archbishops and Bishops	26
Peers on the Part of Scotland	16
	220

A List of Counties and Boroughs which returned Members to Parliament, at the Time of the Accession of King Henry VIII. to the Crown

Bedfordshire
Bedford
Berkshire
New Windsor
Reading
Wallingford
Bucks
Chipping Wicomb
Cambridgeshire
Cambridge Town
Cornwall
Dunhivid, *alias* Launceston
Leskard
Lestwithiel
Truro
Bodmin
Helston
Cumberland
Carlisle-City
Derbyshire
Derby
Devonshire
Exeter City
Totness
Plymouth
Barnstaple
Plympton
Tavistock
Clifton Dartmouth Hardness
Dorsetshire
Pool
Dorchester
Lyme-Regis
Weymouth
Melcomb-Regis
Bridport
Shafton, *alias* Shaftesbury
Wareham
Essex
Colchester
Malden
Gloucestershire
Gloucester City
Herefordshire
Hereford City
Lempster
Hertfordshire
Huntingdonshire
Huntingdon
Kent
Canterbury City
Rochester City
Lancashire
Leicestershire
Leicester
Lincolnshire
Lincoln City
Great Grimsby
Stamford
Grantham
Middlesex
City of London
Norfolk
Norwich City
Lynn-Regis
Great Yarmouth
Northamptonshire
Northampton
Northumberland
Newcastle upon Tyne
Nottinghamshire
Nottingham
Oxon
Oxon City
Rutlandshire
Salop
Salop Town
Bruges, *alias* Bridgnorth
Ludlow
Great Wenlock
Somersetshire
Bristol City
Bath City
Wells City
Taunton
Bridgwater
Southampton
Winchester City
Southampton Town
Portsmouth
Staffordshire
Stafford
Newcastle under Line
Suffolk
Ipswich
Dunwich
Surry
Southwark
Blechingly
Ryegate
Guilford
Gatton

Sussex
Chichester City
Horsham
Midhurst
Lewes
New Shoreham
Bramber
Steyning
East Grinsted
Arundel
Warwickshire
Coventry City
Warwick
Westmoreland
Apulby
Wiltshire
City of New Sarum
Wilton
Downeton
Hindon
Heitesbury
Westbury
Calne
Devizes
Chippenham
Malmesbury
Cricklade
Great Bedwin
Lurgershall
Old Sarum
Wotton-Basset
Marlborough
Worcestershire
Worcester City
Yorkshire
York City
Kingston upon Hull
Scarborough
(*Cinque Ports*)
Port of Hastings
Port of Dover
Port of Sandwich
Port of Hyeth
Port of New Romney
Town of Rye
Town of Winchelsea.

Counties and boroughs 147, members 296.

A List of Counties and Boroughs to whom the Privilege of sending Representatives to Parliament was granted or restored by,

King Henry VIII.

Buckingham Town
Cheshire
Chester City
Monmouth
Monmouth Town
Berwick upon Tweed
Orford
Anglesey
Beaumaris
Brecon
Town of Brecon
Cardigan
Town of Cardigan
Carmarthen
Town of Carmarthen
Carnarvan
Town of Carnarvan
Denbigh
Town of Denbigh
Flint
Town of Flint
Glamorgan
Town of Cardiffe
Merioneth
Montgomery
Town of Montgomery
Pembroke
Town of Pembroke
Town of Haverford West
Radnor
Town of New Radnor
Calais in France
Counties and Boroughs 32
Members 38

King Edward VI.

Saltash
Camilford
Portpigham, *alias* Westlow
Grampound
Bossiney
St Michael
Newport
St Alban's
Maidstone, which forfeited its privileges under Queen Mary, by adhering to Wyat's rebellion.
Preston
Lancaster
Wigan
Liverpool
Boston
Westminster
Thetford
Peterborough
Brackley
Petersfield
Litchfield
Heydon
Thirsk
Boroughs 22
Members 44

Queen Mary.

Abingdon
Ailesbury
Penryn
St Ives
Castlerising
Higham Ferrars
Morpeth
Woodstock
Banbury
Droitwich
Knaresborough

Rippon
Borroughbridge
Alborough
Boroughs 14
Members 25

Queen Elizabeth.

Eastlow
Tregoney
Fowey
St Germains
St Mawes
Kellington
Beralston
Corfe Castle
Maidstone
Queenborough
Newtown
Clithero
East Redford
Bishops Castle
Minehead
Yarmouth
Newport in the Isle of Wight
Stockbridge
Newton
Christ-Church
Lymington
Whitchurch
Andover
Tamworth
Aldborough
Sudbury
Eye
Haslemere
Richmond
Beverly
Boroughs 31
Members 62

King James I.

Agmondesham
Wendover
Great Marlow
Cambridge University
Tiverton
Harwich
Tewkesbury
Hertford
Oxford University
Ilchester
St Edmonsbury
Evesham
Bewdley
Pontefract
Boroughs 14
Members 27

From a bare Inspection of the Lists the following Observations will naturally arise.

That King Henry the VIII. who had great opposition to struggle with in establishing the Reformation, first thought of strengthening his hands by either restoring or granting (mostly by act of parliament) to counties and boroughs, the right of sending representatives to the House of Commons, whose numbers till then had continued much the same.

That this method was pursued by his successors, and acquiesced in upon the evident necessity there was to recur to extraordinary means for carrying on the great affairs then in agitation till such time as that necessity ceasing, the nation was alarmed by the continuance of the same practice under King James the First, who besides took an unusual liberty in erecting boroughs of his own authority, that never had enjoyed any right of sending members to parliament.

That this prince perceiving likewise this practice of erecting boroughs was not entirely to be relied on, since he could have no certainty of their returning always such members as might be agreeable to him, made use of another expedient to influence parliaments by creating new peers, having in a reign of 22 years created 62, which is about nine times as many as Queen Elizabeth had done, whose reign was twice as long.

That as our constitution cannot be preserved unless a balance of power is maintained between the several branches of our government, there is a necessity of restraining this practice of conferring honours with so liberal a hand, which in a late glaring instance we have seen used to very bad purposes; and if this method be pursued by ministries to overturn the measures of their predecessors, their frequent changes will occasion such a number of creations, that no man can tell where it will end, unless the king's most gracious offer be accepted, which is the first instance that perhaps was ever known of a prince's freely consenting to a limitation of his prerogative, in order to secure the liberty of his subjects.

That notwithstanding the limitation proposed, yet the frequent extinctions of fami-

lies will sufficiently make room for the crown to bestow honour upon commoners of distinguished merit.

The learned and ingenious author of a pamphlet entituled, The Plebeian,[1] would oblige the publick by exhibiting a catalogue of the corporations which Queen Elizabeth exonerated from sending members, and by shewing the wealth of many of those she restored.

Reasons for Taxing the Public Funds. 1716.

During the preceding reign of Queen Anne, the monied interest, as it was called, was the perpetual object of jealousy to the landed gentlemen, who complained that the great proprietors of stock acquired wealth during the course of the war, while the expences were defrayed by the landed property. To equalize this burthen, the author of the following scheme, forgetful of the delicate nature of public credit, and the scrupulous attention due to preserve good faith with the national creditor, proposes a tax upon the public funds.

A tax upon the funds, in proportion to that on land, will bring in about 700,000*l.* per annum, and be raised without any manner of charge to the government, by stopping it in the respective pay-masters hands. Such a tax, added to that on land and malt, will bring in about 3,200,000l. per annum, a sum sufficient for a year's expence, even in a time of war, with frugal management, and our allies keeping up to such stipulations as are, or shall be, made with them. If our troubles were at an end, our expences would be so much lessened, that half the same taxes on the funds and land, with that on the malt, will serve our ordinary occasions. This being granted, we may maintain a foreign war for ever, without loading the people with any new taxes; and as the time shall expire for which the present funds are already granted, so shall the burthen be lessened that we now labour under. If we go on to create new taxes for terms of years the nation will be undone, and we must sink under the burthen of them. Let me ask any considerate person, if in time of war he had not better pay 20l. out of 100l. and in time of peace only 10l. than run the risque of losing his whole? The monied interest will make near 5l. per cent. of their money in time of war; and in time of peace near 5l. 10s by purchasing in the funds, though the above taxes should be laid; which is much more than the landed interest can make, even if their lands were tax-free. The landed interest hath paid, in thirty years past, almost half as much again as their estates are worth, for the support of the war; in which time, the monied interest hath paid nothing at all. One great reason of the decay of trade is, the merchants can make so large interest of their money in the funds, that they do not think it worth while to run the hazards of the seas, when they make so much of their money at home, without any hazard. As to the common objections, that they were granted tax-free, and it would be the ruin of public credit to break in upon acts of parliament,

[1] Sir Richard Steele opposed the peerage bill, in a paper called The Plebeian, which, however, has been ascribed by Oldmixon to William Benson, Esq. Steele felt the hand of power upon this occasion, the lord chamberlain having revoked his license for acting plays, and rendered ineffectual his patent for the Theatre in Drury Lane.

'tis easily answered: The power that made those acts are still the same, and may, on the pressing occasions of the state, make any alterations in such acts; or else, all acts of parliament that ever were made, from the beginning of parliaments, would be still in force. And instead of ruining public credit, it will be a very great addition to it; for when the government can raise in the year the money necessary for the service of the year, all persons having any dealings with them will serve them so much the cheaper for ready money; and a great deal will be saved in unnecessary interest, now paid. Let the monied interest now, like the landed gentlemen, chearfully concur to part with a little for the preservation of the whole. Thus shall they for ever put an end to all invidious distinctions: When the monied and landed interest, with united force, and in equal proportions, assist and support our present happy establishment; when the nation shall be no more mortgaged, and our income shall answer our expence, then shall our estates in the funds be of equal (if not superior) value, to those in the land. Thus doth it undeniably appear, that it is the interest of every person, howsoever largely concerned in the funds, readily to consent to the taxing of them, rather than burthen the nation with any new taxes.

A Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Justice King, on his Lordship's being designed a Peer. Printed in the Year 1726.

Lord Chief Justice King was called to the peerage 29th May, 1725, by the title of Lord King Baron of Ockham, in the county of Surrey, and was soon afterwards declared lord high chancellor. His promotion gave rise to the following Essay upon Mottoes, which was printed in the subsequent year. That chosen by Lord King was, *Labor ipse voluptas*, a device well adapted to his deep skill in a laborious profession.

My Lord,

When I first presumed to make publick the following private letter to your lordship, it was at the instigation of a few friends, who think, that the newness of the subject, and the manner in which it was treated, might give some amusement to the publick, and no just offence to your lordship. In searching after a motto for your lordship (which is the subject of it) I was naturally led to have the outlines and principal strokes of your great character before me. And if, in return to the kind reception the world gave it, I now further presume to publish it a second time, I do it as an acknowledgment, which I, as one of the great community of the nation (whom you have so highly obliged, and are daily obliging, in the constant display you make of your exalted character for its service) owe you. My lord, honours and stations, however great they may respectively be, are not an adequate recompence for great merit. Experience in all ages shews us, that honours in themselves are not always honourable; they are of an equivocal nature, and add no merit where they find none. Then only do they yield real dignity to the person on whom they are conferred, when they will admit of reasons for conferring them. Hence it was, that preambles to patents of creation were first introduced; which still remains the noblest decoration of true merit, and at the

same time (it must be owned) the surest indication of that which counterfeit. This justice (I mean of a particular preamble) which you owed your other virtues, your lordship was pleased to suffer the superior influence of one to prevent. But you will, my lord, I hope pardon me (I am sure the publick will) if I am humbly of opinion, that your lordship should not have exerted this single virtue in so eminent a manner, to the prejudice of the rest that constitute your noble character. A detail, as is usual, drawn up by a masterly hand, of the great ingredients in your lordship's character (whilst the world knew you possessed them) would have been of use, as it would have been of example, to mankind, and no possible disservice to your lordship. And since this was not done, by your own leave, in its proper place, I truly think it ought (for the honour of our country) to be done without it. I own myself absolutely unequal for such a task. To express that which so strongly strikes the observation of every body with a suitable lustre, (however desirous I might be of it,) is far beyond the reach of my pen. But, as in the pursuit of the subject of the following letter I was naturally led to touch on some of the principal virtues, which have rendered you what you are, and however imperfect the sketch may be, thinking it some merit to the publick, to have the will to do so great an ornament of it justice, I have consented to the publishing it a second time. If in so doing I be thought to have erred; whilst it was the honouring your lordship I had in view, I have the comfort at least of knowing, I have erred with the people.

Serus in cœlum redeas, diuque,
Lætus intersis populo Britanno,

Will ever be the unfeigned prayer of,
My Lord,
Your lordship's
Most obliged, and most
London, Feb. 14. 1725-6. Obedient, humble servant,
ROBERT WHATLEY.

MY LORD, *Christmas-Eve*, 1724.

It would argue very great inattention in me towards the public, should I let pass any thing unobserved which regards your lordship; who make so considerable a figure in it, and to whom nothing can really happen that does not considerably affect it. And to find myself no ways concerned in what passes, with respect to your lordship, would argue an indifference altogether inconsistent with sincere devotion, wherewith I have had my heart filled for you, ever since I have had the honour of your acquaintance.

Besides the general talk of the town, I have two so good authorities for your lordship's being to be made a peer, from two of your very good friends, that I can no longer doubt it, and it was not long I was convinced of the truth of it, before a thought came into my mind, by pursuing which, I perceived I might possibly be of some use to you, and at the same time give your lordship an instance in little, of what I should be very ready, were I able, to do in greater matters. My lord, the thought which came into my mind on this occasion, was to find out a motto for your coat of arms, which custom has now made very near as necessary to write under them, as the distinction of your new quality will oblige you to set over them a coronet. This I conceived too trifling a subject for your lordship's thought, and therefore have I presumed to make it the employment of my own.

I have, on this occasion, run over most of the mottoes of our nobility, in order to

see whence they have been usually taken, as well as considered the nature of a motto in itself. A motto was originally designed to contain an allusion to the real or assumed character of the person that wore it, taken either from the offices he bore, or the circumstances of them, or the particular sentiments of his mind, or manner of life, which he either was or desired to be most noted for. In looking over these of our nobility, I have found them of a very various nature, and of as different an excellency. And I can't avoid giving your lordship a sketch, with a very short comment, of them, as I go along. And the first which I shall instance in will be such, which, taken from the names of the great persons who bear them, and terminating in pun or quibble only, shew a very bad taste in those who first assumed them. Such are,

[1] *Cavendo Tutus*——Cavendish.
Piè reponte Te——Pierrepoint.
Ne vile Fano——Fane, descended from the Nevils.
Ne vile velis——Nevil.
Forte scutum Salus Ducum——Fortescue.
Manus justa nardus——Maynard.
Templa quam dilecta——Temple, Lord Cobham.

And such a one might easily be framed for your lordship from the equivoque of your name in Latin; as,

A Rege pro Rege.

But I look on these, as I have said, to savour of a very bad taste; there being nothing more decayed, as to matters of writing or speaking in the present age, nor I think more justly, than any thing founded on a pun. They may indeed, for ought I know, serve to shew the antiquity of the families of those who bear them, but I am sure they do not the antiquity of their sense.

Another sort, not much better than these, plain simple expressions of some one particular virtue, which does no more peculiarly belong to the owners of it, than to any other person whatsoever. Such are,

[2] *Sola Virtus invicta*——Norfolk.
[3] *Aut nunquam tentes aut perfice*——Dorset.
[4] *Virtus in Actione consistit*——Craven.
[5] *Je me fie en Dieu*——Plymouth.
[6] *La Vertu est la seule Noblesse*——North and Grey.

Another sort, not much superior to these, are a short recommendation of some particular virtue, either to the world in general, or to their posterity in particular, without any point in them. As

[7] *Aymez Loyaulté*——Bolton.
[8] *Maintien le Droit*——Chandos.

[1] *i. e.* My name is Cavendish, and I have chosen *Cavendo Tutus* for my motto, not because I really think there is any more safety in being wary (which is its meaning) than in any other virtue, but because *Cavendo* and Cavendish sound alike. And so of all the rest.
[2] True virtue alone unconquerable.
[3] Resolve to finish what you take in hand, or not set about it at all.
[4] Virtue is active. [5] My trust is in God. [6] 'Tis virtue only that truly ennobleth.
[7] Be loyal. [8] Defend what is right.—*Orig. Notes.*

[1] *Garde la Foy*——Paulet.
[2] *Suivez Raison*——Montacute.

Not to trouble your lordship with too many of a sort, the next which I shall instance in, are such as are barely expressive of some particular favourite sentiment of the person who gave it: And such was the late Duke of Marlborough's, who thought fit to express it in Spanish, to give it, I suppose, an elevation it had perhaps wanted in any other tongue.

Fiel pero Desdechado,

which signifies as much, if I am rightly informed, that he would continue faithful, although he should have reason to be disgusted, or to think his services slighted. I am sorry, by the way, his Grace was put to the trial of it.

Others of this sort are,

[3] *Comiter sed fortiter*——late Bucks.
[4] *Vicit amor Patriæ*——Newcastle.
[5] *Stemmata quid faciunt*——Windsor.
[6] *Semper fidelis*——Your lordship's neighbour, Lord Onslow's.

There are many more of this sort, some of which are very good, and others very ordinary.

But the best of all are such as convey to the mind something of the character of the person who bears it, or first assumed it; and the more it has of this, both of his general and of his particular character, the clearer and conciser it is expressed, the better it will be. It has been likewise thought, that it would be still better if the words made a part of a verse. But this is not so very necessary to its being good, but that if it be very clearly and emphatically expressed and concise, it will do without it. I have found few or none expressive of the general and particular character. Those which follow are of the latter sort only.

Pax in Bello.

This was the late Duke of Leeds's, and no doubt designed by him to express the situation of affairs when he was prime minister, and had the dignity first conferred on him; which was our being at peace, and our neighbours in war.

[7] *Soyez ferme*——late Lord Rochester's.
[8] *Otium cum Dignitate*——late Lord Hallifax's.
[9] *Frangas non flectes*——late Lord Gower's..
[10] *Nec quærere nec spernere honorem*——A very good one of the present Lord St John, but that it is too long. Of this sort, but considered in another light, is that my Lord Walpole bears, with allusion to his great father's masterly talent.

[1] Be faithful. [2] Let reason be your guide.
[3] I am resolved always to appear civil, easy, and obliging; but, however, to see that I have my own will.
[4] The love of my country has been superior.
[5] What signifies an empty word,
His Grace, His Highness, or My Lord?
'Tis virtue stamps the character,
And gives a lustre to the star.
[6] I will never swerve from my duty. [7] Be steady or resolved.
[8] I have obtained what I longed for, an honourable leisure.
[9] Break me you may perhaps, but you sha'n't make me bend. [10] I despise not the honour I am now possessed of, no more than I was over-solicitous about it before I had it conferred on me.

Fari quæ sentiat.

But the best of all are those which, as I have said, allude to both the general and particular characters of the persons that wear them, with elegance, perspicuity, and conciseness. And this I have had in view, in thinking on one proper for your lordship. And in order to arrive at this the better, I have more particularly observed those which have been assumed by such whose eminence in your lordship's profession, procured them their peerage. But I have scarce found one that comes up, as I would have it, to the description I have given of the best sort.

Lord Lechmere's is,

Ducet Amor Patriæ.

A motto worthy his lordship, and excellently good, as far as it goes, in expressing his great character. But it is imperfect. One may see in it indeed his lordship's great spirit of patriotism, and love to his country, very emphatically expressed. And there's a refinement in the words, by which a common thought has great force and energy added to it, and quite a new motto is constituted of the same sentiment, used by others. Not *Vicit*, not *Ducit Amor Patriæ*; the first of these implying a possibility of a man's having entertained a doubt, whether any other consideration should not come in competition with his love to his country; and the latter answering for a man's being influenced by it for the present only. Wherefore my lord has most appositely made use of the word in the future tense, DUCET *Amor Patriæ*. The love of one's country and constitution WILL carry a man forth to exert himself with his utmost eloquence, force, and spirit in the service of so glorious a cause. It will, my lord, constrain him to do so. But notwithstanding these are beauties, it is defective. It carries in it no manner of allusion to the honourable profession of which his lordship was so very great an ornament. And his eminency in which was at first the foundation of his lordship's grandeur, as the extensive knowledge of the laws and constitution of his country must be acknowledged to be at present its greatest support.

The present lord chancellor's is

Sapere aude,

which is put for, Dare to be honest: Implying, by a pretty hard construction, I think, as the world goes, that to be wise is to be honest. Such a motto, I must own, is no great compliment to the age in which it is assumed. As if difficulties lay in a man's way to be honest, that he must exert an extraordinary degree of courage to be so. Neither is it any great compliment to the person who assumes it, if he lives in an age where he incurs no danger if he be honest. But, perhaps, his lordship assumed it with a retrospect to his behaviour in the late queen's time.

Lord Treyor's is a family motto, and so is Lord Harcourt's, only I can't but observe as I go along, that the Lord Harcourt was in the right to keep to that of his ancestors; for it contains a very happy allusion to what will make a very shining part of his lordship's character. It is, *Le bon Tems viendra*. It teemed for many years with a prophecy, which we see very happily accomplished in his lordship's person.

Tuum est,

a motto that had no manner of reference to his lordship's publick or private character; and a man must have a particular acquaintance with Horace to know it has any meaning. But what that meaning was, which was designed for it by his lordship when

he fixed it under his shield, whether he designed to make his acknowledgments to God, the queen, or himself, whatever the presumptions may be, is to me uncertain.

[1] *Prodesse quam Conspici*

of Lord Somers, is a very good one, but not compleatly so, because however expressive of a famous part of his private character, there's no eye in it to what his lordship's rise was owing to. [2]

[3] *Animo et fide*——Guilford.
[4] *Nil conscire sibi*——Nottingham.
[5] *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*——Clarendon.

I shall go no higher than the Restoration; and not to lengthen my letter unnecessarily, I leave your lordship to observe how far these latter are expressive, or fall short, of the general and particular character, or both, of the noble persons who assumed them.

The best I have met with, or at least that have pleased me most, in the whole list that I have seen of those of our nobility in general, are three very modern ones: One of the late Earl of Oxford,

[6] *Virtute et fide.*

Another the present Earl Cadogan's,

[7] *Qui invidet minor est.*

These two have not the advantage of being part of a verse, and yet are excellent. The first, with some abatements to his wilful demerits, very properly expressive of the foundation on which so great a man might desire to be thought to build up his fortunes. And the other a very happy admonition on account of the sentiments which the seeing his lordship among the peers of his country might raise in the mind of many of the beholders.

The third is of the late Vicount Bolingbroke,

[8] *Nil admirari;*

a most excellent sentiment for a young statesman to set out with, though I am afraid little understood at that time by the then noble person who wore it. But his late lordship was not the only person who in those times, to express myself in a noble [9] author's words, gave that admiration to "Equipages, titles, precedencies, staffs, ribbons,

[1] I take more delight in being useful to mankind, than in being seen to be so.

[2] Of the same nature as this of Lord Somers, his lordship's great predecessor, is that which my Lord Chancellor has chosen,——*Labor ipse Voluptas.*——They are both very good as far as they go, but labour both under the same imperfection, of containing but a very Synecdochical allusion to the greatness of their lordships respective characters.

[3] Courage and fidelity. [4] To be conscious of no guilt. [5] We owe our present happy circumstances to God.

[6] Through faith in God's blessing and my own endeavours. (To give any other sense to this motto would be divesting it of its greatest beauty.)

[7] Whoever envies me my honours, that very envy makes him myi nferior.

[8] To have no more esteem for any thing than the thing deserves.

[9] Lord Shaftsbury's Characteristicks, vol. iii. p. 169.—*Orig. Notes.*

and other such glittering ware, which is alone due to inward merit, honour and a character," though he happened by his motto professedly to avow he would not.[1]

And as there are favourable mottoes, so likewise may there be satirical ones; two of which sort I shall lay before your lordship, as they have a tendency to express my notion of good ones, and carry in them the best explanation of my meaning.

The first is one, as I remember, applied to the late Earl of Oxford, in the height of his lordship's glory,

[2] *Oderint dum metuant.*

The other,

Optat Ephippia Bos.

As both these carry a sting along with them, and represent the persons they were designed for in a bad light, so ought the contrary sort to represent, in as agreeable a manner, the party in a good one.

I come now to offer to your lordship, what has occurred to my thoughts in relation to yourself; and I shall mention four sentences, though I am afraid, from something that will lie in the way of one of them, I shall leave you the choice but of three. The first then that I shall propose, is,

[3] *In Recto Decus,*

a motto that must be universally allowed to be most worthy of your lordship, and most suited to your great character, of any that can be thought on. There's a beauty in the expression that is inimitable; and there is none, no, not even yourself, that can deny the sense of it to have been the governing principle of your life. I was wonderfully delighted with it, as it occurred to my thoughts: But the words not appearing new to me, and not recollecting any author where I had read them, it came into my mind, that this, though little known in England, I thought an objection that would, when known, prevent its being a candidate, with the rest I have to propose, for your lordship's choice.

And here, my lord, I can't avoid going a little out of my way, while I observe to you, as well this, as two other very lovely mottoes, which I found his majesty's electoral coin graced with, while I was in his German dominions. This, which I have instanced in, is peculiar to his majesty's own coin, and which bears his own image. And how, my lord, does it speak the man? *In Recto Decus.* Was there ever an honester man, or a juster application! That on the king's father's coin, the late elector's, was

[4] *Sola bona quæ honesta.*

And that on his uncle's the late Duke of Zell's,

[5] *Quo Fas et Gloria ducunt.*

[1] To the foregoing three I shall add a fourth, which was unknown to me at the writing this letter; and that is,

Spectemur agendo——the present Duke of Montagu's,

which, whatever light we consider it in, whether of expression, sense, or fitness to the due or real character of the great person who wears it, is truly excellent.

[2] Let them hate on, so as they do but fear me too. [3] The highest grace is integrity. [4] That is only lawful which is just.

[5] I am ready to follow glory wherever it lies, provided it be within the boundaries of justice and true honour.

Orig. Notes.

Your lordship, and all the world, know how his majesty's suits his own character; and I learnt abroad how fitly chosen those were of his renowned uncle and father; two princes whom even his majesty's amiable character scarce hinders those people from remembering with pleasure and regret.

But taking leave of this agreeable digression, with congratulating my country, (if it be true, what I have somewhere read, that it is a much greater compliment to the characters of princes, because more rare, for them to possess the virtues of private persons, than those royal ones which are peculiar to their exalted stations) I say, congratulating my country that we have a prince on the throne, in his personal integrity, so like your lordship, as that the same motto, in this respect, would; by the consent of all men, fit you both: I take leave of this digression, and return to propose to your lordship the next which has offered itself to my thoughts while I was employing them on this subject, which, as it comes not much behind the former, in an applicable fitness to your character, so one may the better bear the disappointment in offering that for your lordship's use on this occasion. It is

[1] *Est modus in Rebus*——

The following words

[2] ——*Sunt certi denique Fines,*
Quos ultra citráque consistere Rectum,

explain the former, and confine their meaning. And this, I think, must be allowed a very good one. It has even a beauty in it which the other wants, as it is part of a known verse; and it falls but little short of it in expressing your excellent character, which has made you so distinguished among the great men your contemporaries; I mean your known moderation and impartiality, that you never went, nor have it in your nature to go, to any extremes; but it has no relation to your publick character, with respect to the place you are now in, though I can't but say it would have a very apt one in a more exalted station; where, less confined to a set rule, your determinations must be moderated by the equity of your own mind.

My third is a couple of words of my own putting together, and which, in their meaning, are very near akin to the former, viz.

[3] *Vincit Ratio.*

This is likewise very apposite to your lordship, as you are known to have suffered yourself, at all times, to be governed by reason. This is short, clear, and expressive of your private one. Both these will do very well if none could be hit on that will express both it and your publick character, of a judge, or a lord chancellor, should it be written in the book of fate, or be the will of heaven, for the good of your country, that you should ever honour that dignity. And I think there has occurred to my thoughts one which has all the foregoing excellencies in it; it is short, clear, expressive of your private character, and no party man, and of your judicial character too; it has a meaning both for the wise and for the simple, and is part of a Latin verse: It is

[4] *Discite Justitiam.*

It is part of a noted verse in Virgil's sixth Eneid: That expresses at once to the eye

[1] There's a mean in all things. [2] What is just and honest is so only at a certain extent, if you go beyond, or come short of which, the nature of your action is altered. [3] Reason rules me.
[4] Learn to be just.—*Orig. Notes.*

of the world your lordship's known character of being inviolably disposed to do justice to every body; which has made you so much the darling of your country, in the post you are in, and has excited such an universal longing, as is known to every body but yourself, to see you Lord Chancellor. It bears likewise a manifest allusion, implying an admonition to your latest posterity to mind the law; which profession was the foundation of their great ancestor's honour. And it most aptly expresses your character as a member of the legislature to all those, at least, who know that justice is the great cardinal virtue on which all other, but particularly political matters, ought to turn: The love of which must have alone given birth to that known integrity of judgment and action which your lordship has been ever famous for through the whole course of your life; and which, joined to a great amiability of manners, must have chiefly occasioned that unfeigned union of all men's minds in taking part, and in rejoicing in your lordship's honour. It has my choice preferably to the rest, for a further reason, which is, because although two words compose the motto, and fix the sense; yet most people who know any thing, will thereby be put in mind of the remaining part of the verse, which refers to an admirable, and, as the age goes, a very distinguishing part of your lordship's great character, and that is, your open and avowed piety and reverence for your Maker.

[1] *Discite Justitiam, moniti, et non temnere Divos.*

Finally, I know but two objections can be made against it: The first of which is, that the expression is too naked, and has neither point nor spirit in it. The other, as if it carried with it an air of haughty superiority; which if it did, I must own would be very unnatural to your lordship's character.

As to the first, give me leave, my lord, to tell you, that the gravity and dignity of your lordship's character is above the air and fancy of a point. And nothing can, I think, suit more on this occasion, than to make use of some valuable plain precept; which while your shield bears as a precept, your lordship in your own person is a living example of. As to the other objection, that it would look as if you assumed to yourself an elevation above the rest of mankind, by bearing it, and as it were dictated something to your inferiors, there are many mottoes in the imperative, and those that use them are as much supposed to express what they are governed by themselves, as what they would recommend to be practised by others.

I submit all this humbly to your lordship, not doubting of your kind acceptance of the good-will I have shewn of a readiness to be at your lordship's devotion.

In this, my lord, you will never be mistaken. And give me leave to say it, (and God knows my heart that it is true) that I shall ever think myself happier in being any ways subservient to your lordship, from the pleasure I shall have in being so, out of the great observance I bear you, than from any temporary interest your favour may ever occasion me. Should your advancement, my lord, terminate on your being made a peer, or should the world be mistaken in thinking this a prelude to something greater still, you are by being made a peer, *ipso facto*, a minister of state, and will have it, in some measure, as well in your power as in your will to serve your friends.

As for myself, my lord, (for whom I hope you will indulge me one word in so long a letter) I beg leave to acquaint you, that the continuance of your lordship's particular favour (and friendship, I had almost said) is what is uppermost in my thoughts, when I think on this subject. And no expression of your kindness in any way of interest, without that be still subsisting, will ever be in my thoughts a sufficient compensation for the loss of it. For, as for any profit or honour that might accrue to me

[1] Learn Justice, and despise not powers above.—Lauderd.—*Orig. Note.*

on this, or any future occasion, I should look no further on it, than as it would be suitable or becoming to one whom your lordship might not think altogether unworthy of your countenance; and as it might enable me to exert in the course of my life those qualifications, (such as they are) which my genius and education may more particularly have furnished me with. I have a much greater fondness for a great and a good character than for a great, or (what is usually so called) a good fortune. A good character, I am sensible, is only to be attained by myself, by a close attention to my own actions; and a great one will be the natural consequence of your lordship's favour to any one on whom you shall be pleased distinguishingly to confer it. But I beg leave to assure you, that I shall cease to desire a great one by your lordship's means, whenever I shall cease to deserve a good one by my own.

My Lord,

Though the news which gave occasion to this letter was known to me before I left the town, yet I have designedly deferred the writing it till I came into the country. And that not only because I would write it with more leisure, but that you might receive it, as I design you shall, on Christmas-day in the morning. Times and seasons stamp a memory on things which should otherwise go without it. And if your receiving this letter on that day should have the designed effect, I desire it may be always accompanied, in your lordship's mind, with the remembrance of a constant unfeigned devotedness in the writer of it to your lordship's person and service.

With these sentiments I humbly take leave, and subscribe myself,

My lord,
Your lordship's
Most obliged and most obedient
Humble servant,
R. W.

Shepperton, Christmas Eve, 1724.

The following lines appearing to me to be a very beautiful as well as just paraphrase on the motto

Labor ipse Voluptas,

I have thought fit to give them a place in this vacant page. I am sorry I don't know who writ them, that I might give the right owner the honour of them.

On the Lord Chancellor's Motto.

'Tis not the splendour of the place,
The gilded coach, the purse, the mace,
Nor all the pompous train of state,
With crowds that at your levee wait,
That make you happy, make you great.
But whilst mankind you strive to bless
With all the talents you possess,
Whilst the chief joy you do receive
Arises from the joy you give,
This takes the heart, and conquers spite,
And makes the heavy burthen light:
For pleasure rightly understood
Is only labour to do good.

Two Essays on the Balance of Europe. The first written in French by the late Archbishop of Cambray, and translated into English. The second by the Translator of the first Essay. Printed in the Year 1720.

The necessity of maintaining that balance among the states of Europe which has been so fearfully endangered in our own days, did not escape the excellent author of Telemachus; and it is remarkable that the war which is introduced in that poetical romance somewhat resembles that of the allies against Louis XIV.

Essay I.

Neighbouring states are not only obliged to observe towards each other the rules of justice and publick faith; but they are under a necessity, for the security of each, and the common interest of all, to maintain together a kind of society and general commonwealth; for the most powerful will certainly at length prevail and overthrow the rest, unless they unite together to preserve the balance.

It is not to be expected, among men, that a superior power will contain itself within the bounds of an exact moderation, and that it will not employ its force to obtain for itself what advantages it can, by oppressing the weaker. Or if this power should happen to be for some time harmless in the hands of an excellent prince, who could bear such prosperity so well, the wonder, 'tis likely, would cease with his reign: For the natural ambition of princes, the flatteries of their courtiers, and the prejudices of nations themselves, will not suffer us to believe that a people who had it in their power to subdue their neighbours, would abstain from it for any considerable time. A reign conspicuous for such extraordinary justice, would be the ornament of history, and a prodigy not to be looked for again.

We are then to expect, what in reality we see frequently happen, that every nation will seek to prevail over its neighbours; and therefore every nation is obliged, for its proper security, to watch against, and by all means restrain the excessive increase of greatness in any of its neighbours. Nor is this injustice; 'tis to preserve itself and its neighbours from servitude; 'tis to contend for the liberty, tranquillity, and happiness of all in general: For the over-increase of power in any one influences the general system of all the surrounding nations. Thus the successive changes which have happened in the house of Burgundy, and which afterwards raised that of Austria, have altered the face of affairs throughout Europe. All Europe had reason to dread an universal monarchy under Charles V., especially after he had defeated and taken Francis I. at Pavia. 'Tis certain that a nation, having no pretence directly to meddle with the affairs of Spain, had at that time a very good right to oppose that formidable power which appeared ready to swallow up all.

Private men indeed have no right to oppose the increase of their neighbour's wealth, because they cannot pretend it may prove prejudicial or destructive to them. There are laws and magistrates to suppress injustice and violence among families unequal in

power. But the case of commonwealths is different, the overgrowth of one of these may prove the ruin and enslavement of all its neighbours. Here are neither laws nor judges established for a barrier against the invasions of the strongest; they have therefore reason to suppose that the strongest will invade their liberties as soon as there is no force sufficient to oppose them. Each of them may and ought to prevent that increase of power which would endanger the liberty of his own people, and that of all his neighbours. For example, Philip II. of Spain, after he had conquered Portugal, would have made himself master of England. 'Tis true, he had no right that was well founded; but supposing his right to have been incontestible, it was the interest of all Europe to oppose his establishment in England; because so powerful a kingdom, added to his other dominions of Spain, Italy, Flanders, and the Indies, would have enabled him to subject by his maritime force all the other powers of Christendom.[1] In that case the rule must have taken place of *summum jus, summa injuria*; and any particular right by succession or donation, must have given place to the natural law that provides for the security of so many nations. Whatever destroys the just balance, or tends to set up an universal monarchy, can be no other than unjust; however it may be founded on the written laws of a particular country, which can never take place in opposition to the sovereign and universal law of nature for the common security and liberty, engraven in the hearts of all the nations of the world.

When a power is grown to such a pitch that all its neighbours are hardly a match for it, they have an undoubted right to unite for the restraining of that increase, which, were it suffered to proceed, would become too great to be opposed in its attempts on the common liberty. But that such confederacies for restraining the growing power of a state may be lawful, the danger from it must be real and pressing; the league defensive, or no farther offensive than a just and necessary defence requires; and such bounds must be set to it as it may not entirely destroy that power which it was formed only to limit and moderate.

We (in France) have now in view a possible event,[2] when the truth of what we have advanced will be apparent: It is, if the King of Spain should happen to die without issue. I suppose the renunciation of the queen to have been void, and that consequently we have a certain right to the succession of Spain. When once we are become masters of Spain, we shall by consequence have Portugal in our power: All Italy will become a province of our kingdom by Naples and Milan; we shall be absolute masters of the Mediterranean, by Cadiz and the other ports of Spain, by Final, Gayetta, &c. We shall have the key of Holland, and ruin their commerce by Antwerp. Holland being subdued without resistance, we shall become masters of the Channel, and

[1] The example our author brings is very proper. King Philip had in reality designed to make himself an universal monarch; and to that design did we owe the safety of Queen Elizabeth, and consequently the protestant religion: For Philip would not consent to the death of Elizabeth, proposed by her sister Queen Mary, through a zeal for the catholick religion, lest Mary Stuart, who was married to Francis II., should become by succession queen of all Great-Britain, and uniting it to France, should thereby form a power which might frustrate his design of universal monarchy. This is not the only instance wherein this political maxim of the balance, and the mutual jealousy of catholick powers, has proved the security of the protestant interest in Europe. We have seldom seen a popish prince so zealous for his religion as to suffer his rival to aggrandize himself by the ruin of the protestants. But we have sometimes seen even the court of Rome itself trembling for fear of being crushed under the overgrown power of a catholick prince. That court, it seems, is no less concerned than others in maintaining a balance of power in Christendom. Yet this predominancy of the political above the religious views, in the conduct of the states of Europe, does not make it altogether unnecessary for the protestant powers to maintain among themselves a kind of separate virtual union for their security, when there is occasion, in the exercise of their religion, since there are sometimes catholick princes weak enough to be misled by their clergy, and to overlook their obligations and true interests, in promoting their faith by persecution. We have a present example of this in Germany, upon which the protestant powers have in reality acted in concert for the redress of their brethren's wrongs; and amongst them (as is usual on all occasions when the general interest is concerned) the King of Great-Britain has acted a chief part.

[2] This was written before the death of the late King of Spain.—*Orig. Notes.*

all the commerce of Germany and the northern parts: Nothing would hinder us, during some Turkish war, from subduing Germany itself: England would be exposed, with vastly inferior force, to our descents, and durst not withstand us: We should be the tyrants of all Europe. All Europe therefore has a right to concur in excluding us from this succession, at the same time that we are entitled to it by written laws.

This care to maintain a kind of equality and balance among neighbouring nations, is that which secures the common repose; and in this respect such nations, being joined together by commerce, compose, as it were, one great body of community. Christendom, for example, makes a sort of general commonwealth, which has its interests, its dangers, and its policy. All the members of this great body owe to one another for the common good, and to themselves for their particular security, that they oppose the progress of any one member, which may destroy the balance, and tend to the inevitable ruin of the other members. Whatever alters the general system of Europe is dangerous, and draws after it many fatal consequences. The house of Austria began under Charles V. to raise itself above that of France. What wars did that produce! What desolations in all Europe, until the peace of Vervins! Afterwards the house of France became superior by the ministry of Cardinal Richlieu, and then by the reign of the present king. In what troubles and mischiefs have we seen Europe involved above these thirty years, and of the end of which we have yet no prospect!

All neighbouring nations are so connected together by their mutual interests, that the least progress of any one is sufficient to alter the general balance, which makes the security of the whole; as when one stone is taken out of an arch, the whole falls to the ground, because they sustain each other. 'Tis a duty then as natural for neighbouring nations to concur for the common safety against one who grows too powerful, as it is for fellow-citizens to unite against an invader of the liberty of their country. If there is a duty owing by every citizen to his particular society or country, every nation, by the same reason, is obliged to consult the welfare and repose of that universal publick, of which it is a member.

These defensive alliances are then just and necessary, when they are in reality intended to prevent an exorbitant power, such as might be in a condition to subdue all. Nor can that superior power justly come to a rupture with the lesser states, merely upon account of their defensive leagues, which it was their right and their duty to enter into. The justice of these leagues depends on their circumstances: They should be founded on some infractions of the peace, or the seizure of some places of the allies, or some certain ground of the like nature: They ought likewise to be limited by such conditions as may prevent (what we have often seen) one nation's pretending a necessity of reducing another which aspires to universal tyranny, only that itself may succeed in the same design.

The address, as well as justice and faith required in making treaties of alliance, is to frame them as plain as possible, and as remote from an equivocal meaning, and exactly calculated for procuring a certain benefit which you would immediately be possessed of. You must take care that the engagements you lay yourself under, do not reduce your enemy too low, and prove too beneficial to your ally; which may lay you under a necessity either to suffer what may be ruinous to you, or to violate your engagements. And of these 'tis hard to determine which is more fatal.

Let us proceed to reason upon these principles, applying them to Christendom, in which we are most interested.

There are only four cases, or conditions, in which a state may be supposed to be, with respect to its share of power in Europe.

The first is, when it has a force superior to the rest, who nevertheless, uniting together, make a counterpoise to it: Such has been the case of France during the present reign.

The second is, when it has a force absolutely superior to that of all the other united powers: Such was that of the Romans, and that of Charles the Great.

The third is, when it has a force inferior to another, but supports itself by an union with the rest of its neighbours against the predominant power.

Lastly, the fourth is, when it has a force nearly equal to that of another neighbouring state, together with which it maintains all in peace, by a kind of balance which it preserves without ambition and with exact faith.

The state of the Romans and of Charles the Great is by no means eligible.

First, because to arrive at it, you must commit all manner of injustice and violence; seize what is not your own, and that by the most bloody and continued wars. Then the design is very dangerous: States have often perished by these ambitious follies; Spain is a very lively and recent example of this. And, lastly, vast empires, which have been formed by means of so many mischiefs, are generally the occasion of others yet more dreadful by their fall. The first minority, or weak reign, dissolves the overgrown body, and separates the people, yet unaccustomed to the yoke of subjection, or to an entire union. Then what divisions, what confusions, what anarchies, without remedy! To be sensible of this, we need only reflect on the mischiefs brought on the west, by the sudden downfall of the empire of Charles the Great; and on the east, by the subversion of that of Alexander, whose captains made greater havock in sharing the spoils of his victory, than he had done in the conquest of Asia. This then is of all the cases the most dazzling and fallacious, and the most fatal in its consequences to those who arrive at it.

The second case is that of a power superior to any one of the rest, who altogether make a balance against it. The advantage lies on the side of the superior power, in that it is united, simple, not subject to controul, uniform and certain in its measures. But if it be not able to disunite the rest, by exciting jealousies among them, it must at length be overpowered, and all its superior force dwindle away; 'tis exposed to so many unlooked-for accidents within itself, or to be suddenly overthrown by invasions from abroad. Then it exerts itself to no purpose in destructive efforts for a superiority, which can afford it no real advantage, and which exposes it to all manner of disgraces and dangers. This is certainly the most wretched state of all, especially because all the most surprising prosperity can give it is, that it should pass into that first condition which we have already found to be unjust and pernicious.

The third case is that of a power inferior to another, which yet being united to the rest of Europe, makes a balance against the superior, and becomes the security of all the lesser states. This condition has its inconveniences, but it is less hazardous than the former; because 'tis on the defensive, it wastes itself less, it has its allies, and is generally in that state of inferiority, void of the blind inconsiderate presumption which is incident to the fortunate, and so often brings on the fall of the most prosperous states. Provided the inferior state be discreet and moderate, firm to its allies, and cautious not to give them the least ground of mistrust, nor to do any thing but in concert with them, and for the common good, it will be able to contend with the superior power, and at length reduce it.

The fourth case is that of a power equal to another, with which it maintains the balance, through a regard to the publick security. This condition, without any ambitious attempts to alter it, is the wisest and happiest of all: You are the common arbiter; all your neighbours are your friends; or such as are not so, are therefore suspected by the rest: You do nothing which does not appear to have been intended for the good of your neighbours, as well as of your own people: You add daily to your own strength; and when at length you come, as you cannot fail by a wise government to do, to have more force at home, and more alliances abroad than the power which is jealous of yours, then you must establish the more that prudent moderation with which you have ever

maintained the balance for the common security, and be ever mindful of the mischiefs which are caused by great conquests, in the conquering state itself, as well as in the vanquished; of the danger of attempting them in vain, of the vanity, injustice, and short duration of great empires, with the calamities which attend their fall.

But as it is not to be expected that a power superior to all others can long maintain itself at that height, it would become a wise and just prince not to be ambitious of transmitting such a power to his successors, who probably will not be so moderate as himself, nor so able to bear a continual and violent temptation of establishing to himself a more sensible superiority. For the good therefore of his successors and his people, he ought to confine himself to some equality with his neighbours.

'Tis true, there are different kinds of superiority: One is external, and consists in extent of territories, the number of fortified places, and the possession of passes into the neighbouring countries, &c. This proves a temptation to enterprizes as fatal to the possessor of it, as to his neighbours; and excites against him hatreds, jealousies, and confederacies.

The other kind of superiority is inward and substantial; it consists in a more numerous people, better disciplined, and more skilful in agriculture and other necessary arts. This kind of superiority is generally the easiest attained, the surest, the least exposed to the envy and combinations of its inferior neighbours, and more proper than numerous conquests, and fortified places, to render a people invincible. A state cannot too diligently aspire to this superiority, nor too carefully avoid the former, which has no other than a false lustre.

Essay II.

There is not, I believe, any doctrine in the law of nations, of more certain truth, of greater and more general importance to the prosperity of civil society, or that mankind has learnt at a dearer rate, than this of the balance of power; which the author of the preceding treatise maintains by a lively representation, and proper examples of its necessity.

It may be demonstrated to have arisen necessarily, and from the reason and nature of things, as a cure of what happened amiss in human affairs, before the rise, and during the progress, of civil society; and to be as agreeable to the principles of the law of nations, as it is to the present policy and general practice of Europe.

That ambitious propensity in man, which the author lays down as the foundation of his doctrine, and which makes the balance necessary, has been, in reality, extant in the world from the earliest times. Perhaps it would not be going too far back for its original, to observe that it was an affectation of dignity or excellence above his allotted share, that was the occasion of man's first fall, and brought ill into the world. This at least is true, that according to one, and that not the least probable opinion concerning the rise of civil society, it was owing to this very human frailty. For whatever may be said of the natural inclinations of man to society, and the many conveniences of life, which he enjoys by the means of it, some of the most learned are of opinion, that though societies were formed in different places, and at different times, for various reasons, yet the first had its rise from the ambition of some aspiring spirit, who made himself a sovereign by force; and that others following his example, or fearing to be oppressed by him in their separate state, associated for their common safety, and chose themselves a chief.

And well was it perhaps for mankind, that they were then but rude in the art of preserving the balance; for had those independent fathers of families, instead of uniting into one society, chosen our way of confederacy or league to protect themselves from

the violences of their neighbouring sovereign, they might have remained some ages longer in that state of nature, and in their primitive ignorance of laws and constitutions, arts and sciences, commerce, and all those invaluable benefits, which are the happy effects (if the prospect of them was not, in many instances, the occasion) of man's entering into society.

It is yet more generally agreed, that the frequent effects of the tyrannical passions among private persons, were the occasion of the first civil unions: For it seems, even in those early times, when luxury was yet unknown, and the desires and wants of men were few, the perverse dispositions of some of the race discovered themselves in an unjust disturbance of their neighbour's peace, and invasion of his property, which made it necessary, for the security of the milder and weaker, that they should unite in society, and chuse a chief, who might administer justice among them, and settle their several rights and pretensions, or lead them to repel the assaults of their enemies.

It may be observed on this occasion, that 'tis from a certain universal sense of this ambitious depravity in man, and of the value of whatever conduces to preserve a balance, that the fabulous heroes of ancient times have been represented as employing their virtue to deliver the oppressed, and to subdue beasts, monsters, and tyrants, those enemies of the common repose and safety.

When men were thus united to protect themselves from the violences to which they were exposed in their defenceless state, they soon became able to make a farther use of their union. They would then confer about their wants, and engage their inventions to provide for the conveniences of many kinds they stood in need of. They would discover the rude beginnings of laws, arts, and commerce; and for some time reap the sweets of security and conveniency in their infant states.

But in that unexperienced state they foresaw not the mischiefs which restless ambition was yet to cause among them in succeeding times, any more than the improvements in the art of human life which were to be made. The lust of power remained in the heart of man, and found out new ways to exert itself. It produced tyrants in particular states, and conquerors over many.

Nor could it otherwise fall out in those earlier ages of society: For while the several little states, fearless of any dangers, other than they had provided against by their late union, were intent on their private concerns, and the improvement of their new condition, without minding what passed at a distance from their own borders, and ignorant how far they were interested in the fate of their remoter neighbours; it was easy for an ambitious prince, by unjust attempts upon the liberty, first of one neighbour, and then of another, to enlarge his usurped dominion over many more of the inferior communities, than would have been able jointly to crush his first attempts against them; but the balance of power among nations was then unknown; no correspondence was maintained among neighbouring states, nor confederacies formed for its preservation. And thus came poor mankind, for many ages, to be held in subjection under the unlimited greatness and tyrannical power of several successively universal monarchies; which, in their turns, brought upon the world, in their rise, and while they flourished, and by their fall, the innumerable consequent mischiefs of such an unnatural state.

One might (if there were occasion) here enter into a spacious field of learning to bring from history the particular proofs of these reflections; and to enquire into the attempts which were sometimes made towards maintaining a balance of power, especially in Greece; but that would exceed the designed compass of this short essay. 'Tis certain however, that the doctrine was never brought to its perfection, nor fully established, till in the last ages, after the experience of so many former, among the European nations.

Now the case is the same among neighbouring states, which are with respect to each

other in a state of nature, that it was among the independent fathers of families before society. The only security against the ambition of the powerful, is the confederacy and union of the weaker. As in both cases the disturbance and breach of the balance arises from the same cause, the remedy and preservation must be found in the same manner. And thus we are brought, by a view of the natural and uniform course of things, to discern the justice of our author's sentiments, and to acknowledge the naturally civil and political state of mankind, with the necessity of a general society of the particular states, for the security of all.

And as the first societies of single men afforded them not safety only, but many advantages and conveniences of life, of which they were destitute in their separate state; so, in this general society of mankind, by a continual intercourse of nations, and an universal commerce, every one reaps the benefit of the inventions and products of all, and the art of human life is brought to perfection. Which since, without such commerce, it had never been, we might from hence alone argue for our union of distinct societies: No country being absolute and complete in itself, but abounding with a superfluity of certain commodities, and wanting others equally conducive to its welfare; which plainly discovers the relation it bears to other countries, or to the states by whom they are inhabited.

Nor is this assemblage of separate independent states the less to be accounted one society, or connected system, because there is no actual union among them, as by an universal alliance, or common head; that being by no means necessary to establish such a national brotherhood, or general publick, as we are endeavouring to discover in the world. 'Tis sufficient that the neighbouring societies are of one common nature, and are provided for by one order or constitution of things subsisting together, and co-operating towards the conservation and support of them all. There is one common rule, as certain as the written laws of any particular country, by which their nature and their conduct towards each other may be clearly determined. They cannot subsist or be provided for completely, without a continual intercourse and communication of benefits: And they can be no otherwise secured from the effusion of blood, the devastations of provinces, the shock and ruin of kingdoms, which have been occasioned, in former times, by those ambitious attempts upon the liberty of the world, which ended in the universal monarchies.

Here is then our general society established in the same manner that were the first single ones, by a social league, confederacy, and mutual consent, founded in a common good or interest, which joins the members of the community, and makes them one.

All the members of this great body are obliged to promote the common interest, and as much as in them lies, to prevent all damages and inconveniences to each other; and therefore to act in concert against such a power of any one as would enable him to tyrannize over the rest. And that they may do this when the dreaded power is unlawful, or in reality abused in any of the instances mentioned by our author among the limitations of his doctrine, (as by the infraction of the peace, the seizure of some place not his own, or the like) no one will deny. But whether the bare suspicion of ill, from a power capable, by a rightfully acquired strength, to inflict it, be a just cause of using force to prevent its farther growth or future injury, may be justly called in question. For the most celebrated writers on the law of nations agree in this, (as in the case of private persons in the state of nature) the fear of harm from the too great power of a state, gives the rest no right to take arms for reducing it, unless there be such evident signs of a real intention of injuring them as amount to a moral certainty of their danger; that they are to suppose the superior power will contain itself within due bounds till the contrary appear; and that they are to provide against uncertain dangers, not by force, but by allowable and harmless cautions, as by fortifying themselves and uniting together. And this is most certainly true in all ordinary cases, when there is no

very exorbitant superiority of one above the rest; yet it may not be utterly repugnant to our author's opinion in this latter case.

He asserts, that when a state is grown to such a pitch that all its neighbours are hardly a match for it, though it was not without a title to that dangerous access of power, yet the rest have a right by force to oppose the prosecution of that title, and to retrench that power which would otherwise be in a condition to enslave them all, or make them hold their precarious liberty at its discretion. He seems to think that in cases of such extremity as those of the examples he produces, when a state becomes formidable to its neighbours by a great accession of new dominions, the frequent experience of mankind's being ambitious and enterprizing in proportion to their power, is alone a sufficient moral certainty of their danger, to justify the use of force, and the violation of the subordinate private right, in providing for their common security. He adds many necessary limitations of this bold opinion: That actual combinations of this kind are not to be made, without just ground, a real and imminent danger; that they are not to proceed to offensive violence against the dreaded power unless it be necessary for their own defence, nor to retrench it further than the care of their common safety requires.

His opinion thus stated, may perhaps be defended upon that principle on which he places it, to wit, the sovereign regard which is due to the good of the whole body, of which every particular state is a part. 'Tis evident that any member which is in a condition that may be destructive to the rest, is, with respect to this order or œconomy of neighbouring states, a publick calamity, which needs redress for the good of the whole. Such a one cannot more justly complain of the retrenching his exorbitancy, than could that man who abounded in plenty, on his being robbed of a morsel of bread by a person ready to starve for hunger, and who was compelled to use that violence for his own preservation. Nor can he more justly claim the exercise of his pernicious title, than a madman can claim the restitution of an instrument of death which he had deposited in the hands of another man; since in both cases equally, the possession of the private right may prove hurtful and destructive to the publick. 'Tis as reasonable in this case, as we see it in many instances in nature, that there should be a sacrifice of interests; that the part should be subjected to the whole, and that one member should be resigned to the advantage of the whole body, and contribute by its private injury to the preservation and happiness of all in general.

Thus we see how the justifiable practice of our author's doctrine depends on a discreet justice to the private right, and a moderate zeal for the publick good; that neither any needless violation of the first be committed, nor any thing destructive of that balance by which the general society is upheld, may on any account, or under any pretence of private right, be advanced or prosecuted, which can be no other than unjust in the whole, however it may be founded in the particular rights of a certain part.

The doctrine of the balance being established, our author examines, by these principles, the condition of any European nation in the various degrees of power it may be possessed of. His case may be considered as several dispositions of power in the whole, as well as so many conditions of any other nation. And in this view, his explanation of his fourth case is somewhat obscure; for it does not appear at first sight that he speaks of two powers (as the house of Austria and Bourbon) of considerable force in Europe, that are jealous of each other, and watchful to prevent the least accession of greatness to its rival; and so prove the security of the rest by their mutual emulation. While they continue thus nearly equal, and neither is ambitious to become greater, they are not only themselves in a happy condition, but make their neighbours safer, during that disposition of power, than they could be by a union against a mighty potentate equal to them altogether. The reason is, that the inferior united powers are not always discreet and faithful and zealous for the common good. There may be one of

them guided by evil counsellors, who will for their private interest hinder their prince to concur with his neighbours for the general good; or a prince may find it difficult to raise the necessary supplies for his proportion of the united strength; or he may be weak enough to neglect the danger because 'tis at some distance from his own countries; or he may be prevailed on by the practices of the predominant power to break off from the alliance. Now while there happens to be in Europe two such great powers, from either of which alone the rest would be in danger, but which are thus watchful over one another, the liberty of the inferior states is easily and effectually secured. But when one of them becomes considerably superior to the other, or ambitiously disturbs the publick tranquillity, the rest must come in to aid the weaker, and restore the balance.

Our author, in his reflections on these cases as of one certain nation, concludes that to be the happiest, when its power is moderate, employed for the common good, and arises from the inward prosperity of its own people, without attempting on the liberty of its neighbours.

And from hence there arises a further resemblance between the case of single persons and that of commonwealths; and there is a virtuous and vicious conduct in the state, as well as in the private man, which influences alike their conduct by its natural operation, in causing happiness or misery. This proposition may appear over refined and philosophical; but after what has been already examined may be easily explained. We have seen above many instances of this resemblance: That as every single man, so a community of men, is naturally obliged to uphold a union and correspondence with its followers: That it has its interests, and its duties, in this great society, to be cared for and performed: That it may be discreet or imprudent in its conduct towards the rest. In the same manner it may be just or unjust, a good neighbour and member, which observes exactly that law, and those orders on which this extended correspondence and common interest is established; or such a one as seeks rather the harm than the good of that whole in which it is included. Now if what our author advances be true, in his preference of what he makes his fourth case of a nation, the just and virtuous state, we see, is the only happy one. And there will hence appear a very remarkable harmony with that fundamental truth in morality, "That virtue is the natural good," and vice "the misery and ill of every man." And the reason and ground of this truth, assigned by the great masters in morality, will not be a less proper and delightful consideration, with respect to our subject. It is, that man being by his particular œconomy fitted to the strictest society and rule of common good, the wisdom of that which rules in nature has so disposed, that for him to operate, as is by nature appointed him, toward the good of such his society or whole, is, in reality, to pursue his own natural and proper good; and that to operate contrariwise, or by such affections as sever from that common good or publick interest, is, in reality, to work towards his own natural and proper ill. Such likewise is the nature, and so it happens in the case of a whole nation.

And if at all times the observation would not hold good, 'tis true at least as the affairs of Europe are now constituted. For we are now in an age when our society at large is framed, a connection of the whole preserved, and the balance and liberty of Europe universally regarded with the greatest caution. And we ourselves the happy nation, who ever since the firm security of our own liberties by settling a balance of power between our prince and people, have not only enjoyed those blessings at home, but by our greatness and power given life and vigour to their cause abroad. We were the head and chief of the European league, founded on this common cause, to reduce the exorbitancy of a neighbouring prince, who threatened the world with an universal monarchy. Now can we lose this noble ardour, or quit the glorious toil, whilst we are under the wise government of a king, whose chiefest care is to make his people hap-

py; and yet with an extensive goodness seeks the benefit of all, and affects the interest and prosperity of the world?

He ever carefully applies himself to pursue the maxims of his predecessors, especially those which tend to keep him in peace and friendship with the other powers of Europe, and to cultivate commerce with them for mutual advantage. He acts in concert with his neighbours, to bring about the great schemes he has formed for the tranquillity of Europe; and has already, to this noble purpose, formed a mighty alliance, and engaged in it the same power which was, not long ago, so formidable to all Europe, and might soon, with recruited strength, prove so again. He now provides for an effectual security against its union with another power, which appeared lately capable of being alone dangerous to the rest, and might have proved so, had it not been prevented, and reduced by his timely interposition. Nor is he less solicitous to quiet the troubles in the northern parts, occasioned chiefly by a powerful prince, who has but newly raised his people from barbarity, and brought them into the general society of Europe; and yet has already made such ambitious attempts on every side, as prove sufficiently what a watchful eye the rest must keep upon him. The king has wisely saved from his oppression the poor remains of a once flourishing protestant kingdom; and will, we hope, succeed in his endeavours to restrain within due bounds the power of that monarch, and settle a general peace.

In fine, one cannot read our author's description of his fourth and happiest case of a nation, and not observe with pleasure, that our king's character and conduct are perfectly adapted to make him that glorious prince, and us that happy people; while, at the same time, his moderation, and our own situation and excellent constitution, give us a full security from the only danger of such a prosperous state, the abuse of it by oppressing our neighbours. For we who taste the most of liberty at home, and are the chief maintainers of the balance abroad, are of all people the most sensible, that a nation who should go about to make itself absolute over its neighbours, would seek a state of all other the most horrid, oppressive, and miserable; that every step towards it is unjust, a breach of interest, and leads to the greatest ills: As on the other side, every thing which is an improvement of commerce, or an establishment of liberty and the balance, is an advancement of the common interest, and leads to the greatest and most solid happiness of civil society.

Money and Trade considered: With a Proposal for supplying the Nation with Money. By Mr John Law, now Director of the Royal Bank at Paris. Printed in the Year 1720.

"John Law, Esq. the Mississippi projector, was descended from a Scotch family; the Reverend Andrew Law, his grandfather, was minister of Neilston in that kingdom, whose youngest son, William, a goldsmith, or banker, in Edinburgh, purchased an estate at Lauriston, four miles from that city, and died in Paris." Being expelled from England by the unfortunate event of a duel, in which he killed his antagonist, he went upon the continent. "The arts of the gamester had long been resorted to, and the scene began to require changing. The continent had witnessed his adventures in the annals of Venus and Mercury; and at Turin his fertile brain suggested a lottery, which would have eased the pockets of the Piedmontese, had not the Duke of Savoy

told him, that, as his dominions were too small for the plans of so extensive a genius, he recommended him to go to Paris. He went, gained the ear of the regent Duke of Orleans, already prepared by his 'Discourse concerning Money and Trade,' published by him in Scotland, and now to be acted upon. He suggested the establishment of a national bank, by the operation of which the national debt of France was to be swept away, the kingdom enriched, and gold to become as common in Paris as silver was in Jerusalem in the days of Solomon.

"The Mississippi scheme flourished: Law lent it all he had saved as a new gambling stock. The Parisians saw nothing, in the transports of their infatuation, but the transportation of the mines of Mexico and Peru to their own city; when, behold! the bubble broke, ruin ensued, and Law fled, who, after all his visionary schemes of wealth and occasional possession of it, died at last at Venice, in 1729, a fugitive from his native country, and in distressed circumstances."—*Biographical History of England, vol. iii. p.* 265—6.

The following treatise upon banks was at first drawn up for the meridian of Scotland, but the projector quickly found the climate was too cold to warrant its success.

The Bookseller to the Reader.

IT is humbly hoped, that the publick will favourably receive the following pages, which consist of some heads of a scheme, which Mr Law proposed to the parliament of Scotland in the year 1705: Which, though it was favoured by the high commissioner, (who now serves his majesty in a great office,) and by several members of parliament, yet such were the prejudices against it which prevailed, that the proposal was wholly laid aside. Having had so little success in that part of Great Britain which was his native country, he applied himself to the lord-treasurer of England, and transmitted to his lordship another proposal for the increase of trade and credit, with explanations at large, and adapted to the constitution and usages here; but meeting with no more encouragement than before, and not being able even to get his pardon (having killed the famous Mr Wilson in a duel many years before) he was compelled to live abroad; where, after undergoing great variety of persecution from his enemies, he now appears a minister far above all that the past age has known, that the present can conceive, or that the future will believe. He has established the publick faith in a country that was become a proverb for the breach of it. He has made the increase of the revenues of an arbitrary government depend upon the subjects free enjoyment of their property, insomuch it might possibly cost the crown many millions, together with all its present prospect of riches and power, to refuse the very lowest demand of money which the publick has promised to pay: He has shewed the people of France, that their late king, Louis XIV. with his unlimited authority, was not able to take more from them, than Mr Law has since restored. He has now no enemies but those who are so to all mankind; and many who some months ago thirsted after his blood, now eat his bread; for he has appeared incapable of any other species of vengeance, but that of laying his enemies under the shame and confusion of receiving their fortunes from him. This is the man whom Britain has lost, having lain under the displeasure of three successive ministers, so as not to be able to obtain his pardon, till at last (too late for his country) it proceeded even unasked from the justice and discerning judgment of a great lord now at the helm.

Hiccine vir patriæ natus usquam nisi in patriâ morietur——hunc suâ quisquam sententiâ ex hac urbe expellet, quem omnes urbes expulsum a vobis ad se vocabunt? O terram illam beatam quæ hunc virum exceperit! hanc ingratam si ejecerit! miseram si amiserit! *Cic.*

THERE are several proposals offered to remedy the difficulties the nation is under from the great scarcity of money.

That a right judgement may be made, which will be most safe, advantageous, and practicable, it seems necessary, 1. That the nature of money be enquired into, and why silver was used as money preferable to other goods. 2. That trade be considered, and how far money affects trade. 3. That the measures which have been used for preserving and increasing money, and these now proposed, be examined.

CHAP. I.

How Goods are valued. Of Barter. Of Silver; its Value as a Metal, its Qualities fitting it for Money, and of the additional Value it received from being used as Money.

Goods have a value from the uses they are applied to; and their value is greater or lesser, not so much from their more or less valuable or necessary uses, as from the greater or lesser quality of them in proportion to the demand for them. *Example.* Water is of great use, yet of little value, because the quantity of water is much greater than the demand for it. Diamonds are of little use, yet of great value, because the demand is much greater than the quantity of them.

Goods of the same kind differ in their value, from any difference in their quality. (*Ex.*) One horse is better than another horse. Barley of one country is better than barley of another country.

Goods change their value, from any change in their quantity, or in the demand for them. (*Ex.*) If oats be in greater quantity than last year, and the demand the same, or lesser, oats will be less valuable.

Mr Locke says, "the value of goods is according to their quantity in proportion to their vent." The vent of goods cannot be greater than the quantity, but the demand may be greater: (*Ex.*) If the quantity of wine brought from France be 100 tun, and the demand be for 500 tun, the demand is greater than the vent; and the 100 tun will sell at a higher price than if the demand were only equal to the vent. So the prices of goods are not according to the quantity in proportion to the vent, but in proportion to the demand.

Before the use of money was known, goods were exchanged by barter or contract; and contracts were made payable in goods.

This state of barter was inconvenient, and disadvantageous. 1. He who desired to barter would not always find people who wanted the goods he had, and had such goods as he desired in exchange.

2. Contracts taken payable in goods were uncertain, for goods of the same kind differed in value.

3. There was no measure by which the proportion of value goods had to one another could be known.

In this state of barter there was little trade, and few artsmen. The people depended on the landed-men. The landed-men laboured only so much of the land as served the occasions of their families, to barter for such necessaries as their land did not produce; and to lay up for seed and bad years. What remained was unlaboured; or gifted on condition of vassalage, and other services.

The losses and difficulties that attended barter would force the landed-men to a greater consumption of the goods of their own product, and a lesser consumption of other goods; or to supply themselves, that they would turn the land to the product of the several goods they had occasion for; though only proper to the produce of one kind. So, much of the land was unlaboured, what was laboured was not employed to that by which it would have turned to most advantage, nor the people to the labour they were most fit for.

Silver as a metal had a value in barter as other goods, from the uses it was then applied to.

As goods of the same kind differed in value, so silver differed from silver, as it was more or less fine.

Silver was liable to a change in its value as other goods, from any change in its quantity, or in the demand for it.

Silver had qualities which fitted it for the use of money.

1. It could be brought to a standard in fineness, so was certain as to its quality.

2. It was easy of delivery.

3. It was of the same value in one place that it was in another, or differed little, being easy of carriage

4. It could be kept without loss or expence; taking up little room, and being durable.

5. It could be divided without loss, an ounce in four pieces being equal in value to an ounce in one piece.

Silver having these qualities, 'tis reasonable to think it was used as money before it was coined. What is meant by being used as money is, that silver in bullion was the measure by which goods were valued, the value by which goods were exchanged, and in which contracts were made payable.

He who had more goods than he had use for, would chuse to barter them for silver, though he had no use for it; because silver was certain in its quality: It was easy of delivery: It could be kept without loss or expence: And with it he could purchase other goods as he had occasion, in whole or in part, at home or abroad; silver being devisable without loss, and of the same value in different places. (*Ex.*) If A. B. had 100 sheep, and desired to exchange them for horses; C. D. had 10 horses, which were equal to, or worth the 100 sheep, and was willing to exchange; but as A. B. had not present occasion for the horses, rather than to be at the expence of keeping them, he would barter his sheep with R. F. who had the value to give in silver, with which he could purchase the horses at the time he had occasion.

Or if E. F. had not silver, but was satisfied to give his bond for the silver, or the horses, payable at the time A. B. wanted them, A. B. would chuse to take the bond payable in silver, rather than in horses; because silver was certain in quality, and horses differed much. So silver was used as the value in which contracts were made payable.

Silver was likewise used as the measure by which goods were valued, because certain in quality. (*Ex.*) If A. B. had 100 weight of lead, and desired to exchange it for barley, the way to know what quantity of barley was equal in value to the lead, was by the silver. If the 100 weight of lead was equal to five ounces of fine silver, and five ounces of fine silver equal to 20 bolls of barley, then 20 bolls was the quantity of barley to be given in exchange for the lead.

Silver being easy of carriage, so equal in one place to what it was in another, was used as the measure by which goods to be delivered in different places were valued. (*Ex.*) If a piece of wine was to be delivered at Glasgow by A. B. merchant there, to the order of C. D. merchant in Aberdeen; and the value to be delivered in oats at Aberdeen by C. D. to the order of A. B. the wine could not be valued by the quantity of oats it was worth at Glasgow, nor the oats by the quantity of wine they were worth at Aberdeen. Wine or oats might differ in quality, or be more or less valuable at the one place than at the other. The way to have known what quantity of oats was equal to the quantity of silver each was worth at the places they were to be delivered. If the piece of wine was worth, at Glasgow, 20 ounces of fine silver, and 20 ounces of fine silver worth 20 bolls of oats at Aberdeen, then 50 bolls was the quantity of oats to be given there in return for the wine.

Silver being capable of a stamp, princes, for the greater convenience of the people,

set up mints to bring it to a standard, and stamp it; whereby its weight and fineness was known, without the trouble of weighing or fining; but the stamp added nothing to the value.

For these reasons silver was used as money; its being coined was only a consequence of its being applied to that use in bullion, though not with the same convenience.

[1] Mr Locke, and others, who have wrote on this subject, say, the general consent of men placed an imaginary value upon silver, because of its qualities fitting it for money.

I cannot conceive how different nations could agree to put an imaginary value upon any thing, especially upon silver, by which all other goods are valued; or that any one country would receive that as a value, which was not valuable equal to what it was given for; or how that imaginary value could have been kept up. But suppose France receiving silver at an imaginary value, other nations receive it at that value, because received so in France: Then for the same reason a crown passing in France for 76 sols, should pass in Scotland for 76 pence, and in Holland for 76 stivers. But on the contrary, even in France, where the crown is raised, 'tis worth no more than before when at 60 sols.

It is reasonable to think silver was bartered as it was valued for its uses as a metal, and was given as money according to its value in barter. The additional use of money silver was applied to would add to its value, because as money it remedied the disadvantages and inconveniences of barter, and consequently the demand for silver increasing, it received an additional value equal to the greatest demand its use as money occasioned.

And this additional value is no more imaginary, than the value silver had in barter as a metal; for such value was because it served such uses, and was greater or lesser according to the demand for silver as a metal, proportioned to its quantity. The additional value silver received from being used as money, was because of its qualities which fitted it for that use; and that value was according to the additional demand its use as money occasioned.

If either of these values are imaginary, then all value is so; for no goods have any value, but from the uses they are applied to, and according to the demand for them, in proportion to their quantity.

Thus silver having a value, and qualities fitting it for money, which other goods had not, was made money, and for the greater convenience of the people was coined.

The names of the different pieces might have been number 1. number 2. and so on; number 60 would have been the same as a crown; for the name and stamp was only to certify that the piece had such a quantity of silver in it, of such a fineness.

Goods of any other kind that have the same qualities might then, and may now, be made money equal to their value. Gold and copper may be made money, but neither with so much convenience as silver, payments in copper being inconvenient by reason of its bulk; and of gold not being in so great quantity as to serve the use of money. In countries where gold is in great quantity, it is used as money; and where gold and silver are scarce, copper is used.

Gold is coined for the more easy exchange of that metal, and copper to serve in small payments; but silver is the measure by which goods are valued, the value by which goods are exchanged, and in which contracts are made payable.

As money increased, the disadvantages and inconveniences of barter were removed; the poor and idle were employed, more of the land was laboured, the product increased, manufactures and trade improved, the landed-men lived better, and the people with less dependence on them.

[1] Locke, pag. 31. upon Interest, and pag. 1. upon Money.—*Orig. Note.*

CHAP. II.

Of Trade; and how far it depends on Money; That the Increase of the People depends on Trade. Of Exchange.

Trade is domestick, or foreign.

Domestick trade is the employment of the people, and the exchange of goods within the country.

Foreign trade has several branches.

1. The product and manufacture being more than the consumption, a part is exported, and in return foreign goods are brought home.

2. Selling the goods exported at one port, and loading there to sell at another, whereby a greater return is made, than if the goods exported had been carried directly there.

3. Bringing home the product and manufacture of other countries, from whence, and when they are cheap, to supply countries where, and when they are dear.

4. Bringing home the product of other countries, and exporting it in manufacture.

5. Freighting, or hiring out ships.

Domestick and foreign trade may be carried on by barter; but not for so great value as by money, nor with so much convenience.

Domestick trade depends on the money: A great quantity employs more people than a lesser quantity. A limited sum can only set a number of people to work proportioned to it, and 'tis with little success laws are made, for employing the poor or idle in countries where money is scarce; good laws may bring the money to the full circulation 'tis capable of, and force it to those employments that are most profitable to the country: But no laws can make it go further, nor can more people be set to work, without more money to circulate so as to pay the wages of a greater number. They may be brought to work on credit; and that is not practicable, unless the credit have a circulation, so as to supply workmen with necessaries; if that's supposed, then that credit is money, and will have the same effects on home and foreign trade.

An addition to the money adds to the value of the country. So long as money gives interest it is employed; and money employed brings profit, though the employer loses. (*Ex.*) If fifty men are set to work, to whom 25s. is paid per day, and the improvement made by their labour be only equal to, or worth 15s., yet by so much the value of the country is increased; but as it is reasonable to suppose their labour equal to 40s. so much is added to the value of the country, of which the employer gains 15s. 15s. may be supposed to equal the consumption of the labourers, who before lived on charity, and 10s. remains to them over their consumption.

If a stone of wool is worth 10s. and made into cloth worth 2l. the product is improved to four times the value it had in wool: The workmen may be supposed to consume more than when they were not employed; allow one-fourth, the nation is gainer double the value of the product. So an addition to the money, whether the employer gains or not, adds to the national wealth, eases the country of a number of poor or idle proportioned to the money added, enables them to live better, and to bear a share in the publick with the other people.

The first branch of foreign trade, which is the export of goods, depends on the money. If one half of the people are employed, and the whole product and manufacture consumed, more money, by employing more people, will make an overplus to export: If then the goods imported balance the goods exported, a greater addition to the money will employ yet more people, or the same people before employed to more ad-

vantage; which by making a greater, or more valuable export, will make a balance due. So if the money lessens, a part of the people then employed are set idle, or employed to less advantage; the product and manufacture is less, or less valuable, the export of consequence less, and a balance due to foreigners

The second and third branches of foreign trade, called the Trades of Carriage, are monopolized out of Europe, by those countries who have colonies; and in Europe by those who sell cheapest.

Scotland has advantages for trade by which the merchants might undersell merchants in Holland, as cheapness of living, paying less to the publick, having workmen, seamen, and provisions for victualling cheaper: But if the Dutch merchant's stock is 10,000l. and his yearly expence 500, he can trade at 10 per cent. profit, and add yearly 500l. to his stock: Whereas a Scotch merchant, whose stock is 500l. and his yearly expence 50, cannot trade so cheap.

If 'tis asked how a Dutch merchant trades who has also 500l. stock, he restricts his expence so as he can afford to trade at 10 per cent. profit: Or money being in greater quantity in Holland, whereby it is easier borrowed, and at less use, he gets credit for more at 3 or 4 per cent. by which he gains six or seven. And unless money be in greater quantity in Scotland, or expence retrenched, we cannot trade so cheap as the Dutch, though we have advantages for trade they have not, and though they be under disadvantages we are not liable to. By a greater quantity of money and economy, the Dutch monopolize the trades of carriage even from the English.

The fourth branch of foreign trade, bringing home the product of other countries, and exporting it in manufacture, depends on the quantity of money. We are so far from competing with the Dutch in this trade, that our wool was sent to Holland, and imported from thence in manufacture, under the difficulty of a prohibition on the export of the wool, and on the import of the manufacture. Yet besides the advantages already named, which we have for trade over the Dutch, the material is the product of our country, and greater privileges are granted to manufacturers here than in Holland.

'Tis alledged, if the prohibition had continued, manufactures might have come to perfection.

The advantage some men made by manufacture, may have occasioned the setting up of more, while the money has been diminishing; but that money so employed has been taken from some other use it was before employed in: For money cannot serve in two places at one time.

'Tis alledged, that the allowing the wool to be exported, occasioned the exportation of the money; that at one time 5000l. was sent to England to buy wool? They answer, it was sent to France for wine. Then, as 5000l. of English wool be worth 8 or 10,000l. in France, so the 5000l. sent to England saved the sending out of 8 or 10,000l. to France.

To those who don't thoroughly examine the state of this country, it may seem odd that wool should be allowed by law to be exported; but if the product of Scotland cannot be manufactured with less than 50,000 people, and the money that can be spared to manufacture be only capable to employ 25,000, one half of the product will be lost if it is not allowed to be exported.

The fifth branch, the freighting or hiring out ships, depends on the money, and the other branches of trade. Where ships are in use to be freighted by strangers, and supported by a great demand for their own trade, there all sorts of ships are to be hired cheaper than in other places, and merchants are sure of such ships as are proper for the goods they load with, and the countries they trade to.

This trade of freighting brings the goods of other countries to Holland, though designed for sale elsewhere. If woollen manufacture from England to Portugal yields

25 per cent. profit, and to Holland 15; the English merchant will chuse to send such goods to Holland for 15 per cent. rather than to Portugal for 24: And the Dutch merchant, who is able to trade cheaper from the cheapness of freight, &c. is satisfied for the other ten to carry to Portugal.

"Most authors who have wrote on trade divide it into national and private. They say, a merchant may gain where the nation loses. If 1000*l.* is exported to the Indies in money or bullion, and a 1000*l.* in goods or provisions, the return worth 1000*l.* the merchant gains 6000*l.* but as these goods are all consumed in the country, the nation loses the 1000l. money or bullion exported."

They don't consider whether the 1000*l.* of goods imported (all supposed to be consumed in the country) does not lessen the consumption of the product or manufacture of the country, so as to occasion an addition to the export, at least equal to the 1000l. money or bullion exported. But allowing they do not lessen the consumption of the goods of the country, and the use of them be not at all necessary, yet these goods being worth 8000*l.* at home or abroad, the nation gains 6000*l.* If the people consume them, and in extravagant uses, that's not the fault of the government, who ought to hinder the too great consumption of foreign goods; especially, such as might be wanted without causing a greater consumption of the goods of the country. That care being taken, by making the vent less profitable at home than abroad, merchants would export them, or for the future lessen the import.

If East India goods that sell for 1000*l.* in England, are only worth abroad 800l. the duty paid at their entry being returned, and more given as a drawback to encourage the export, their vent abroad will be more profitable than in England.

A people may consume more of their own or foreign goods, than the value of the product, manufacture, and profits by trade; but their trade is not disadvantageous, it is their too great consumption: And the too great consumption of the product and manufacture of the country may be as hurtful as that of foreign goods; for, if so much is consumed, that the remainder exported won't pay the consumption of foreign goods, a balance will be due, and that balance will be sent out in money or bullion.

A nation may gain where the merchant loses, but wherever the merchant gains the nation gains equal, and so much more, as the maintenance and wages of the people employed, and the duty on the goods amount to. If a ship insured is lost, the nation loses, and the merchant loses nothing; but in that case the insurer is the merchant, and loses equal to the nation.

As trade depends on money, so the increase or decrease of the people depends on trade. If they have employment at home, they are kept at home: And if the trade is greater than serves to employ the people, it brings more from places where they are not employed. Sir William Petty values a man at 20 years purchase; by that computation a seaman, whose wages is 40s. a month, is valued at 480*l.*

Scotland has a very inconsiderable trade, because she has but a very small part of the money. There is a little home trade, but the country is not improved, nor the product manufactured. There is a little of the first branch of foreign trade, and that is carried on with great disadvantage to the people, who pay dearer for most foreign goods, and are worse served, than other nations: If they have any cheaper, 'tis from the lower duty on the import. In Scotland low prices are given for goods brought up to be exported, the merchant's profit being great: If 100 stone of wool is worth in Holland 10 pieces of linen cloth, these 10 pieces are sold in Scotland for the value of 180 or 200 stone of such wool. Such goods as do not yield that great profit, are not exported; and those that do, are not exported in any quantity, the merchant's stock being small. Scotland has no part of the other branches of foreign trade, not being able to trade so cheap as other nations.

Some think if interest were lowered by law, trade would increase, merchants being

able to employ more money, and trade cheaper. Such a law would have many inconveniences, and it is much to be doubted, whether it would have any good effect; indeed, if lowness of interest were the consequence of a greater quantity of money, the stock applied to trade would be greater, and merchants would trade cheaper, from the easiness of borrowing, and the lower interest of money, without any inconveniences attending it.

Though interest were at 3 per cent. in Holland, and continued at 6 in Scotland, if money were to be had equal to the demands at 6, the advantages we have for trade, which the Dutch have not, would enable us to extend trade to its other branches, notwithstanding the difference of interest.

If money in Scotland were equal to the demands at 6 per cent. the Dutch could not trade so cheap in herrings; the hinderances of that trade being the consequences of the scarcity of money. The materials for carrying on the fishery are cheaper in Holland, but the cheapness of victualling alone would balance that: And the dearth of these materials, as of other foreign goods, coming from the scarcity of money; that being remedied, these materials, and other foreign goods, that are not the product of Holland, would be as cheap in Scotland.

Exchange is when a merchant exports to a greater value than he imports, and has money due abroad; another importing to a greater value than he exported, has occasion for money abroad: This last by paying in money to the other, of the weight and fineness with that is due to him, or to that value, saves the trouble, hazard, and expence, to himself of sending money out, to the other of bringing money home, and to both the expence of recoining.

So long as foreign trade and expence kept equal, exchange was at the par; but when a people imported for a greater value, or had other occasions abroad, more than their export, and the expence of foreigners among them would balance, there was a necessity of sending out the balance in money or bullion, and the merchant or gentleman who owed, or had occasion for money abroad, to save the trouble, expence, and hazard of sending it out, gave so much per cent to another, as the trouble, expence, and hazard was valued at. Thus exchange rose above the par, and became a trade.

Mr Mun on Trade, page 100, says, "The exchange being against a nation, is of advantage to that nation. And supposes that if 100*l.* at London is worth no more than 90*l.* of the same money at Amsterdam, the Dutch to send 500,000*l.* of goods to England, and the English 400,000*l.* of goods to Holland, it follows that the money due to the English at Amsterdam will balance 440,000*l.* due to the Dutch at London, so 60.000*l.* pays the balance." Mr Mun does not consider, that the Dutch goods worth 500,000*l.* when exchange was at the par, are worth at London 555,555*l.* when 90*l.* at Amsterdam is worth 100*l.* at London; and the 400,000l. of English goods in Holland are only worth 360,000*l.*, that sum being equal by exchange to 400,000*l.* in England. So in place of England's having an advantage of 40,000*l.* as he alleges, by the exchange being against her, she pays 95,555*l.* more than if the exchange had been at the par.

When exchange is above the par, it is not only paid for the sums due of balance, but affects the whole exchange to the place where the balance is due. If the balance is 20,000*l.* and the sums exchanged by merchants who have money abroad, with others who are owing, or have occasion for money there, be 60,000*l.* the bills for the 60,000*l.* are sold at or near the same price with the 20,000*l.* of balance.

It likewise affects the exchange to countries where no balance is due. *Ex.* If the exchange betwixt Scotland and Holland is 3 per cent. above the par against Scotland, betwixt England and Holland at the par, though no balance is due by Scotland to England, yet the exchange with England will rise; for 100*l.* in England remitted to Scotland by Holland will yield 103*l.* so betwixt Scotland and England it may be supposed to be had at 2 per cent. being less trouble than to remit by Holland.

Goods are sold to foreigners according to the first cost. *Ex.* If goods worth 100*l.* in Scotland are worth 130*l.* in England, these goods will be exported, 30 per cent. being supposed enough for the charges and profit. If the price of these goods lower in Scotland from 100*l.* to 80*l.* the price in England will not continue at 130*l.*; it will lower proportionably, for either Scots merchants will undersell one another, or English merchants will export these goods themselves. So if they rise in Scotland from 100*l.* to 120*l.* they will rise proportionably in England, unless the English can be served with these goods cheaper from other places, or can supply the use of them with goods of another kind. This being supposed, it follows that,

By so much as exchange is above the par, so much all goods exported are sold cheaper, and all goods imported are sold dearer than before. *Ex.* If a merchant send goods yearly to England first cost, charges and profit 6000*l.* money in England of the same standard with money in Scotland, and no balance due, but a balance due to Holland, raising the exchange 3 per cent. above the par to Holland, and affecting the exchange to England 2 per cent. 5882*l.* 7*s.* in England pays the goods, that sum in England being equal to 6000*l.* in Scotland. So that a balance due to Holland, by raising the exchange to other countries, occasions a loss to Scotland of 117*l.* 13*s.* on the value of 6000*l.* of goods sent to England.

English goods are sold so much dearer. *Ex.* If an English merchant send goods yearly to Scotland, first cost, charges and profit 6000*l.* 6120*l.* must be paid for these goods in Scotland, being only equal to 6000*l.* in England. If the exchange had been at the par, the Scots goods sent to England would have sold 117*l.* 13*s.* more, and the English goods sent to Scotland 120*l.* less.

Thus to all the places with whom exchange is above the par, goods sent out are sold so much less, and goods brought from thence are sold so much dearer, as the exchange is above the par, whether sent out, or brought in, by Scots or foreign merchants.

The merchant who deals in English goods gains no more than when exchange was at the par, though he sells dearer; nor the merchant who deals in Scots goods less, though he sells cheaper; they have both the same profit as when exchange was at the par. Scotland pays 2 per cent. more for English goods, and England 2 per cent. less for Scots goods: All, or a greater part of the loss, falls at last on the landed man in Scotland, and it is the landed man in England has all, or a great part of the benefit.

Nations finding the export of money or bullion to pay the balance due by trade a loss of so much riches, and very hurtful to trade, might have discharged the import of such goods as the people could best want; or laid a duty on them such as might have lessened their consumption: They might have given encouragement to industry, whereby the product would have been increased and improved, or discouraged extravagant consumption, whereby the overplus to export would have been greater; any one of these methods would have brought trade and exchange equal, and have made a balance due to them: But in place of these measures, they prohibit bullion and money to be exported, which could not well have any other effect, than to raise the exchange equal to the hazard such laws added to the export of money or bullion, which may be supposed 3 per cent. more: And as these laws by such effect were hurtful, making all goods exported sell yet 3 per cent. cheaper, and all goods imported 3 per cent. dearer, the stricter they were executed, the higher the exchange rose, and the more they did hurt. The balance was still sent out in money or bullion, by the merchant who owed it, by the banker who gave the bills, or by the foreigner to whom it was due.

Suppose the money of Scotland, England, and Holland of the same weight and fineness; Scotland to trade with no other places; the exchange at the par; the yearly export from Scotland, first cost 300,000*l.* charges, and profit 30 per cent.

Goods imported 280,000*l.* charges, and profit 30 per cent. One half of the trade to be carried on by the Scots merchants, the other half by English and Dutch.

Due to Scotland for one half of the export carried out by their own merchants	195,000	
Due for the other half carried out by English and Dutch	150,000	345,000
Due by Scotland to England and Holland for goods imported by English and Dutch	182,000	
Due for goods imported by Scots merchants	140,000	322,000

The expence of Scotsmen abroad, more than of foreigners in Scotland, 40,000*l.* If this is supposed the yearly state of the trade and expence of Scotland, there will be a balance due of 17,000*l.* And unless the Scotch retrench the consumption of foreign goods, so as to import less; or retrench the consumption of their own goods, so as to import more; or increase, or improve their product, so as the export be greater or more valuable; or retrench in their expence abroad; since that balance must be paid, it will go out in money or bullion, and occasions the exchange to rise 3 per cent. the prohibition on the export of money 3 more, if Scotsmen export it; the nation saves the 1020*l.* exchange on the 17,000*l.* of balance due, which is lost if English merchants export it: But the loss such a rise in exchange occasions on the goods, is more considerable. The 195,000*l.* due abroad for goods sent out of Scotland by Scots merchants, will be paid with 185,962*l.* English or Dutch money, that sum being equal by exchange at 6 per cent. to 195,000*l.* in Scotland. The 150,000*l.* due for first cost of goods carried out by English or Dutch merchants, will be paid with 141,510*l.* English or Dutch money, that sum being equal to 150,000*l.* in Scotland. The 182,000*l.* due by Scotland for goods imported by English and Dutch merchants, will come to 192,920*l.* in Scotland; and the 140,000*l.* first cost of goods brought home by Scots merchants, will come to 148,400*l.* in Scotland. So the accompt will run thus:

Due to Scotland for goods exported	185,962
Brought from abroad first cost	140,000
Balance of expence abroad	40,000
Due to Scotland abroad	3,962
Due by Scotland for goods imported by English and Dutch	192,920
English and Dutch take back in goods	150,000
Due to English and Dutch in Scotland	42,920
3,962*l.* due abroad to Scotland in Scots money	4,199
Remains due by Scotland	38,721

So the rise in the exchange of 3 per cent. by the balance due of 17,000*l.* and three more by the prohibition on the export of money, occasions a loss to Scotland of 21,721*l.* and makes the next year's balance 38,721*l.* though the trade be the same as before. Of which 21,721*l.* lost by exchange, one half would be saved if money were allowed to be exported.

Since the exchange being 6 per cent. above the par, occasions the loss of 21,721*l.* then raising the money 8 and ⅓ per cent. having raised the exchange with England to 14 per cent. and with Holland to 30, makes the loss proportionably greater: Scots goods being supposed to continue at the same prices they were sold for, before the money was raised, or not rise in the same proportion with the money; for when ex-

change was at the par, 100*l.* of Scots goods were sold abroad for 130*l.* English money; but 114*l.* English money being now equal by exchange to 130*l.* in Scotland, the Scots merchant can afford to sell the same quantity of goods for 114*l.* that he sold before at 130*l.* and have the same profit. So foreign goods worth abroad 100*l.* and sold in Scotland for 130*l.* when exchange was the par, cannot be sold now for less than 150*l.* in Scotland; that sum being only equal to 130*l* English money, and the merchant's profit is no greater than when he sold the same quantity of goods for 130*l.*

It may not be improper to consider what consequences would attend the lowering the money to the English standard, and allowing it to be exported.

The former state of trade I have supposed to be carried on, one half by Scots merchants, the other half by English and Dutch; but as most of the trade is carried on by Scots merchants, I shall suppose this state of trade accordingly. The one or the other will clear the matter in question.

The state of trade now, and exchange supposed at 15 per cent. to England, and 30 to Holland. The whole export of Scotland to be 300,000*l.* of which 250,000*l.* carried out by Scots merchants, sold at 30 per cent. profit and charges 325,000*l.*

The English money	282,608
Exported by foreigners for 50,000*l.* in English money	43,478
The whole export	326,086
Goods imported	306,086
Spent abroad	40,000
Due of Balance by Scotland	20,000

Money being lowered to the English standard, and allowed by law to be exported, will bring the exchange with England to 2 or 3 per cent. and with Holland to 17 or 18, notwithstanding of the balance due; for as 100*l.* in Edinburgh would then be equal to 100*l.* at London, and being allowed to be exported, none would give above 102 or 3 here for 100*l.* at London; because the trouble and charge of sending it to London would be valued no higher. The export, import, and expence abroad supposed to continue the same, a balance would then be due to Scotland.

The state of trade, exchange at 3 per cent. to England, and proportionably to other places.

Due in English money, for 325,000*l.* first cost, charges and profit of goods sent out by Scots merchants	315,534
Due in English money for 50,000*l.* of goods exported by foreigners	48,544
The whole export	364,078
Of this deduce the value of goods imported	306,086
And the expence abroad	40,000
There will be a balance due to Scotland of	17,992

As this balance due to Scotland would bring exchange to the par, and 3 per cent. on the Scots side, three more because money in England is prohibited to be exported, 100*l.* in Scotland would be worth 106*l.* in England, and proportionably in other places. So the state of trade would then be thus:

Due in English money for 325,000*l.* first cost, charges and profit of Scots goods sent out by Scots merchants, and 50,000*l.* exported by foreigners	397,500

Of this spent abroad	40,000
Imported from abroad	306,086
Balance then due to Scotland	51,414

If the yearly export be as great as I suppose it, and the balance only 20,000*l.* then lowering the money to the English standard, will make a balance due of 51,414*l.* though the money is not allowed to be exported.

It may be objected, that such an alteration in the exchange, lowering the value of foreign money, might hinder the sale of our goods abroad; for linen cloth bought in Scotland for 100*l.* and sold at London for 115*l.* yields by exchange 31 per cent. profit; but if exchange were 6 per cent. on the Scots side, the profit is only 9 per cent.

It is answered, If an English merchant takes bills on Scotland for 1000*l.* to lay out on linen-cloth, the exchange then at the par, the linen-cloth is sold in England according to the first cost, charges and usual profit. Next year the exchange on the English side, the linen is sold in England cheaper than before. The third year exchange returns to the par, the linen is then sold in England as the first year. If the first cost of linen is dearer, the consumer pays the more for it, the merchant's profit is the same.

All nations endeavour to get the exchange as much as they can on their side. The exchange from Holland to England is 12 or 15 per cent. to Scotland 30 per cent. to France 40 or 50. sometimes more; yet Dutch goods sell in those countries, the merchant has his profit the same as when exchange was lower, the consumer pays more for them. English cloth is sold at Paris from 18 to 20 livres the French ell, when the louis d'or is at 12 livres; from 20 to 23, when the louis d'or is at 14 livres; because the exchange to England is dearer in proportion as the French money is raised.

Most goods sent from Scotland are such as foreigners won't want, though they paid 10 or 20 per cent. more for them: We have an example of this in the wool. During the prohibition, wool sold in Holland and France for double the first cost, now it has fallen to 30 or 40 per cent. profit. Prices are given for goods according to their first cost, charges, and usual profit; where prohibitions are, the hazard of exporting contrary to law is valued. Wool is of less value now in Holland than in time of peace, because the vent of their woollen manufacture is less; but though wool were as valuable in Holland as before, and though a Dutch manufacturer would give 200*l.* for wool that cost only 100*l.* in Scotland, rather than want it, yet, as he knows the prohibition is taken off, and that the Scots merchants can afford to sell cheaper, he won't buy unless he can have it at a reasonable profit; so either the Scots merchants bring down the price by underselling one another, or the Dutch merchant commissions it himself. If a duty were put on such goods whose value abroad would bear it, the merchant would gain the same, 'tis the foreigner pays the duty.

Besides, lowering the money may not lower the prices abroad. For, as, when money was raised, goods may have rose in proportion, or have been made worse, so as 100*l.* after the money is lowered will have 33 crowns and $\frac{1}{3}$ more silver in it than 100*l.* had before, so a greater quantity of goods may be bought with a 100*l.* than before, or the goods may be made better, especially the linen-cloth, since the material would be imported for less. But, allowing that upon the lowering the money, goods sold in Scotland as before, and were made no better; and allowing that one third or more of the goods exported could not be raised in their prices abroad; because foreigners might be served cheaper with the same kind of goods from other places, or might supply the use of them with goods of another kind, or might consume less of them; yet that ought not to hinder such a regulation of the money and exchange; for a drawback

might be given upon the export of such goods, whose prices abroad were not great enough to yield a reasonable profit.

But lest such an alteration in the exchange, or undervaluing foreign money, should lessen the export of goods, it may not be advisable, unless a fund were given, out of which drawbacks might be paid to encourage export, and an addition be made to the money, whereby the people may be set to work. For without some addition to the money, 'tis not to be supposed next year's export can be equal to the last: It will lessen as money has lessened; a part of the people then employed being now idle, not for want of inclination to work, or for want of employers, but for want of money to employ them with.

CHAP. III.

Of the different Measures have been used to preserve and increase Money: And of Banks.

The measures have been used to preserve and increase money, have in some countries been opposite to what has been used in others: And opposite measures have been used in the same countries, without any differing circumstances to occasion them.

Some countries have raised money in the denomination, when others have lowered it; some have allayed it, when others who had allayed it have rectified it; some have prohibited the export of money under the severest penalties, when others have by law allowed it to be exported; some thinking to add to the money, have obliged traders to bring home bullion, in proportion to the goods they imported. Most countries have tried some or all of these measures, and others of the same nature, and have tried contrary measures at one time, from what they used immediately before, from the opinion, that since the method used had not the effect designed, a contrary would: Yet it has not been found, that any of them have preserved or increased money, but on the contrary.

The use of banks has been the best method yet practised for the increase of money. Banks have been long used in Italy, but, as I am informed, the invention of them was owing to Swedeland. Their money was copper, which was inconvenient, by reason of its weight and bulk; to remedy this inconveniency, a bank was set up where the money might be pledged, and credit given to the value, which past in payments, and facilitated trade.

The Dutch for the same reason set up the bank of Amsterdam. Their money was silver, but their trade was so great as to find payments even in silver inconvenient. This bank, like that of Swedeland, is a secure place, where merchants may give in money and have credit, to trade with. Besides the convenience of easier and quicker payments, these banks save the expence of cashiers, the expence of bags and carriage, losses by bad money, and the money is safer than in the merchants' houses; for 'tis less liable to fire or robbery, the necessary measures being taken to prevent them.

Merchants who have money in the bank of Amsterdam, and people of other countries who deal with them, are not liable to the changes in the money, by its being allayed or altered in the denomination: For the bank receives no money but what's of value, and is therefore called bank-money; and though raised in current payments, it goes for the value it was pledged for in bank-payments. The agio of the bank changes a quarter or half per cent. as current money is more or less scarce.

Banks, where the money is pledged equal to the credit given, are sure; for, though demands are made of the whole, the bank does not fail in payment.

By the constitution of this bank, the whole sum for which credit is given ought to

remain there, to be ready at demand; yet a sum is lent by the managers for a stock to the lumbar, and 'tis thought they lend great sums on other occasions. So far as they lend they add to the money, which brings a profit to the country; by employing more people, and extending trade, they add to the money to be lent, whereby it is easier borrowed, and at less use; and the bank has a benefit: But the bank is less sure, and though none suffer by it, or are apprehensive of danger, its credit being good, yet if the whole demands were made, or demands greater than the remaining money, they could not all be satisfied till the bank had called in what sums were lent.

The certain good it does will more than balance the hazard, though once in two or three years it failed in payment; providing the sums lent be well secured: Merchants who had money there might be disappointed of it at demand, but the security being good, and interest allowed, money would be had on a small discount, perhaps at the par.

Last war, England set up a bank to have the conveniences of that at Amsterdam, and by their constitution to increase money. This bank was made up of subscribers, who lent the king 1,200,000*l.* at 8 and ¼ per cent. for 11 years, on a parliamentary fund; and were privileged bankers for that time. The sum due by the government was a security to the people to make good any losses the bank might suffer.

This bank was safer than the goldsmiths' notes in use before. It made a great addition to the money, having a much greater sum of notes out than money in bank. And the sum lent the king, which was the fund, belonged to the subscribers, was negotiated at profit, and had the same effect in trade as money. I don't know how their notes came to be at discount, whether from the circumstances of the nation, or from ill management.

The fund of the bank of Scotland was 100,000*l.* of which a tenth was paid in: This bank was safer than that of England, there being a register whereby most sums lent were secured. Its notes went for four or five times the value of the money in bank, and by so much as these notes went for more than the money in bank, so much was added to the money of the nation.

This bank was more useful than that of Amsterdam, or England; its notes passing in most payments, and through the whole country: The bank of Amsterdam being only for that town; and that of England of little use but at London.

The stop of payments which happened to the bank of Scotland, was foreseen and might have been prevented. The consumption of foreign goods, and expence in England, being more than the export of goods did pay, the balance sent out in money lessened the credit of the bank: For as credit is voluntary, it depends on the quantity of money in the country, and increases or decreases with it. Coining notes of one pound supported the bank, by furnishing paper for small payments, and thereby preventing a part of the demand for money: By these notes the bank might have kept its credit, till other methods had been taken to supply the country with money, had not a report of raising the money occasioned an extraordinary demand, which in few days exhausted the money in bank, and put a stop to payments.

It would not have been easy in that scarcity of money to have got enough to support the bank, though men of the best credit had undertaken it; that report of raising the money having only occasioned a demand from the people in Edinburgh. In a short time notes would have come in so fast from the country, that what money could have been got, would not have answered the demand.

If the privy-council had lowered the money, the English crown to 5*s.* and the other money in proportion, to take place 2*d.* per crown in three days, and the other 3*d.* in a month, the occasion of the demand being removed, in all appearance money would have been returned to the bank.

If the state of the bank had been known or suspected by the people, such a procla-

mation would have had the same effect, though the stop of payment had then happened. In that case, the support of the bank might have been the narrative of the proclamation; the security being good, few or none would have kept their money to loss, rather than return it to the bank. And if in three days money had not come in so fast as expected, their lordships might have lowered the crown to 5s. to take place then, and 6d. more in three days. When the credit of the bank had been re-established, the money might have been cried up, if that had been necessary, the crown to 5s. and 5d. and the other money in proportion as it was before.

Some are against all banks where the money does not lie pledged equal to the credit. 1. They say the demand may be greater than the money in bank. 2. If we are declining in our trade or money, we are not at all, or are less sensible of it; and if the bank fail, we are in a worse condition than before.

To the first is answered, Though the nation had no benefit by the addition the bank makes to the money, nor the people by being supplied with money when otherwise they could not, and at less interest; and though the proprietors had no gain by it, the other conveniences, as quicker and easier payments, &c. are more than equal to that hazard; or bank-notes, goldsmiths and bankers notes would not be preferred to money, every body knowing such a stop may happen at the bank, and that goldsmiths and bankers may fail.

The other objection is the same as to say, a merchant who had a *small* stock, and was capable of employing a greater, if a sum were offered him without interest, equal to what he had, and more as his own increased, should refuse it, because he might fancy himself richer than he was, and if his own stock decreased, that sum lent would be taken from him.

If 15,000*l.* is supposed the money in bank, and 75,000*l.* of notes out, 60,000*l.* is added to the money of the nation without interest; for what is paid by the borrowers is got by the proprietors. As the money of the nation increases, the credit of the bank increases, and the sum of notes out is greater, and so far from making the people less sensible of the condition of the country, a surer judgment of the state of trade and money may be made from the books of the bank, than any other way.

If trade can be carried on with 100,000*l.* and a balance due by foreigners, the same measures, and a greater quantity of money, would make the balance greater. Nor is that additional money the bank furnishes to be supposed will be lost, if by a balance due from trade the silver money increases: That credit may fail from an accident when money is plentiful, and would soon be recovered; 'tis only lost by a scarcity of money. Such a credit may support trade, in cases where without it trade would sink, but cannot do prejudice.

Another objection is made against the bank, That it encouraged the exportation of money, by furnishing sums in such species as were of most value abroad. To answer this objection, I shall make a supposition. A. B. merchant has occasion for 1000*l.* in Holland, and desires C. D. banker to give him a bill for that value; there is no money due in Holland to Scots merchants, so C. D. must export the money to pay the bill he draws: But there being no bank, nor any possibility of getting 1000*l.* in 40d. pieces, he sends out money of different species. This does not hinder the money to go out, but makes the exchange dearer by 2 or 3 per cent. than it would have been if 40d. pieces could have been got. And though no other money were left but old marks, if a balance is due these will go out though not worth 10d. The exchange will be so much higher, the profit of exporting is the same; and so far from doing hurt to the country, the bank, by furnishing such pieces as could be exported to the least loss, kept the exchange at least 2 or 3 per cent. lower than otherwise it would have been, and saved yearly the sending out a considerable sum to pay a greater balance the higher exchange would have occasioned.

CHAP. IV.

The several Measures now proposed considered. As raising or allaying the Money Coining the Plate. Regulating the Balance of Trade; or, re-establishing the Bank.

When I use the words, "raising the money," I desire to be understood raising it in the denomination; for I do not suppose it adds to the value.

There is no way silver can be made more valuable, but by lessening the quantity, or increasing the demand for it. If the export and consumption of silver be greater than the import, or the demand be increased, silver will be of more value. If the quantity imported be greater than the quantity exported or consumed, or the demand lessened, silver will be of less value.

If raising or allaying the money could add to its value, or have any good effect on home or foreign trade, then no nation would want money. One hundred pounds might be raised or allayed to 2, to 10, to 100 times the denomination it had, or more, as there were occasion. But as 'tis unjust to raise or allay money, because then all contracts are paid with a lesser value than was contracted for, and as it has bad effects on home and foreign trade, so no nation practises it that has regard to justice, or understands the nature of trade and money. If A. B. sell twelve chalders of victual for 100*l.* payable in six months, with which he is to pay bills of exchange of that value, to be drawn on him then from France for wine he has commissioned; and in that time the money is raised or allayed to double, the 100*l.* A. B. receives will only pay half the bill he has to pay, being only equal to 50*l.* of the money he contracted for. Nor will that 100*l.* buy the same quantity of goods of the country that 100*l.* bought before: It will pay where money is due, and satisfy past contracts made upon the faith of the publick, because the prince says, every man shall take half what is owing him in full payment. But in bargains to be made, the value of the money will be considered, goods will rise, though perhaps not to the proportion the money is raised: And such persons who do not raise their goods equal to the money are imposed on.

When 6d. is raised to 12d. the 6d. is worth 12d. but the value of the pence is lowered to half-pence.

To explain this matter better, I shall suppose when money is raised, goods rise or not.

If goods rise, then raising the money has not the effect designed. If a piece of serge is sold for 40s. and the shilling be raised to 18d. the piece of serge will be sold for 3*l.* This adds to the tale of the money, and pays debts with $\frac{2}{3}$ of what is due, but does not add to the money. This is the natural consequence of raising the money; for it is not the sound of the higher denomination, but the value of the silver, is considered.

If, when the money is raised, goods keep the prices they had before, then all goods exported are sold for a lesser value abroad, and all goods imported are sold dearer. *Ex.* A half-crown is raised to 40d. and that half-crown buys the same quantity of goods 40d. bought before; then the merchant who sends goods to Holland to the value of 300*l.* which are sold there for 390*l.* would gain 220*l.* on the value of 300*l.* exported: Because 390*l.* in Holland, would be equal to, or worth by exchange at the par or sent in bullion, 520*l.* in Scotland. The trade would bring no more profit to the nation, than when the return of goods yielded only 390*l.* For 390*l.* before it was raised, had the same quantity of silver, that 520*l.* raised money would have, and bought as great a quantity of foreign goods. But that trade would be so profitable to the merchant, that more people would deal in it than could get goods to buy; and as

more buyers than sellers would raise the prices here, so one merchant underselling the other would lower the prices in Holland. But though the prices kept low here, and our merchants kept up the prices abroad, the Dutch knowing the goods were so cheap in the country, would buy none from our merchants, but commission them in return of goods they sent.

Suppose the yearly export first cost 300,000*l.* sold abroad 390,000*l.* The import, and expence abroad 410,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* sent in money, to pay the balance. The money raised $\frac{1}{7}$, and goods to keep the prices they had before, 225,000*l.* sent to Scotland in foreign money or goods, or by exchange, would buy what was sold abroad for 390,000*l.* The export, import, and expence abroad continuing the same, Scotland would be due a balance of 185,000*l.* For, though Scots goods were sold under the value, yet other nations would not sell their goods for less than before, or than they could have in other places.

It may be alledged, "We have more product and manufacture than is consumed or exported; and selling cheaper would occasion a greater demand for our goods abroad."

The product and manufacture might be much increased, if we had money to employ the people: But I'm of opinion we have not any great quantity of goods, more than what is consumed or exported. Allow selling cheaper would occasion a greater demand; that the greater demand would occasion an increase in the product and manufacture, to the value of 100,000*l.* and allow that the extraordinary cheapness of goods did not occasion a greater consumption in the country; yet we should be in the same condition as before; 20,000*l.* would be still due of balance, and the improvement would be given to foreigners for nothing. But this improvement is imaginary, for though the demand increased, yet without more money more people could not be employed, so no further improvement could be made: We would be forced to retrench near one half of the ordinary consumption of foreign goods and expence abroad, not having money to pay the great balance would be due.

Some think foreign money being raised would bring in money to Scotland.

Though the crown were raised to 10s. yet if a balance is due by Scotland, the exchange will be above the par; and 'tis not to be supposed an English merchant will bring crowns to Scotland, when for 100 paid in at London, he can have 105 or 6 of the same crowns paid him at Edinburgh.

If the balance of trade was equal, foreign money raised, and Scots money not raised in proportion, foreign money would be brought in, and a greater value of Scots money would be carried out. 'Tis the same loss to a country when money is raised, and goods do not rise in proportion: *Ex.* If foreigners send in money to buy goods, and this money, when exported, is not valued so high as here, the return in goods will be so much less, besides the want of the profit we would have had on the export of our goods.

If all import and foreign expence were discharged, Scotland would then be so much richer, as there was bullion or money imported: But if that prohibition be supposed, Scotland would be richer by keeping the money at the value it has, because a greater quantity would be brought in to buy the same quantity of goods.

If we could be supposed to be without any commerce with other nations, 100*l.* may be allayed and raised to have the same effect in trade as a million: But if a stranger were suffered to come to Scotland, he might purchase a great part of the land or goods with a small sum; and a rich man here would make a very small figure abroad.

Money is the measure by which all goods are valued, and unless goods rise to the full proportion the money is raised, the goods are under valued. If the yearly value of Scotland in product and manufacture be 2 millions, at 20 years purchase 40 millions; the money 100,000*l.* raising the money 20 per cent. makes it pass for 120,000*l.* Sup-

pose the goods rise only 10 per cent. then that 120,000*l.* is equal in Scotland to 110,000*l.* of the money before it was raised, and buys the same quantity of goods: So an addition is made of 20,000*l.* to the tale, and of 10,000*l.* to the value of Scots or foreign money, compared with the value of Scots goods; but the measure by which goods are valued, being raised in the denomination 20 per cent. and the goods rising only 10 per cent. Scotland is near 4 millions, or one-tenth less valuable than before. And any man who sells his estate, will receive a tenth less silver, or of any other foreign goods for it, than if he had sold it before the money was raised.

France and Holland are given as examples of raising and allaying the money. In France the money is higher in the denomination than in other countries, but that does not hinder the money of France to be exported. When the louis d'or was at 12 livres, the balance was against France, exchange 10 per cent above the par: And 110 louis d'ors, at 12 livres, were paid then at Paris for 100 louis d'ors of the same weight and fineness at Amsterdam, and passing there for 9 guilders bank money, so 10 per cent. was got by exporting money from France. When the louis d'or was raised to 14 livres, that did not make the balance against France less, the exchange continued the same, 110 louis d'ors, though at 14 livres, were paid for a bill of 100 at Amsterdam, and the same profit was made by exporting money. If the exchange happened to be lower, it was from the balance of trade due by France being less, and that would have lowered the exchange, whether the money had been raised or not. But the raising the money, so far from bringing the balance to the French side, keeps the balance against France: For as their goods do not rise to the full proportion the money is raised, so French goods are sold cheaper, and foreign goods are sold dearer, which makes the balance greater, occasions a greater export of money, sets idle so many of the people as that money employed, lessens the product or manufacture, the yearly value of the country, and the number of the people.

It's thought the Dutch coin louis d'ors, and send them to France, where they pass at 14 livres: And that guineas were sent from Holland to England in the time of the clipt money, because they passed there for 30s., but these people are misinformed. Ever since I have known any thing of exchange, a louis d'or at Amsterdam, whether new or old, has been of more value by exchange than a new louis d'or at Paris. And in the time of the clipt money, a guinea in Holland was worth more by exchange than a guinea in England. Those who were ignorant of the exchange, might buy up guineas or louis d'ors, to carry to England or France, but they would have got more by bill. There was a profit then upon exporting guineas and louis d'ors from England and France to Holland. The pound English, at that time, was given for 8 guilders, or under; and the exchange from Amsterdam to Paris, has been these 8 or 10 years, for the most part, considerably above the par on the Dutch side. I have known the pound English at 7 guilders 13 stivers, and the French crown of 3 livres bought in Holland for 39 stivers, in London for 39d. halfpenny.

Raising the money in France is laying a tax on the people, which is sooner paid, and thought to be less felt, than a tax laid on any other way. When the king raises the louis d'or from 12 livres to 14, they are taken in at the mint for 13 livres, and given out for 14; so the king gains a livre on the louis d'or, and this tax comes to 20 or 25 millions of livres, sometimes more, according to the quantity of money in the country. But so far from adding to the money, it stops the circulation; a part being kept up till there is occasion to export it to Holland, from whence a return is made by bill of a sum of livres equal to the same quantity of new louis d'ors that were exported of old ones, and 8 or 10 per cent. more, according as the exchange is on the Dutch side. Others who won't venture to send the money out, keep it till the new money is cried down, so save a 13th part, which the king would have got, if they had carried the money to the mint to be recoined. This tax falls heavy on the poorer sort of the people.

It's generally thought the Dutch money is not worth half what it passes for. But it will prove otherwise when examined. The bank, by which most payments are made, receive and pay in bank money, which is better than the English: Ducatoons are at 3 guilders, and other bank money in proportion; and I'm informed, the current money has silver in it to the value, or near, except some of their skellings which are worse than others: The making them worse was not designed, it was an abuse occasioned by too many towns having power to coin, which abuse was stopt so soon as known, and that species cried down to 5 stivers and a half.

Some proposed the money may be raised, to give the little we have left a better circulation, and to bring out hoarded money. The lowering it by degrees to take place in three or four months, will have the same effect, and other good consequences; for, from what has been said, page 25 and 26, there is reason to think, if the money were lowered to the English standard, exchange would be on our side, and a balance due to us; providing the export, the import, and expence abroad continued as now.

There is another argument for raising the money, which is, "That some goods don't yield profit enough abroad, so are not exported. *Ex.* If serges worth in Scotland 100*l.* are worth 120*l.* in Holland, the merchant won't export them for 20 per cent. profit; but if the money is raised 20 per cent. and goods keep at the price they had before, the same money that bought 100*l.* of serges, buying now to the value of 120*l.* and these goods being worth in Holland 144*l.* that addition to the profit by raising the money will occasion the export of them."

This is the same as if a merchant who had 100 different sorts of goods, and was offered 30 per cent. profit upon 90 of them, but nobody offering above 20 per cent. profit for the other 10 sorts, should add a quarter to the measure by which he measured his goods, and sell all the 100 sorts for the same price he sold them before: As this merchant will find himself a considerable loser by this expedient, so will a nation who raises their money.

For the same reason, it would be a great loss to Scotland if all goods were allowed to be exported without duty; some ought to be free of duty, and some not, according to their value abroad.

The true and safe way to encourage the export of such goods as do not yield great enough profit, is by a drawback. *Ex.* If serges sent to Holland give only 20 per cent. profit, 10 per cent. given as a drawback will encourage their export: The drawback given to the merchant is not lost to the nation, and what is got by the manufacture, or export of the goods, is gained by the nation.

A drawback is the best method yet known for encouraging trade, and it may be made appear, that 10 or 15,000*l.* applied that way, will occasion an addition to the export to the value of 100,000*l.* Nor is any part of that 10 or 15,000*l.* lost to the nation, for if *A. B.* and *C.* Scotsmen, get such drawback, it is the same thing to the nation as if it had been given. When drawbacks are paid out of funds for the support of the government, little money is applied that way; because so much is taken from the prince: But if there was a national fund for the encouragement of trade, that nation might improve trade, and undersell other nations that did not follow the same measures. But this is supposing there was money in the country to employ the people.

Coining the plate were a loss of the fashion, which may be valued one 6th, and would add little to the money: The plate at the Restoration was inconsiderable, having been called in a little before. Since there may have been wrought one year with another about 60 stone weight; of that a great part has been melted down, or exported, the remainder won't be of great value. What plate has been imported belongs to a few men of quality, who will send it out of the country rather than lose the fashion;

and in that they do a service to the country, providing they don't spend it abroad, because wrought plate will sell for more silver at London than it will melt to here.

If 'tis proposed the money be allayed, and the advantage of the allay be given to the owners of the plate: Suppose the new money with allay be raised to double the denomination, 5s. of the plate with the fashion worth 6s. will give at the mint 10s. allayed money: But even then the plate would not be brought in voluntarily, for that plate sold in England, and the value brought back by bill, will yield from 11 to 12s. exchange being above the par, and 6d. supposed to be got for the fashion of the ounce of plate.

If it be necessary to coin the plate, such plate should be allowed to be exported as can be sold abroad for more than its weight, security being given to import money or bullion to the value.

Some propose a regulation of the balance of trade, by retrenching the consumption of foreign goods, and expence in England: So the balance being brought on our side, we may become rich by living within our yearly value, as we became poor by spending beyond it.

Such a regulation will have its difficulties. 1. To discharge all or a great part of the import, will lessen considerably the revenue of the crown, and her majesty may not think good to give the royal assent to such a regulation, unless an equivalent be given. 2. Such a regulation would not be so strictly kept, but a part of what was used to be imported would be stole in. 3. The residence of our princes being in England, we are under a necessity of having a ministry there: Employments being at the disposal of the prince, and London being a place of more diversion than Edinburgh, the gentry will continue to go to London for places or pleasure.

But allowing the royal assent were given to such a regulation either with or without an equivalent, and the regulation could be so strictly kept, that nothing were imported contrary to that law, and allow 20,000*l.* could be saved of the expence in England, so that the import and expence abroad should be 60,000*l.* less than last year, yet there are other difficulties that, I fear, will make the regulation ineffectual.

1. Suppose the balance last year due by us was 20,000*l.* the import and expence abroad lessened 60,000*l.* these who propose this regulation may think a balance will be due to us of 40,000*l.* But as the bank may have supplied us with 60,000*l.* of notes, more than the money in bank, and as 20,000*l.* is supposed to have been exported last year, so our money being lessened 80,000*l.* the next year's export may be so much less valuable, the want of that money having set idle a part of the people that were then employed, and a greater balance be due than last year notwithstanding the regulation.

2. Forty thousand pound first cost of goods imported, and 20,000*l.* spent abroad, lessened the consumption of the goods of the country; and the export was by so much greater, as the consumption of the goods of the country was lessened. But this regulation occasioning a greater consumption of the goods of the country, the export will be less.

3. Several merchants may have exported goods, though they had not much profit upon the export of them; but because of the profit to be made upon the import, which being lessened, may likewise lessen the export.

4. If Scotland discharge or put a very high duty on the goods of other nations, other nations may discharge Scots goods.

Allowing there were no difficulties in regulating the balance of trade, and that the same measures were followed as are followed in Holland, we would grow richer, but their riches would increase in the same proportion: And 50 years hence Scotland would be as poor as now, in comparison with Holland.

If two countries equal in their product, people, &c. the one with 100,000*l.* of money, and living within its yearly value, so that the first year a balance is due of 20,000*l.*

the second year of 250,000*l.* and so on; the other country with 20 millions of money, and consuming more than the yearly value, so that a million is sent out to pay the balance, the second year 1200,000*l.* and so on; this country will be soon poor, and the other be soon rich: But if that people who has 20 millions of money, will retrench in proportion to the other, they will be rich and powerful in comparison to the other.

Considering how small a share we have of the money of Europe, and how much trade depends on money, it will not be found very practicable to better our condition, but by an addition to our money. Or if it is practicable without it, it is much more so with it.

The bank will add little to the money; for as credit is voluntary, it depends on the quantity of money in the country: And though the bank had never failed, yet it could not have kept its credit much longer, because the quantity of money in Scotland is not sufficient to give a circulation to such a sum of notes as will pay the charges of the bank and the interest to the owners.

'Tis thought the proprietors of the bank design to apply to the parliament for further privileges; but as their design is not yet made publick, I shall only say in general, that if other privileges are to be given, then it is not the same bank, at least not on the same establishment it was: In either of these cases, every person should be allowed to share in it.

When a bank is established, every person may have share, upon the terms of the act of parliament; and he that offers first is preferred. Suppose, upon the setting up of the bank, A. B. and C. did not subscribe to it, because they thought the establishment not favourable enough, so long as they who did subscribe can support the bank upon the terms of the act of parliament, none will pretend to any share in it, unless the subscribers are pleased to sell. But if other privileges are given, A. B. and C. as any others of the country may desire the books to be opened, that they be allowed to share in it; and any other set of men who offer the same security, may at the same time be allowed to set up a bank with the same privileges; so every shire in Scotland will desire one. And if new privileges are given to this bank, it were a hardship to refuse the same to others, who are able and willing to give the same security, especially when the nation stands in need of more money than this bank would be allowed to give out.

CHAP. V.

That any Measures proposed for increasing the Silver Money or establishing a Credit, promising a Payment of Silver Money, are ineffectual. That Silver Money has fallen much from the Value it had. That Land is of greater Value. That Silver may lose additional Value it received from being used as Money.

National power and wealth consists in numbers of people, and magazines of home and foreign goods. These depend on trade, and trade depends on money. So to be powerful and wealthy in proportion to other nations, we should have money in proportion with them; for the best laws without money cannot employ the people, improve the product, or advance manufacture and trade.

The measures have been used to preserve and increase money, or such as are now proposed, are attended with difficulties; and though the difficulties were removed are ineffectual, and not capable to furnish money so as to improve the country, or extend trade in any proportion to the improvements and trade of other nations.

Credit that promises a payment of money, cannot well be extended beyond a certain proportion it ought to have with the money. And we have so little money, that any credit could be given upon it would be inconsiderable.

It remains to be considered, whether any other goods than silver can be made money with the same safety and convenience.

From what has been said about the nature of money, chap. I. it is evident, that any other goods which have the qualities necessary in money, may be made money equal to the value with safety and convenience. There was nothing of humour or fancy in making silver to be money; it was made money because it was thought best qualified for that use.

I shall endeavour to prove, that another money may be established, with all the qualities necessary in money in a greater degree than silver, with other qualities that silver has not; and preferable for that use, though silver were the product of Scotland. And that by this money the people may be employed, the country improved, manufacture advanced, trade domestick and foreign be carried on, and wealth and power attained.

What I propose will, I hope, be found safe and practicable; advantageous in general to Scotland, and in particular to every Scotsman.

But as I offer to prove, that what I shall propose is more qualified for the use of money than silver; so, before I come to the proposal, I shall shew some defects in silver money, and that it has not, nor does not answer the design of money.

Money is the measure by which goods are valued, the value by which goods are exchanged, and in which contracts are made payable.

Money is not a pledge, as some call it; it's a value paid, or contracted to be paid, with which 'tis supposed the receiver may, as his occasions require, buy an equal quantity of the same goods he has sold, or other goods equal in value to them: And that money is the most secure value, either to receive, to contract for, or to value goods by, which is least liable to a change in its value.

Silver money is more uncertain in its value than other goods, so less qualified for the use of money.

The power the magistrate has to alter the money in its denomination or fineness, takes away the chief quality for which silver was made money. In countries where the money is often changed in the denomination or fineness, 'tis more uncertain to contract for money, than it was in the state of barter to contract for goods. *Ex.* If 100 ounces of silver are lent or contracted for, and a bond given for them denominate pounds payable in a year, in that time half-a-crown is raised to a crown, and 50 ounces pays the 100 lent or contracted for.

Though the magistrate did never alter the money in its denomination or fineness, yet it is more uncertain in its value than other goods.

Goods of the same kind and quality differ in value, from any change in their quantity, or in the demand for them: In either of these cases goods are said to be dearer, or cheaper, being more or less valuable, and equal to a greater or lesser quantity of other goods, or of money.

Silver in bullion or money changes its value, from any change in its quantity, or in the demand for it: In either of these cases goods are said to be dearer or cheaper; but 'tis silver or money is dearer or cheaper, being more or less valuable, and equal to a greater or lesser quantity of goods.

Perishable goods, as corns, &c. increase or decrease in quantity as the demand for them increases or decreases; so their value continues equal or near the same.

More durable goods, as metals, materials for shipping, &c. increase in quantity beyond the demand for them, so are less valuable.

Silver or money increases in quantity by so much as is imported to Europe, more than is consumed or exported. The demand has increased, but not in proportion to

the quantity; for, 1st, the same quantity of silver or money won't purchase the same quantity of goods as before; 2dly, 10 per cent. was paid for the use of it; now 'tis to be had at 6, in Holland at 3 or 4.

An ounce of silver being worth 5s. and 2d. and a crown worth 60d. unless altered by the prince, makes most people insensible of any change in the value of silver or money: But as one year the boll of barley is sold for 2 crowns, and the year after for 3, this difference comes from a change in the quantity or demand of the barley, or of the money; and that of the money will occasion a difference in the price, as well as that of the barley.

If last year 100 sheep were sold for 100 crowns, and the person sold them desires this year to buy the same number of sheep, though the quantity of the sheep and the demand for them be the same as last year, yet, if the money is increased in quantity, and the demand for it not increased in proportion, the 100 sheep will be equal in value to more money than the year before, so the money is cheaper. If the quantity of the money and the demand for it be the same as before, yet, if the sheep are lesser in quantity, or the demand for them greater, the 100 sheep will be equal to a greater quantity of money, so the sheep are dearer.

So though the magistrate did never alter the money, yet 'tis liable to a change in its value as silver; from any change in its quantity, or in the demand for it; and the receiver is doubly uncertain whether the money he receives or contracts for will, when he has occasion, buy him the same goods he has sold, or other goods equal in value to them, because of the difference may happen in the value of the money, or the goods he is to buy.

And this uncertainty is, though both money and goods were certain in their quality.

The difference of the prices of most goods, from changes in their quantity, or in the demand for them, would be much prevented, if magazines were kept; but the difference in their prices from the greater or lesser quantity of, or demand for money, cannot be prevented so long as silver is the money.

That money is of much lesser value than it was, will appear by the value goods, land, and money had 200 years ago.

By the acts of the council of Edinburgh it appears, that *anno* 1495, the fiars for wheat was 6s. and 8d. Scots money the boll.

Anno 1520, claret and white French wines ordered to be sold in the taverns at 6d. Scots the pint, and ale at 20d. Scots the gallon.

Anno 1526, the milns belonging to the town were let for 400 merks Scots, now they give 15,000.

The petty customs at Leith then let for 115 merks.

Anno 1532, the load of malt, containing 9 firlots, was ordered to be sold at 32s. Scots the load.

Anno 1551, ordered that the best mutton bulk be sold for 12d. Scots, the second sort for 10d. and the worst sort for 8d.

Anno 1553, the 9 firlots of malt old measure, with the charity, is ordered to be sold for 26s. Scots. The landwart bread to weigh 40 ounces, and the town-bread 36 ounces the 4d. or plack loaf.

Anno 1555, the bakers are ordered for each boll of wheat to deliver 7 score loaves, at 16 ounces the loaf.

By an act of the 5th parliament of Queen Mary, *anno* 1551, it's ordained, That wines imported upon the east and north coast should not be sold dearer than 20*l.* Scots the tun of Bourdeaux wine, and 16*l.* the tun of Rochel wine, the pint of Bourdeaux wine 10d. and the pint of Rochel wine 8d. and that wine imported upon the west coast be sold no dearer than 16*l.* Scots the tun, of Bourdeaux wine, and 12 or 13*l.*

the tun of Rochel wine; 8d. the pint of Bourdeaux wine, and 6d. the pint of Rochel wine.

So that what 5*l.* bought 200 years ago, will not be bought now for 100*l.* nor were goods in greater plenty, or of less value, than now: On the contrary, as these acts were made to regulate the prices of goods, 'tis reasonable to think they were in lesser quantity than now, proportioned to the demand, so of more value. But money having increased in quantity more than in demand, and having been altered by the prince, is fallen in value; and 100*l.* now is not worth what 5*l.* was worth before.

Land may be computed to have been improved in 200 years, that what pays now 2 bolls the acre, paid then but 1 boll, which may be known from old rentals.

Money gave then 10 per cent. interest, and as 384 acres, rented a boll the acre, victual at 8s. 4d. the chalder; so the property of these acres were equal to, or worth, 100*l.* for 100*l.* gave 10*l.* interest, and the 384 acres paid only such a quantity of victual as was sold for 10*l.* but as land (being preferable to money for many reasons) is valued now at 20 years purchase, though money is at 6 per cent. so that land then may have been valued 14 years purchase, or 140*l.*

As the quantity of money has increased since that time much more than the demand for it, and as the same quantity of silver has received a higher denomination, so of consequence money is of lesser value: A lesser interest is given for it: A greater quantity of it is given for the same quantity of goods, and the land is worth more years purchase.

The value of such land now, the acre rented at 2 bolls victual at 8*l.* 6*s.* and 6*d.* money at 6 per cent. so land at 20 years purchase would be 8000*l.* By this computation money is only worth the 20th part of goods, and the 57th part of land, it was worth 200 years ago. Part of this difference is from the improvement made on land, and the greater demand for land, the quantity being the same, whereby its value is greater: The rest of the difference is, from the money being more increased in quantity than in demand, whereby its value is lesser, and its use lower: As likewise from its being altered in the denomination.

There was then a greater quantity of silver in the same number of pence than there is now; which appears by several acts of parliament made about that time.

Anno 1475, in the 8th parliament of King James the 3d, the ounce of silver was ordered to be sold for 12s. Scots, and 12 groats was made of the ounce of silver.

The 3d of November 1554, by an act of the town council of Edinburgh, the ounce of silver was ordered to be sold at 18s. and 8d. Scots; but these acts do not mention the fineness the silver was of. Suppose the same number of pence had twice or 4 times the value of silver in them that they have now, then silver is only fallen to one-tenth, or one-fifth, of the value it had to goods; and to one-28th, or one-14th, of the value it had to land. But still money is fallen to one-20th, of the value it had to goods, and to one-57th of the value it had to land.

The manner of lending money in France, and, I suppose, in other Roman catholick countries, is by way of perpetual interest, redeemable by the debtor, and which the creditor may dispone or assign, but can never demand the principal. And it is usury by law to take any interest for money, if the creditor has power to call for the principal, though the term of payment be many years after the money is lent. Suppose the manner of lending in Scotland was the same 200 years ago, and that *A. B.* having 768 acres of land rented at a boll of victual the acre, the yearly rent 48 chalder, at 5*l.* Scots the chalder, 20*l.* sterling, *C. D.* worth 100*l.* in money, to have lent it to *A. B.* and interest being at 10 per cent. to have received an annual interest of 10*l.* which he left to his son, and thought he had provided sufficiently for him, 10*l.* being equal to or worth 24 chalder of victual. But interest being lowered to 6 per cent., money being raised in the denomination, and of less value by its greater quantity, the 6*l.* now

paid for the annual interest of that 100*l.* is not worth one chalder of victual. And 384 acres, or the half of *A. B.*'s land, 200 years ago only equal to 100 or 140*l.* is now worth 57 times that sum, the rental supposed to be doubled, and its value at 20 years purchase.

In France it has been observed, that about 200 years ago, the same land was in 30 years worth double the money it was worth before; so land worth 100*l.* *anno* 1500, was worth 200*l.* *anno* 1530, 400*l.* *anno* 1560, and so on, till within these 50 or 60 years it has continued near the same value.

In England 20 times the quantity of money is given for goods that was given 200 years ago. In these countries 'tis thought goods have rose; but goods have kept their value, 'tis money has fallen.

Most goods have increased in quantity, equal or near as the demand for them has increased; and are at or near the value they had 200 years ago. Land is more valuable by improvement producing to a greater value, and the demand increasing, the quantity being the same. Silver and money are of lesser value, being more increased in quantity than in demand.

Goods will continue equal in quantity as they are now to the demand, or won't differ much; for the increase of most goods depends on the demand. *Ex.* If the quantity of oats be greater than the demand for consumption and magazines, what is over is a drug, so that product will be lessened, and the land employed to some other use: If by a scarcity the quantity be lesser than the demand, that demand will be supplied from magazines of former years; or if the magazines are not sufficient to answer the demand, that scarcity cannot well be supposed to last above a year or two.

Land will continue to rise in value, being yet capable of improvement, and as the demand increases, for the quantity will be the same.

Silver will continue to fall in value as it increases in quantity, the demand not increasing in proportion; for the increase does not depend on the demand. Most people won't allow themselves to think that silver is cheaper or less valuable, though it appears plainly, by comparing what quantity of goods such a weight of fine silver bought 200 years ago, and what quantity of the same goods it will buy now. If a piece of wine in France is equal in value to 20 bolls of oats there, that quantity of oats can never be worth more or less wine so long as the quality, quantity, and demand of both continues the same; but any disproportioned change in the quality, quantity, or demand, will make the same quantity of the one be equal to a greater quantity of the other; for if a piece of wine in France is equal to, or worth forty crowns there, it will always continue so unless some disproportioned change happens in the quantity, quality, or demand of the wine, or of the money.

The reason is plain why silver has increased more in quantity than in demand. The Spaniards bring as great quantities into Europe as they can get wrought out of the mines; for it is still valued, though not so high. And though none of it come into Britain, yet it will be of less value in Britain as it is in greater quantity in Europe.

It may be objected, that the demand for silver is now greater than the quantity; it is answered, though the demand is greater than the quantity, yet it has not increased in proportion with the quantity. Two hundred years ago money or silver was at 10 per cent., now from 6 to 8; if the demand had increased as much as the quantity, money would give 10 per cent. as then, and be equal to the same quantity of victual, or other goods that have kept their value. If A. B. having a 1000*l.* to lend, should offer it at 10 per cent. interest, and desired land of 240 chalder of victual rent for his security, as was used to be given 200 years ago, though no law regulate the interest of money, A. B. would find no borrowers on these conditions; because silver having increased more in quantity than in demand, and the denomination being altered, money is of less value, and is to be had on easier terms. If the demand had increased in the same proportion with the quantity, and the money had not been raised,

the same interest would be given now as then, and the same quantity of victual to pay the interest; for money keeping its value, 8s. and 4d. would be equal to a chalder of victual, as it was then.

If 2000*l.* was laid out on plate 200 years ago, it is thought the loss on the plate was only the fashion and the interest; but if the 2000*l.* had been laid out on land, the rent of that land would be more than the value of such plate.

Though money or silver is so much fallen from the value it had, yet it's given as a value for one-half, or two-thirds, more than its value as silver, abstract from its use as money.

Suppose silver to be no more used as money in Europe, its quantity would be the same, and the demand for it much lesser, which might lower it two-thirds or more; for besides that the demand would be less, its uses as plate, &c. are not near so necessary, as that of money.

Goods given as a value ought for their other uses to be valuable, equal to what they are given for. Silver was bartered as it was valued for its uses as a metal, and was at first given as money, according to the value it had in barter. Silver has acquired an additional value since, that additional use it was applied to occasioning a greater demand for it; which value people have not been sensible of, the greater quantity making it fall more: But it has kept it from falling so low as it would have fallen, if it had not been used as money, and the same quantity had come into Europe.

'Tis uncertain how long silver may keep that additional value: If England set up a money of another kind, silver will not fall to one-third, because used in other places as money; but the lesser demand, besides the ordinary fall, from the greater quantity coming into Europe, would occasion an extraordinary fall, perhaps of 10 per cent. If the new money then in England did not increase beyond the demand for it, it would keep its value, and be equal to so much more silver at home or abroad than it was coined for, as silver would be of less value, from the ordinary and extraordinary fall.

If England changed their money, other countries may do the same. If Holland alone kept to silver money, the price of silver may be supposed to fall immediately 50 per cent. from the lesser demand for it as money: And 100*l.* in Holland be worth no more than 50*l.* new money in England, whether sent in specie or remitted by exchange; and as more silver came into Europe, it would fall yet lower, because of its greater quantity.

It may be objected, that in Scotland the quantity of goods are porportioned to the demand as they have been some years ago, and money scarcer, the demand for it the same or greater; so if goods and money are higher or lower in value, from their greater or lesser quantity in proportion to the demand for them, money should by its great quantity of goods; yet goods differ little in price, from what they were when money was in greater quantity.

To this it's answered, the value of goods or money differs, as the quantity of them or demand for them changes in Europe, not as they change in any particular country. Goods in Scotland are at or near the same value with goods in England, being near the same in quantity in proportion to the demand as there: Money in Scotland is not above the 40th part of the money in England, proportioned to the people, land, or product, nor above one 10th-part proportioned to the demand. If Scotland was incapable of any commerce with other countries, and in the state it is now, money here would buy 10 times the quantity of goods it does in England, or more: But as Scotland has commerce with other countries, though money were much scarcer than now, or in much greater quantity than in England, if there were but 100,000*l.* in Scotland, or a million, the value of goods would not differ above 30 per cent. from what they were abroad, because for that difference goods may be exported or imported. Prohibitions may raise the difference higher.

Britannia Languens, and others on trade and money, are of opinion that goods in any country fall in value, as money in that particular country grows scarcer. That, if there was no more than 500*l.* in England, the yearly rent of England would not exceed 500*l.* and an ox would be sold for a penny; which opinion is wrong; for as the ox might be exported to Holland, it would give a price in England equal or near to that it would give in Holland: If money were supposed to be equally scarce in Holland and other places as in England, the ox might give no more than a penny, but that penny would have a value then equal to 5*l.* now, because it would purchase the same quantity of goods in England, or other places, that 5*l.* does now.

The same answer may be given to those who think an addition of the money of any particular country would undervalue it so, that the same quantity of goods would cost double the money as before.

If the money and credit current in England be 15 millions, Scotland reckoned as 1 to 13, the money in Scotland increased to a million and a half, the demand in proportion to the demand in England, that addition to the money of Scotland would not make money of less value here than it is now in England. Goods in Scotland would sell as they sell in England, the product of the country would perhaps be 10 or 20 per cent. dearer, to bring it equal to what it sells in England; but all sorts of manufacture would be cheaper, money being easier borrowed, merchants would deal for a greater value, and men of estates would be capacitated to trade, and able to sell at less profit. Nor would land rise higher than in England, the buyer having in his choice to buy elsewhere, the better security of a register may be supposed to add a year's purchase or two to the value.

If the money of any particular country should increase beyond the proportion that country bears to Europe, it would undervalue money there, or, according to the way of speaking, it would raise goods: But as money would be undervalued every where the same, or near to what it were there, it would be of great advantage to that country, though thereby money were less valuable: For that country would have the whole benefit of the greater quantity, and only bear a share of the lesser value, according to the proportion its money had to the money of Europe. When the Spaniards bring money or bullion into Europe, they lessen its value, but gain by bringing it; because they have the whole benefit of the greater quantity, and only bear a share of the lesser value.

What has been said proves, 1st, that silver money is an uncertain value, because liable to be altered in the fineness or denomination by the prince. A crown has no more silver in it than half-a-crown or 15d. had 150 or 200 years ago.

2dly, That as silver it has fallen from the value it had, the same quantity not being worth the 5th or 10th part of what it was worth then. A moneyed man then worth 1000*l.* was richer at that time than a land-man of 240 chalder of victual rent: But a man of such a money estate, would not now be worth one-50th part of such a land estate.

3dly, That though fallen so much, yet it is given as money or sold as bullion, for much more than its value as a metal; to which it will be reduced so soon as another money is set up.

Considering the present state of Europe, France and Spain being masters of the mines, the other nations seem to be under a necessity of setting up another money. The only reason can be given why it has not yet been done is, that the nature of money has not been rightly understood: Or they would not have continued buying silver from Spain above its value as a metal, when they had a more valuable money of their own, and every way more fitted for that use.

The receiver of silver can have no great hopes that the value of it will be greater; for 'tis not to be supposed it will be applied to, whereby the demand for it may be in-

creased; or that the quantity exported and consumed, will be greater than the quantity imported.

Though it be scarce in any particular country, yet the moneyed men will have no great benefit by such scarcity, as has been shewn: For unless the scarcity is the same in all places with which that country trades, money will not be valued much higher there than in other countries.

If it is alledged the mines in the West-Indies may fail, 'tis the interest of the Spaniards to give out that their mines begin to fail, to keep up the price of silver: But if that were true, France ought not to have engaged herself in a war, when by the parliament treaty she could have got any other parts of that monarchy that are valuable. Allowing the mines do fail, we ought the rather to provide ourselves with another money.

CHAP VI.

The Proposal given into the Parliament by Dr H. C. examined.

I did not intend to have said any thing about the doctor's proposal, that affair having been referred to a committee, who are to make their report. But several people, who are of opinion that the doctor's proposal is not practicable, being against what I am to propose, because they think 'tis the same with his in some other dress, I thought it needful to give a short account of the doctor's proposal, and in what I differ from him.

His proposal is to give out notes upon land, to be cancelled by yearly payments of about 2 and a quarter per cent. for 45 years, and that these notes be current as silver money, to the value they are coined for.

If notes given out after that manner were equal in value to silver money, then every landed-man in Scotland would desire a share of this great and certain advantage: And I don't see how it is practicable to give every landed-man a share.

Supposing it practicable, 45 years purchase in these notes will not be of so much value as 20 years purchase of silver money.

No anticipation is equal to what already is: A year's rent now is worth 15 years rent 50 years hence, because that money let out at interest by that time will produce so much. And though the parliament would force these notes, yet they would not have currency, any more than if the government coined pieces of gold equal in weight and fineness with a guinea, and ordered them to pass for 5*l.*

These bills are proposed to be repaid and cancelled in a term of years, without any interest, but only so much as would defray the charges of the office, which would not be above one-half per cent.

There would be then many lenders, but few, if any, borrowers, except from the land-bank: For as 'tis the landed-man borrows of the moneyed man, he would satisfy his creditor, and have bills to lend. The moneyed man would likewise have of these bills to lend, but there would be no borrowers; or if any desired to borrow, they would have these bills at a very low use. Suppose at 2 per cent. then these bills would be considerably less valuable than silver.

Any thing that is proposed to have a currency as money, and is given for a lesser interest than silver money, will be of less value.

It is not to be supposed any person will lend silver money at 2 per cent. when they can have 6 per cent. in England. So 100*l.* silver money will yield as much as 300*l.* of these bills would; and 100*l.* in silver will be equal to 300*l.* in bills. The 6*l.* the 100*l.* of silver yields being silver, and the 6*l.* the 300 of bills yields being paid in

these bills, and 1*l.* silver being worth 3*l.* in bills, so the 6*l.* interest of the 100*l.* in silver would be equal to 18*l.* or the interest of 900*l.* in bills.

And though they were given out to be repaid in 20 years, at 5 per cent. for that time, or in 10 years at 10 per cent. they would not be equally valuable with silver. The difference would not be so great, as when given out for 45 years.

The advantage the nation would have by the doctor's proposal is, that though these notes fall under the value of silver money, and 500*l.* in notes were only equal to 100*l.* in silver, yet the nation would have the same advantage by that 500*l.* in notes, as if an addition of 100*l.* had been made to the silver money.

So far as these bills fell under th value of the silver money, so far would exchange with other countries be raised. And if goods did not keep their price, *i. e.* if they did not sell for a greater quantity of these bills, equal to the difference between them and silver, goods exported will be undervalued, and goods imported would be overvalued, as has been explained, pag. 20, about Exchange.

The landed-man would have no advantage by this proposal, unless he owed debt: For though he received 50*l.* of these bills for the same quantity of victual he was in use to receive 10*l.* in silver money, yet that 50*l.* would only be equal in value to 10*l.* of silver, and purchase only the same quantity of home or foreign goods.

The landed-man who has his rent paid him in money would be a great loser; for by as much as these bills were under the value of silver, he would receive so much less than before.

The landed-man who owed debt would pay his debt with a less value than was contracted for: But the creditor loses what the debtor gained.

Dr. C. seems to be offended at my meddling in this affair, having, as he says, borrowed what I know of the subject from him. Two persons may project the same thing; but, so far as I can judge, what I am to propose is different from his, and what I had formed a scheme of several years before I had seen any of his papers; which I can prove, if that were necessary, by persons of worth I then shewed it to. I have not, to my knowledge, borrowed any thing from Dr C. Land indeed is the value upon which he founds his proposal, and 'tis upon land that I found mine: If for that reason I have encroached upon his proposal, the bank of Scotland may be said to have done the same: There were banks in Europe long before the doctor's proposal; and books have been writ on the subject before and since. The foundation I go upon has been known so long as money has been lent on land, and so long as an heretable bond has been equal to a quantity of land. Whether the structure he or I have built upon this foundation be most safe, advantageous and practicable, the parliament can best judge.

Dr C.'s proposal is by anticipation "to make land worth 50 or 100 years purchase; and maintains that 100*l.* to be paid yearly for 10, 50, or 100 years, is a valuable pledge for 1000, 5000, or 10,000*l.* of bills; and that these bills will be equal to silver money." If he can satisfy the nation that his proposal be practicable, he does a very great service, and gives a certain advantage to the landed-man, without wronging the monied man. I have shown the reasons why I think the proposal is not practicable, and that notwithstanding any act of parliament made to force these bills, they would fall much under the value of silver. But allowing they were at first equal to silver, it is next to impossible that two different species of money should continue equal in value to one another.

Every thing receives a value from its use, and the value of it is raised according to its quality, quantity, and demand; though goods of different kinds are equal in value now, yet they will change their value from any unequal change in their quality, quantity, or demand.

And as he leaves it to the choice of the debtor to pay in silver money or bills, he confines the value of the bills to the value of the silver money, but cannot confine the

value of the silver money to the value of the bills, so that these bills must fall in value as silver money falls, and may fall lower; silver may rise above the value of these bills, but these bills cannot rise above the value of silver.

What I shall propose is to make money of land equal to its value, and that money to be equal in value to silver money, and not liable to fall in value as silver money falls.

And goods that have the qualities necessary in money, may be made money equal to their value; 5 ounces of gold is equal to 20*l.*, and may be made money equal to that value. An acre of land rented at 2 bolls of victual, the victual at 8*l.*, and the land at 20 years purchase is equal to 20*l.*, and may be made money equal to that value, for it has all the qualities necessary in money; but that acre of land cannot be coined to the value of 20*l.* no more than the 5 ounces of gold. And though the 5 ounces of gold, the 20*l.* silver money, and the acre of land be now equal in value, yet they cannot well continue so; for, as I have shewn already, any disproportioned change in the quality, quantity, or in the demand of either of them, will make the same quantity of the one equal to the greater or lesser quantity of the others. Land is what in all appearance will keep its value best; it may rise in value, but cannot well fall: Gold or silver are liable to many accidents, whereby their value may lessen, but cannot well rise in value.

CHAP. VII.

The Proposals, with Reasons for it.

To supply the nation with money it is humbly proposed that 40 commissioners be appointed by parliament, answerable to parliament for their administration, and the administration of the officers under them; the nomination of these officers being left to the commissioners.

That the commissioners have power to coin notes; which notes to be received in payments where offered.

That a committee of parliament be appointed to inspect the management, and that none of the commissioners be members.

That the commission and committee meet twice a year at Whitsunday and Martinmas; their meetings to begin 10 days before, and to continue 10 days after each term.

There are three ways humbly offered to the parliament for giving out these notes; they in their wisdom may determine which will be most safe.

1. To authorize the commission to lend notes on land security, the debt not exceeding one-half, or two-thirds, of the value, and at the ordinary interest.

2. To give out the full price of land, as it is valued, 20 years purchase more or less, according to what it would have given in silver money; the commission entering into possession of such lands, by wadset granted to the commission or assignees, and redeemable betwixt and the expiring of a term of years.

3. To give the full price of land upon sale made of such lands, and disposed to the commission or assignees irredeemably.

That any person shall have such bonds, wadsets, or estates, assigned or disposed to them, upon paying in the value to the commission.

That the commission don't receive other money than these notes.

That no person who has contracted for these notes shall be obliged to receive silver or metal money.

That the commission have not power to coin more than 50,000*l.* at a time, and that no more be coined so long as there is 25,000*l.* remaining in the office.

That for a year and a half the commission be limited to a certain sum, after that time to coin what sums are demanded, unless restricted by ensuing parliaments.

That those who desire money from the commission, give in a note to the lawyers for the commission a month before the term of what sums they want, with the rights of such lands as they offer in pledge; and that those who have notes to pay in to the commission, give warning 10 days before the term.

That the state of the commission, the sum of notes coined, the debt and credit, with the number of different notes, be published every term.

That any person who shall discover 2 notes of the same number, or of a higher number than these published, shall have 100*l.* reward.

That the under officers be entrusted with the sum of 20,000*l.* to change notes with, and that they attend the whole year.

That any member of parliament may inspect the state of the commission.

That no notes be coined, money lent, or rights assigned by the commission, but at the terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, and in presence of at least 20 commissioners, and one-third of the committee.

That the revenue of the commission over what pays the charges, and what part the parliament thinks needful to make good any losses that may happen to the commission, be applied by way of drawback, for encouraging the export and manufacture of the nation.

That paper money do not rise more than 10 per cent. above silver money; so that he who contracts to pay in paper, may know what he is to pay in case he cannot get paper money.

The parliament may enter into a resolve, that the next sessions of this, or the next ensuing parliament, the state of the commission be taken into consideration, preferable to all other business; and if found hurtful to the country, the parliament may discharge any more notes to be given out, and order what notes are then out to be called in.

That after three months from the date of the act, Scots and foreign money be reduced to the English standard, the English crown to 60d. and the other money in proportion to its value of silver; the 40d. to 38d. the new mark to 13$\frac{1}{2}$d. the old mark to its weight, the ducatoons to 68d. dollars to their weight, guineas not to pass 22s.

That after four months no Scots money (except what shall be coined after the act), nor any foreign money, except the English money, be received in any payments, or be sold as bullion, but at the mint.

That for what old money or bullion is brought to the mint, the mint return to the full value in new money of 12d. 6d. and 3d. pieces, of eleven deniries fine, the 12d. of three drops three grains weight, the other pieces to weigh in proportion; the expence of coinage to be paid out of the funds appropriate to that use.

That for three months after the act, the new money pass for 19d. half-penny, and 3d farthing.

That after three months, bullion and wrought plate be eleven deniries fine, and 5s. and 2d. the ounce of silver, gold not to pass 4*l.*

The paper money proposed will be equal in value to silver, for it will have a value of land pledge equal to the same sum of silver money that it is given out for. If any losses should happen, one-fourth of the revenue of the commission will, in all appearance, be more than sufficient to make them good.

This paper money will not fall in value as silver money has fallen, or may fall: Goods or money fall in value if they increase in quantity, or if the demand lessens; but the commission giving out what sums are demanded, and taking back what sums are of-

fered to be returned, this paper money will keep its value, and there will always be as much money as there is occasion or employment for, and no more.

If a contract for paper money could be satisfied by paying the same quantity of silver money, then that paper money could not rise above the value of silver, and would fall with it; but as the paper money is a different species from silver, so it will not be liable to any of the changes silver money is liable to.

Though the parliament could give silver money to the people in as great a quantity as there were occasion, the parliament could not justly know what sum would serve the country, for the demand changes. If the quantity of money is less than the demand, the landed man is wronged; for 100*l.* then being more valuable, will buy a greater quantity of the landed man's goods. If the quantity of money is greater than the demand, the monied man is wronged; for 100*l.* then is not so valuable, so will not buy the same quantity of goods 100*l.* bought before.

If the commission do not give out money when it is demanded, where good security is offered, 'tis a hardship on the person who is refused, and a loss to the country; for few, if any, borrow money to keep by them, though the employer loses.

If the commission did not take back what sums were offered to be returned, it were a hardship on the monied man, who has a sum paid him, and does not know how to employ it; and the quantity being greater than the demand for it, it would fall in value.

After the method proposed, the quantity being always equal to the demand for it, it will keep its value, and buy the same quantity of goods fifty years hence as now, unless the goods alter in their value from any change in their quantity, or in the demand for them.

Suppose this commission had been established 200 years ago, land then at 14 years purchase, money at ten per cent. victual at 8s. and 4d. the chalder, and paper money to have been given out upon land, 8s. and 4d. of that paper money would now have been equal to a chalder of victual, and to 8*l.* 6s. 4d. silver money; because silver money having increased in quantity more than the demand, and having been altered in the denomination, has fallen to one-twentieth of the value it had then. Nor would the landed-man have received less for his victual than now; for that paper money would have bought him twenty times the quantity of goods silver money will buy.

Land has a more certain value than other goods, for it does not increase in quantity, as all other goods may. The uses of goods may be discharged, or by custom be taken from them, and given to other goods: The use of bread may be taken from oats, and wholly given to wheat: The use of money may be taken from silver, and given to land: The use of plate, and the other uses of silver, as a metal, may be taken from silver, and given to some other metal, or some mixture that may be more fitted for these uses. In any of these cases, these goods lose a part of their value, proportioned to the uses that are taken from them, but land cannot lose any of its uses; for as every thing is produced by land, so the land must keep its value, because it can be turned to produce the goods that are in use. If wheat is more used, and oats less, as the land can produce both, it will be turned to produce what is most used, because most valuable.

This money will not receive any additional considerable value from being used as money, so the receiver will be certain he can be no loser, though after a term of years the use of money is taken from it. The land will receive an additional value, from being used as the pledge upon which the money is issued, and that additional value would be greater than what silver received; because though land be used as the pledge to issue out money upon, yet none of its other uses would be taken from it; silver cannot be used as money and plate at the same time; but as land is in greater quantity

than there will be occasion for to give out money upon, so the additional value it receives will not be near so great as that silver money has received.

Suppose the additional value land received were one-4th, land now at 20 years purchase would then be at 25 years purchase. If the parliament called in the paper money, he who had paper money could be no loser by it though the land lost the additional value; for no more of it is given out than the value of the land abstract from its use as money. Whereas if silver was no more used as money, he who had silver would lose one-half or two-thirds; silver falling then to its value as a metal.

So that this paper money proposed, having a better value than silver, and receiving no addition to its value from being used as money, and not being liable to any change in its value, the quantity and demand increasing and decreasing together, it is so far more qualified to be the measure by which goods ar valued, the value by which goods are exchanged, and in which contracts are made payable.

The other qualities necessary in money are,

1. Easy of delivery.
2. Of the same value in one place to what it is in another.
3. To be kept without loss or expence.
4. To be divided without loss.
5. To be capable of a stamp.

Paper money has these qualities in a greater degree than silver.

1. It is easier of delivery; 500*l.* in paper may be paid in less time than 5*l.* in silver.

2. It is nearer the value in one place to what it is in another, being of easier carriage.

3. It can be easier kept, taking up less room and without loss, because it may be exchanged at the office. The consumption of paper is not of so much value as the consumption of silver. The consumption of the paper is a loss to the office, the consumption of silver is a loss to the owner.

4. It can be divided without loss, because it may be changed for lesser notes at the office.

5. It is capable of a stamp, and less liable to be counterfeit.

The practice of most trading nations confirms, that paper is more qualified for the use of money than silver, and providing it have a value. In Holland silver is pledged, and paper is used as money. That land pledged is a better value than silver pledged, is evident from what has been said. In England, before the bank was set up, goldsmiths' notes were received in payments preferable to gold or silver; which shows that paper money had all the qualities necessary in money, so much more than gold or silver, as to equal the danger of a goldsmith's breaking, of which there were many examples. Mr Locke, pag. 7th, on Interest of Money, says that one goldsmith's credit (being usually a note under one of his servant's hands,) went for above eleven hundred thousand pounds at a time.

The notes of the bank in Scotland went, though there was no money in the bank, and though their acceptance was voluntary. The security for the paper proposed will be as good, the administration may be more safe and satisfactory than the bank, or at any other private bank; because it is more public, and the commission has any share of the profits; besides it will not be liable to the hazards banks are liable to from the sale of shares.

And it seems strange, that the administration of such a commission should be doubt-

ed, when the parliament has the nomination of the managers; when the managers are to be accountable to the parliament; when the trust is to be so small, for more notes cannot be coined so long as 25,000*l.* is in the office; a committee of parliament is to be appointed o inspect the management, the books are to be open to the inspection of any member of parliament, and the state of the commission is to be published in print.

Since the notes of the bank went upon a voluntary acceptance, though there was no money in bank, 'tis reasonable to think the paper money proposed will at least have the same currency: Being current by law does not make it less valuable. He who took bank notes could not be sure the bank would be in a condition to give money for them; and the person he is to pay money to might refuse them: So he was more uncertain than if they had been current by law.

The silver money being to fall betwixt 8 and 9 per cent. in 3 months, it is not to be supposed that silver will be preferred to paper money, since the notes of the bank, which is paper upon the same fund, went at the ordinary interest; and though the receiver was not certain of the money at the time it was promised, or that the person he was owing to would receive it.

It may be objected, that paper went because silver could be got for it when demanded, or at a certain time.

That was very reasonable, but would not be so in this case: The security pledged for that paper money was silver. The security pledged for this paper money is land. This money has no relation to gold or silver, more than to other goods. And it were more extravagant to say, I won't take 100*l.* of such paper money for the goods I sell, because I am not sure if 6 months hence it will buy me such a quantity of silver, for silver may grow dearer, as it would be to say now, I won't take 100*l.* in silver for the goods I sell, because I am not sure if, 6 months hence, it buy me such a quantity of wine, for wine may grow dearer.

Four crowns won't buy a guinea, though they were coined for the same value; nor won't buy the 10th part of goods 4 crowns bought 200 year ago, yet silver is received as a value, and contracted for, though its value lessens every year, and though 'tis not perhaps worth above a third of what 'tis given or contracted for, abstract from the use of money. This paper will not only keep its value, increase of the quantity depending on the demand, and the quantity decreasing as the demand decreases, but likewise the land pledged is as valuable as the paper given out abstract from its use as money, and increases in value.

The objection may be made against silver money, and with good reason; for it falls faster in its value than other goods, and may soon be reduced to its value as a metal.

The paper money proposed is equal to itself; but to continue equal to such a quantity of any other goods, is to have, a quality that no goods can have for that depends on the changes in these other goods. It has a better and more certain value than silver money, and all the other qualities necessary in money in a much greater degree, with other qualities that silver has not, and is more capable of being made money than any thing yet known. Land is what is most valuable, and what increases in value more than other goods; so the paper money issued from it will, in all appearance, not only keep equal to other goods, but rise above them.

Because of the extraordinary scarcity of silver in Scotland, and the inclination people have to it, from its having been long used as money, it may be necessary to restrict its price to 5*s.* and 2*d.* the ounce: But it will soon fall from that value of paper, if it come in greater quantity into Europe than is exported or consumed.

Suppose an island belonging to one man, the number of tenants 100, each tenant 10 in family, in all 1000; by these the island is laboured, part to the product of corns, the rest for pasturage: Besides the tenants and their families, there are 300 poor or

idle who live by charity. There is no money; but rents are paid in kind, and if one tenant has more of one product, and less of another, than his family has occasion for, he barters with his neighbour.

The people of this island know nothing of manufacture; the island being plentiful, furnishes enough for their consumption, and an overplus which they exchange on the continent for cloaths, and what other goods they want: But as that overplus is only sufficient to make a return of such a quantity of goods as they consume yearly, so they have no magazines of their own or foreign goods to serve them in bad years, nor no magazines of arms, ammunition, &c. for their defence.

'Tis proposed to the proprietor, that if a money were established to pay the wages of labour, the 300 poor might be employed in manufacturing such goods as before were exported in product; and as the 1000 that labour the grounds were idle one half their time, they might be equal to that of 500 more, which would lessen their import by providing them with a part of such goods as before they brought from the continent, and raise their export to 3 or 4 times the value it had: The return of which would furnish them with greater quantities of foreign goods than they wanted for consumption, which might be laid up in magazines.

The money proposed is after this manner. The proprietor to coin pieces of paper figured number 1, number 2, and so on; number 4 to be equal to a certain measure of corn. The poor and other labourers would be satisfied to take number 4 for the wages of a day's labour, providing it be so contrived that number 4 purchase them the measure of corn; for as that corn can be bartered with other goods, so number 4 would purchase an equal value of any other goods.

To make number 4 equal to that measure of corn, the proprietor calls his tenants together; tells them for the future he will have his rent paid in paper, so renews their leases, and where 100 measures of corn was paid, they oblige themselves to pay him number 400. The other kinds the proprietor was paid in are valued according to the value they had in barter with corn, and leases made for paper.

The proprietor coins paper to the value of a year's rent, employs such as are willing to work, and gives them paper money as the price of their labour. The tenant gives corn or any other goods he has to the labourers for paper money, and the proprietor receives it for his rent. But as the consumption of the labouring man may be supposed to be only equal to number 2, so the tenants cannot get the whole sum issued by the proprietor, and consequently not enough to pay their rent. If this were not remedied, the labouring men being masters of the remaining part of the paper, and having no occasion for more goods from the tenants, might raise the value of the paper. To prevent this, the proprietor coins a greater quantity, which brings a part of the poor and idle of the continent to the island, and occasions a greater consumption, whereby the tenants are able to pay their rent in paper as contracted for. The addition to the people is an advantage to the island; for it adds to the power of the island, and their labour is worth double what they consume.

This money, though it has no value but what the proprietor gives it, by receiving it in payments of his rent, yet it will be esteemed equal to the product paid before.

If the proprietor would give it a value in land, computing after this manner, an acre of land pays number 100, at 20 years purchase worth number 2000, and dispone the property of land for paper at that value, who would not be satisfied to receive or contract for that money, since it not only bought the product, but the property of land, at a reasonable price?

Money is not the value for which goods are exchanged, but the value by which they are exchanged: The use of money is to buy goods and silver, while money is of no other use.

Though silver were our product, yet it is not so proper to be made money as land.

Land is what produces every thing, silver is only the product. Land does not increase or decrease in quantity, silver or any other product may; so land is more certain in its value than silver, or any other goods.

Land is capable of improvement, and the demand for it may be greater, so it may be more valuable. Silver cannot be supposed to be applied to any other uses than it is now applied to, or that the demand will increase more than the quantity.

Land cannot lose any of its uses, so will not be less valuable; silver may lose the use of money it is now applied to, so be reduced to its value as a metal.

It may likewise lose a part of its uses as a metal, these uses being supplied by other goods: So loses a part of its value as a metal; but nothing can supply the uses of land.

Land may be conveyed by paper, and thereby has the other qualities necessary in money, in a greater degree than silver.

Land has other qualities fitting it for the use of money that silver has not.

Land applied to the use of money does not lose any of the other uses it is applied to; silver cannot serve the use of money, and any other of its uses as a metal.

Trade and money depend mutually on one another; when trade decays money lessens; and when money lessens trade decays. Power and wealth consist in number of people, and magazines of home and foreign goods; these depend on trade, and trade on money. So while trade and money may be affected directly and consequentially, what is hurtful to either, must be so to both, power and wealth will be precarious.

If a money is established that has no intrinsic value, and its extrinsic value be such as it will not be exported, nor will not be less than the demand for it within the country, wealth and power will be attained and will be less precarious. Money not being liable to be lessened directly nor consequentially, and trade not being liable to decay consequentially, so the power and wealth of that country will only be precarious from what may be directly hurtful to trade.

The paper money proposed being always equal in quantity to the demand, the people will be employed, the country improved, manufacture advanced, trade domestic and foreign will be carried on, and wealth and power attained; and not being liable to be exported, the people will not be set idle, &c. and wealth and power will be less precarious.

From whence it is evident, that land is more qualified for the use of money than silver, and preferable for that use, though silver were the product of Scotland; being more certain in its value, and having the qualities necessary in money in a greater degree, with other qualities that silver has not, so more capable of being the general measure by which goods are valued, the value by which goods are exchanged, and in which contracts are taken.

If 2000*l.* of paper money is equal to the property of land worth 2000*l.* in silver, then that 2000*l.* of paper money is equal to 2000*l.* of silver.

What buys land will buy every thing the land produces; and what buys the product of land will buy all other goods whether home or foreign. If wine is brought from France, the merchant designs to lay out his money on goods, at interest, or on land: The commission does not receive silver money, so he cannot have a bond from the commission unless he gives the value in paper; and many of the landed-men won't take silver for their lands or goods, having occasion for paper to pay the commission. So the merchant will chuse to sell his wines for paper money, because it will purchase him goods, bonds or lands, where silver money will, being equally valuable, and in cases where silver money will not.

And this is supposing silver were equally qualified for the use of money as land is: But as silver is an uncertain value, and is given for much more than its value as a metal,

and has not all the qualities necessary in money, nor in so great a degree as paper money, so paper money will for these other reasons be preferred to silver.

Some object, that a paper money, though upon a good fund, and current in the country, yet will not be valued abroad equal to what it were in Scotland.

The goods of Scotland will always be valued abroad equal to goods of the same kind and goodness; and that money, though of paper, which buys goods in Scotland, will buy goods or money in other places. If 1000*l.* in serges, linen-cloth, &c. be worth abroad, all charges paid, 1300*l.* the merchant who exports such goods will give a bill for that money at the par, having 1300*l.* for what cost him 1000*l.*

When a nation establishes a money, if the money they set up have a value equal to what it is made money for, and all the other qualities necessary in money, they ought to have no regard what value it will have in other countries. On the contrary, as every country endeavours by laws to preserve their money, if that people can contrive a money that will not be valued abroad, they will do what other countries have by laws endeavoured in vain.

No nation keeps to silver because it is used in other countries, it is because they can find nothing so safe and convenient. Trade betwixt nations is carried on by exchange of goods, and if one merchant sends out goods of a less value than he brings home, he has money furnished him abroad, by another who brings home for a less value than he sent out: If there is no money due abroad, then the merchant who designed to import for a greater value than he exported, is restricted; and can only import equal to his export, which is all the many laws to regulate trade have been endeavouring.

It is objected, that we are under a necessity of having goods from countries who will take none of ours. France does not allow money to be exported, nor any ship to import goods, unless French goods are exported from the same port to the value of the goods were imported. By our law we are forbid to export money. But as I don't think the example of nations a good answer, I shall endeavour to give a better. Suppose our money is not valued abroad, and we have occasion for goods from Denmark, who takes none of ours, these goods being necessary here, will be valued higher than other goods that are not so necessary; and the value of Scots goods sold in other countries will be carried to Denmark, in such goods as will sell there, or in foreign money, and these necessary goods be brought home, because the trader makes a greater profit by them, than by such goods as could have been imported from that country where the goods exported were sold.

But as this addition to the money will employ the people that are now idle, and those now employed to more advantage, so the product will be increased, and manufacture advanced. If the consumption continue as now, the export will be greater, and a balance due to us; and as the exchange depends on the balance, so paper money here will be equal to a greater quantity of silver money abroad.

Suppose the yearly value of Scotland a million and a half, the yearly value of England 40 millions, the value of Scotland is only about one-28th part of the value of England, yet the quantity and quality of the lands, and the numbers of people considered, Scotland will be at least as one to six; and if there was money to employ the people we would be as one to six, for we have advantages peculiar to us, that do more than equal the plantation and East-India trades.

England is not improved so far as it might be by a greater quantity of money. We may have money equal to the demand by applying our land to that use, so our country may be improved above the proportion of one to six. But if the proposed addition to our money, improved the country only so as to bear a proportion of one to thirteen, our yearly value would be three millions, and our consumption not being what half the

same number of people consume in England, if the consumption continued as now, the balance due to Scotland would be greater than the balance due to England.

This addition to our yearly value may be thought by some people a supposition that's extravagant, but I desire these people will consider what consequences the plenty of money has had in other places; as the money of England has increased, the yearly value has increased, and as the money has decreased, the yearly value has decreased.

I don't doubt that the paper money proposed, being given out equal to the demand, would bring the yearly value of Scotland to three millions, though the fishing, and other branches of foreign trade (which might be improved to great advantage) were neglected. But suppose the yearly value increased only half a million, of which a fourth spent in a greater consumption of the product and manufacture of the country, a fourth in the greater consumption of the foreign goods and expence abroad, a fourth laid up in magazines of foreign goods, a fourth would still be due of balance, and brought home in silver.

If the consumption and expence increased equal to, or beyond, the improvement, as the paper money could not be exported, so the people would not be set idle, nor the manufacture decay; that money being like an estate entailed, we might continue to consume equal to the yearly value, but could not lessen the yearly value, nor be poorer, if we would.

If a greater value of goods was imported than was exported, and credit given for the balance, foreigners, to pay themselves, would send a lesser value of goods the year after; but such restrictions may be put on the consumption of our own and foreign goods, as may make a balance due.

The revenue of the commission will be a great help toward the advancing our trade in its infancy; what encourages the export of goods encourages the manufacture of them; and that money given as a drawback will not only encourage the export and manufacture, but likewise regain the reputation our goods have lost, and give them a better reputation than the goods of other nations.

The drawback ought not to be given to all goods, but to such as do not yield a reasonable profit abroad, and upon condition they are found sufficient.

The seal of the office of drawback ought to be applied to those goods that receive the drawback, and those entrusted with the drawback should give security to pay the price of such goods, with all charges, if found insufficient.

When manufacture and trade prosper, the landed man's rent is well paid, and increases; when they decay, his rent is ill paid, and decreases; a drawback is so effectual a way to encourage and promote manufacture and trade, that it were the landed men's interest to tax themselves, rather than a drawback should not be given where it is necessary.

A drawback is more necessary here than in other countries, for we do not manufacture so well as other nations; we are not able to sell for the same profit, our stocks being much smaller, and the goods of other nations will be preferred to ours, because our goods are suspected.

Some object that this proposal is new, and has not been practised in any nation.

The example of another nation ought not to determine us to follow the same measures without examining whether that nation was the better or the worse by such measures, and whether our circumstances and theirs don't differ so as to make that hurtful or ineffectual to us, which was of advantage to them; on the other hand, it is no argument against any thing proposed for the general good, to say it is new, and what has not been practised.

When any thing proposed has been already practised by other nations, 'tis a presumption in favour of such a proposal, and 'tis a presumption against it, if it has been

refused; but a wise nation ought not to be determined by example to follow or refuse without examining.

This proposal has not been refused; the essential part is now practised in France, for paper is current by law; and though after a manner that, in all appearances, ought to have hindered its currency, yet, I'm informed, foreign bills are bought with paper money the same as with silver or gold.

The example of nations, in relation to money, would be a very uncertain rule; for, as has been said before, opposite measures have been used in some countries to what have been used in others, and contrary measures have been used in the same countries to what was used immediately before, not because of any difference in their circumstances, but from the opinion, that since the method used had not the effect designed, a contrary would, and there are good reasons to think that the nature of money is not yet rightly understood.

Any other objections that I have yet heard against this proposal, are such as may be fully answered; and so far as I can see into it, with all the application I have been capable of, I cannot find any objection but what may be fully answered, nor any difficulty in the execution but what may be removed. If there is any fallacy in the positions I lay down, or any wrong consequences drawn from these positions, I have not been able to discover them.

CHAP. VIII.

The low Condition this Country is reduced to, notwithstanding its natural Advantages.

The natural advantages the Dutch have for trade are, their situation at the mouths of the rivers of Germany, and being near the bulky trade.

Their natural disadvantages are, smallness of territory, barrenness of soil, producing little but what is forced; want of mines; long winters; unwholesome air; marshy, so obliged to great expence for foundation to their buildings, in making and keeping up the highways, and in draining the country yearly; a dangerous coast; difficult entry to their rivers; the sea to defend against on on side, and powerful neighbours on the other; and heavy taxes, the consequences of these other disadvantages.

Yet they have so improved their few advantages, that they are become a rich and powerful people. What has contributed to their riches and power, was the early protection and favour the government gave to trade; the liberty was given to people of different religions; the freedom of trade allowed to strangers; the example of their rulers to œconomy; but chiefly the neglect of trade in other countries, particularly in Spain, who forced the people and trade of Flanders to Holland.

Scotland has, by nature, many advantages for trade; a large territory; of easy defence; plenty of people; a wholesome air; mines; a proper situation for the eastern and western trades; near the bulky trade; a safe coast; rivers of easy entry; the seas and rivers stocked with fish.

But numbers of people, the greatest riches of other nations, are a burthen to us, the land is not improved; the product is not manufactured; the fishing and other advantages for foreign trade are neglected; and the reason generally given is, that laziness and want of honesty are natural to us.

If want of honesty and laziness were natural, they would be so to mankind; or if peculiar to a people, this would be so to the Dutch rather than to us: The air of Holland is grosser, which inclines to laziness, and the country not producing wherewith to maintain the inhabitants, would force them to rob or cheat their neighbours, or one another; but it is more reasonable to think laziness and want of honesty are vices, the

consequences of poverty, and poverty the consequence of a faulty administration. If the same measures had been taken in Scotland, for encouraging trade, as was taken in Holland, we had been a more powerful and richer nation than Holland. If Spain, France, and Britain, or any one of them, had applied to trade as early, and upon the same measures Holland did, Holland would not have been inhabited; but by their early application, and the wrong measures of other countries, they have got such great magazines of what is necessary for their maintenance and defence; of rich commodities to sell to other nations; of materials for shipping, &c. and such a quantity of silver, esteemed above its value as a metal, by being used as money; that, in all appearance, so long as silver is used as money, the great quantity they have of it, with their great œconomy, enabling them to undersell other nations, they will maintain the rank they hold in trade, and consequently in power, notwithstanding their natural disadvantages, the present application and natural advantages of other nations.

This country is more capable of an extended trade than any other country of Europe, yet it is reduced to a very low state: Trade is ruined; the national stock is wasted; the people forsake the country; the rents of land are unpaid; houses in towns, and farms in the country, are thrown upon the owner's hands; the creditor cannot have the interest of his money to live upon, and the debtor's person and estate are exposed to the law.

The landed-man, by having engaged his person and estate for the payment of a species which is not in his power to perform, and having no alternative, by the law his person is at the mercy of the creditor, and his estate to be sold for so much of that species as it will yield. If two or three moneyed men call in their money, with a design to force their debtors to part with their estates, at what prices they please to impose, they may bring the price of land to 15 or 10 years purchase, for they would not take bonds in payment, and few or none would be in a condition to buy with money.

If victual should prove scarce, as we have not goods or money for any value to send out for corns, so only a part of the people could be maintained; the part would have bread, but the more necessary part, the labouring men, would be forced to leave the country, or to starve in it. Nor would they fare better in England; for as the scarcity of money has set idle many of the people there is employment for, and our people, at least many of them, would meet the same fate they had endeavoured to evade.

The landed-men would want people to labour the ground; they would perhaps get food and clothing for themselves and families, but those they were owing to, in all appearance, would get nothing; for the case being general, and the landed-men the stronger party, they would not suffer their liberty and estates to be taken from them. But though the law could be put in execution, and the estates of the landed-men were put to sale, as there would be few purchasers, the price of land would fall very low. Suppose the land were sold or given among the creditors for 15 years purchase, or less, it would be sold for more than it were worth, for they would not find people to labour it; so many would be sufferers, and none gainers.

If neither of these cases happen, yet this country cannot well subsist in the condition 'tis in: If this opportunity is neglected, if wrong or ineffectual measures are taken, in all appearance, we will be in confusion before we have another opportunity.

To raise or alloy the money, to coin the plate, or regulate trade, or offered measures to supply the want of money, and 'tis thought any of them will bring us out of our difficulties. When they come to be examined, raising or alloying the money will be found no help but a hurt to the country, whatever our circumstances are. The other may prove ineffectual.

'Tis thought our import and expence abroad this last year exceeded our export by a very considerable sum, so to make the balance equal we must not only retrench equal

to the money sent out last year, but likewise so much more as the want of that money, and of the addition the bank made to our money, may have lessened the yearly value. So, though 'tis possible that coining the plate and regulating trade may bring the balance to our side, yet 'tis to be feared the consequences will show that it is not very practicable, for that and other reasons already given, as was said before. However they may assist; but in regulating our import, regard ought to be had that the sale of our goods abroad be no way hindered, for if that is not taken care of we shall lose more for want of a market, than we shall save by importing less; and though all necessary care be taken, yet the assistance may reasonably be expected from these measures will not relieve us; they may keep us lingering in the state we are, exposed to confusion at home, and to insults from abroad.

Most people think scarcity of money is only the consequence of a balance due; but 'tis the cause as well as the consequence, and the effectual way to bring the balance to our side is to add to the money.

Our poor have been computed 200,000, our people were then more than now, but our poor may be as many as then; suppose only 100,000, and by the addition to our money 50,000 of them were employed, and only for one half of the year, their labour to be paid 3d. and worth 3d. more to the employer, their consumption a penny more than now, the yearly value of the nation would be increased by such labour 189,583*l.* 6*s.* and 8d.

If the country people about Perth and Stirling have to the value of 20,000*l.* of linen, serges, and other manufacture more than is bought up, though these goods exported will yield 20 or 30 per cent. profit, yet the owners can't export them, the goods being in so many different hands, and not having correspondents abroad to whom they could trust the sale of them. A. B. and C. are satisfied for that profit to take the trouble and hazard of exporting them, but money being scarce they cannot get any to borrow, though their security be good; nor cannot well have credit for the goods from so many different people they are strangers to. If they could have credit for them, yet these country people must be idle till A. B. and C. pay them out of their returns from abroad. So for want of money to exchange by, goods fall in value, and manufacture decays.

It cannot well be known what sum will serve the occasions of the nation, for as manufacture and trade advance, the demand for money will increase; but the many poor we have always had is a great presumption we have never had money enough.

England has been computed to have had 14 millions of gold and silver, and at the same time had paper money for a great sum, yet England never had money enough to employ the people: 50 millions would not improve England so far as it is capable of improvement. If all the people were then employed and to the best advantage, more money would bring more people from other countries. The province of Holland, by a great quantity of money, and numbers of people, the consequence of much money, is able to bear a share in the wars of Europe, equal to many times the same number of acres of better land in England; yet Holland has. So that country that can have money equal to the demand, will be more powerful than any other country with the same advantages, whose money is less than the demand.

If money were given to a people in greater quantity than there was a demand for, money would fall in its value; but if only given equal to the demand, it will not fall in value.

At present perhaps 3 or 400,000*l.* is more than there is a demand for; but as trade and manufacture increase, the demand for money will be greater.

What I have proposed to supply the country with money may be reduced to this: If an estate of 100*l.* rent is worth 2000*l.* in silver money, and this estate can be conveyed by paper, and this paper be capable of being divided, then that estate may be

made current money for 2000*l.* and any person who receives such paper money, receives a value equal to the same sum of money, as silver is valued now. If it is coined for 15 years purchase, then that paper money will be more valuable than silver; for 1500*l.* in that paper will purchase land worth 2000*l.* silver money. If it is coined for 25 years purchase, then that paper money will not be so valuable as silver, for 2000*l.* in silver will buy as much land as 2500*l.* in paper.

Since it is very practicable to make land money, it would be contrary to reason to limit the industry of the people; by making it depend on a species is not in our power, but in the power of our enemies; when we have a species of our own every way more qualified.

And considering the state of this country from the great scarcity of money, that the value of lands fall, rents are unpaid, farms are thrown upon the master's hand, and the debtor's person and estate exposed to the law, being engaged to pay a species of which there is scarce any in the nation.

2. The hazard the monied man is in from the uncertainty of the value of money, and the danger of confusion, in which case the monied man may lose all.

3. The low state of trade, that many of the people who depended on trade and lived well, are starving or forced abroad.

4. That the other degrees of the people suffer in proportion.

5. That the nation in this condition may run into confusion, and is exposed to its enemies.

Considering the benefit the nation will have by this addition to the money; that the land will be improved, so be more valuable, rents be well paid, and that debtors by paying a value equal to what is contracted for, may free their persons and estates from the danger they are now exposed to.

2. That the monied man will receive punctual payment in a money or more certain value than silver or any other goods, and be in no danger of confusion.

3. That trade will flourish, and those who depend on it be encouraged.

4. That the condition of the other degrees of the people will be bettered.

5. That the nation will be able to maintain itself in order, and resist its enemies.

These reasons considered, the question then will be, Whether we will improve the country as much as it is capable, without being at any expence for a measure of trade, or continue as we are, in hopes of silver from other nations?

It will be of great advantage to this nation, that by the register we are capable of putting this proposal in execution, and enjoying the benefit of it, when other nations, though they resolved upon it, would for some years be incapable of it; though for the general good of Europe it were to be wished England were as capable of it as we are.

I have not had time to put my thoughts in that order they ought to have been, and am forced to leave out answers I designed to have given to some objections I have heard made against this proposal; but if the parliament think good to enter upon the consideration of it, I don't doubt but it may be made appear to be of great and certain advantage, that it cannot possibly be any way hurtful to the country in general, and that it may be so ordered as not to be hurtful to any person, but on the contrary.

An exact List of all the Bubbles. London, Printed in the Year 1721.

"The years 1719, 1720, and 1721, were remarkable for the fury with which the public pursued a variety of chimerical adventures in trade, afterwards known by the cant name of Bubbles. These projects had their birth in the extraordinary rise of the South-sea stock, which had nearly driven the English mad, first with empty hopes, and, finally, with rage and disappointment. The vulgar of all ranks, to whom the operations of commerce appear mysterious and talismanical, became ready, in trade as in medicine, to embrace the most irrational expectations held forth by the most ignorant empirics. In Anderson's History of Commerce, is preserved a list of two hundred schemes and upwards, for the formation of trading companies, not only for fisheries, but for delusive purposes. There were companies not only for fisheries, for insurances, for working mines, and for almost every possible art of commercial adventure, but even for making wigs and shoes, for maintaining bastard children, for importing jack-asses, and for sweeping the very streets. Men of all ranks rushed eagerly into the snares which were thus spread for them by villains and sharpers of every description."—SWIFT's *Works, vol. VII. p.* 31. *Edinburgh,* 1814.
The following extraordinary list, though decorated with the names of Steele and De Foe, contains striking instances of the madness of the period.

1. Sir Richard Steel's fish-pool.
2. Garraway's fishery.
3. Robin's ditto for gudgeons.
4. Grand ditto for smelts.
5. Greenland ditto for whales.
6. Grand American ditto.
7. North American ditto.
8. New Greenland ditto.
9. Royal fishery.
10. Arthur More's fishery.
11. Ten millions fishery.
12. Wm. Helmes in Exchange-Alley's insurance of maidenheads.
13. Mother Wyebourne's machine cundums.
14. Wakefield, for the more effectual breeding ducks and geese in Lancashire.
15. Whitmore's lottery annuities.
16. British improvements.
17. Trade to Harhonrouh.
18. Long's meliorating of oils.
19. Baker's annuities.
20. Curing herrings alamode de Hogan Mogan.
21. Pollington's melting saw-dust and shavings into deal-boards of any length and free from knots.
22. Wild's insurance against house-breakers.
23. Ditto against highwaymen.
24. Bele's bottomery.
25. Codner's assurance for lying.
26. Briscoe's transmutation of animals.
27. Burrige upon Spanish snuff.
28. Plummer's and Petty's insurance from death by drinking geneva.
29. Coe's brewery in Milford-haven.
30. Hurst's upon hair.
31. Poppy oil.
32. Raddish oil.
33. Freek's annuities.
34. Supplying of markets with cattle.
35. Lombard office.
36. Butter manufacture.
37. Woollen manufactury.
38. Shipping.
39. Keet's bubble.
40. Taverner's new-found land.
41. Lofthouse's ditto.

42. Capt. Clipperton's adventure.
43. Fattening hogs.
44. Widows pension.
45. Tin plates.
46. Trade to Sancta Crux.
47. Turnpikes.
48. Raw silk.
49. Fenny lands.
50. Westly's bubble.
51. Union fire office.
52. Trade to the North Seas.
53. Welsh copper and brass.
54. Improvement of tobacco in England.
55. Curing of broken-winded horses and mares.
56. Vaux's exportation of bay salt.
57. Curing of lunatick persons.
58. Waldren's improvement of waste ground and fattening of cattle at the Cross-keys tavern in Cornhill.
59. Cratchley's at Jonathan's coffee-house insurance from loss by Garraway's fishery.
60. Daniel de Foe's employing of weavers.
61. Sugar.
62. Royal exchange insurance.
63. Solomon Nune's caco.
64. Pindar's improvement of uncultivated land in Lincolnshire.
65. Old Chitty's for serving the navy with provisions.
66. For cloathing the army.
67. Testard's auction.
68. James Lance's adventure.
69. A new invention for the more effectual blacking of shoes.
70. Exporting of stockings.
71. An office for supplying the king's stores with powder and other warlike materials.
72. A new company for importing of brandies.
73. La Cuze for put and refuse.
74. The grand stuff company.
75. A new complete method of cleaning of streets.
76. Orphan stock.
77. Million bank.
78. Annuities for lives.
79. Stringer's bubble.
80. Pindar's expedition to Madagascar for suppressing of pirates.
81. Pindar's new invention for the more effectual making an equinoxial instrument for the convenience of ladies hoop petticoats.
82. Tiling of houses and insuring them.
83. Exportation of old cloathes.
84. Nodes's expedition to the Carrebee Islands and Sancta Crux.
85. Insuring children's fortunes.
86. Employing the poor for the ease of the parishes.
87. Irish propriety sail-cloth.
88. Potato starch.
89. Lamb's woollen manufactory.
90. Settlement in the margravate of Azilia.
91. Lord Craven's Bahama.
92. Malt and hops.
93. Keet's loan.
94. Davis's Streights fishery.
95. Hard soap.
96. Long's Pensylvania.
97. Swedish iron.
98. Transmutation of metals.
99. Steel from iron.
100. King George's new market.
101. Overall's fire office.
102. Overflowed lands.
103. Building of houses.
104. Grand fishery.
105. For emptying houses of office.
106. A second more beneficial and less offensive than the former for ditto.
107. Mutual assurance for ships.
108. Shale's for ships.
109. Sam's for ships.
110. John's coffee house for ships.
111. Marine for ships.
112. Tymond's trade to Germany.
113. Importing of negroes.
114. Asgil Evans for serving the navy with bread and cheese.
115. Mac Tom's South-sea hops.
116. Symond's assurance on lives.
117. Baker's second edition of ditto.
118. Freke's last edition of ditto.
119. Bohemia island.
120. Orkney island.
121. Rock salt.

122. Swan and rummer.
123. Salutation permits.
124. Lending money to necessitous persons.
125. Office for curing the grand pox or clap.
126. Puckle's machine.
127 Felt-hats and pantiles.
128. Coal trade from Newcastle.
129. Woollen trade to Ireland.
130. Ram insurance.
131. Old insurance.
132. Copper and brass.
133. Lustring.
134. Office for maintaining bastard children.
135. For lending money.
136. Garraway's lending upon stock.
137. Fleece tavern ditto.
138. Improvement of hops.
139. An Office for building of ships.
140. Trade to Ireland.
141. Trade to Spain and Portugal.
142. Trade to Scotland.
143. For erecting houses of office in the north of England and Scotland, for the convenience of strangers and travellers.
144. Loan offices.
145. Cheff's hemp and flax.
146. Long's hemp and flax.
147. Brand's sail cloth.
148. British sail-cloth.
149. British insurance.
150. Grand dispensary.
151. English starch.
152. Foreign starch.
153. Insurance for horses.
154. Pontack's gold and silver.
155. For paving the streets of London.
156. Lambert's improvement of land.
157. Serving of London with hay and corn.
158. The river Oroonoko.
159. Timber and mast from Germany.
160. Pasteboard and packing of paper.
161. The river Douglas.
162. Manchester calicoes.
163. Welbee's gold and silver mines.
164. Irish sail cloth.
165. Making of china in England.
166. Making of calicoes in England.
167. Long salt.
168. King George's salt.
169. Queen Anne's salt.
170. Silver extract.
171. Saddler's hall from fires.
172. Salter's hall remittances.
173. Rose Office from fire.
174. Stockdon's remittance.
175. Irish insurance from fire.
176. Bleaching of hair.
177. Coral fishery.
178. Water engine.
179. Holy island.
180. For making women's silk stockings and men's breeches.
181. Silk worms.
182. South-sea hops.
183. Greenland fish.
184. National permits.
185. Globe permits.

Come all ye moneyed bites and culls,
Dukes, commoners, and nobles,
Who stray alike from reason's rules
To deal in stocks and bubbles;
Behold your sundry pictures here,
Amidst a reigning folly,
And see what asses men appear
When jobbing in Change Alley;
Here whig and tory, rich and poor,
All languages and nations,
Jabber, as if at Babel's Tower,
To shew their several passions;
Some laugh that win, some curse that lose,
Some coughing, others sneazing,
Some stink of garlike, some of toes,
Whilst others fart with squeezing.
Here Fortune does her smiles dispose,
Like other jilting witches,
But often frowns on man of sense
To pleasure fools with riches;
Our trade we shun, to South we run,
We bubble and are bubbles,
In stock we're rich, by stock undone—
O Britain, mourn thy troubles!

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.

CLASS THIRD.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

CLASS THIRD.

KING GEORGE I.

An Hue and Cry after Dr Swift; occasioned by a true and exact Copy of Part of his own Diary, found in his Pocket-Book, wherein he has set down a faithful Account of himself, and of all that happened to him for the last Week of his Life.

When the breach between Oxford and Bolingbroke, in the latter days of Queen Anne, became totally irreconcileable, Swift, the common friend of both, and the strenuous advocate of their administration, took the resolution of withdrawing from the scene of discord, and went down to Berkshire, where he continued to reside in strict seclusion until the death of the queen. His secession from the political contest was celebrated by the whigs in several satirical effusions. The following exhibits, with a good deal of humour, some of his peculiarities of manners and habits. In two particulars he is misrepresented. He never smoked tobacco, nor used wine or strong liquors to excess. The author of the Diary was Jonathan Smedley, afterwards Dean of Clogher, upon whom Swift has retorted bitterly in his satirical works.

Thursday.

WAKED with the head-ach. Said no prayers that morning. Dressed immediately. Looked confounded rakish. Repeated verses whilst I was washing my hands. Resolved (whilst I was putting on my gown) to ridicule the orders of bishop, priest, and deacon. After dinner, at my Lord B.'s went to drink tea in York Buildings. The earl looked queerly. Left him in an huff. Bid him send for me when he was fit for company. Took coach to Lord Harry's. The viscount looked whimsically. Left him. Promised to sup with him at the earl's. Drove to the Cocoa-tree. Sate till one, musing and thinking of nothing. Plagued for half an hour with three impertinent puppies, an Irish lord, an English colonel, and a Scotch gamester. Retired to a private corner, where a whim came into my head, which I will shortly give the world an account of. Went to dine at the George with two papists, three jacobites, and a tory. Damned the cook, like the wine. No wit. All politics. Settled the succession. Fixed the place and time and manner of his landing. Went to my lodging at five. Slept. Writ an Examiner. Supped at York Buildings. Earl and Lord Harry part in dudgeon and division. Displeased with all that happened. Go home pensive. Resolve upon some odd and new schemes of life. Spent ten shillings. Take a dram. Go to bed.

Friday.

Resolve to fast. Send a note to church, to pray for the conversion of a great sinner. Read the Bible. Find that no man can serve two masters; and that a house divided against itself cannot stand. Consider of these words; "When ye hear of these words, flee unto the mountains." Begin a sermon upon this text, "Be as wise as serpents." Throw it aside, and read T——d's Art of Restoring, and my own Meditation on a Broomstick. Receive a silly letter from Ireland. Walk in my room for two hours. Loll on my couch for two hours. Take a manual for devotion in my hand, but say extempore prayers. Mightily given to ejaculations. Don't like the Lord's prayer. Think often of St—le and T. W——n. Eat at six. Dress, loiter. Hum a tune till eight. Give a farthing to a poor man. Pay my barber. Put on a pair of new gloves. Go to St James's. Don't like things. Confirmed concerning the animosities between the earl and Lord Harry. In a quandary. Go to the club of Ugly Faces. Some wit. Much impiety. Drink hard. Am treated. Expences one shilling. *Mem.* This day month I had clean sheets.

Saturday.

Wake at eleven. Promised to receive a gentleman at my lodgings about my lord's business, but won't be at home all day. Come to these several resolutions: Resolved to write an ode upon changing one's mind, in imitation of Horace's *Justum et tenacem, &c.* *Item*, an apology for taking the air, and a comment upon Balzac's *Cacher sa vie.* Resolved to repent. To give an historical account of the following English proverbs, viz. When knaves quarrel, honest men come by their own. Burn the house, and run away by the light of it. No longer pipe, no longer dance. Murder will out; and, When the steed's stolen shut the stable door. However, half a loaf is better than no bread; and therefore, Men must make the best of a bad market. Bid my servant get all things ready for a journey to the country, according to the following list: Mend my breeches; hire a riding-coat; borrow boots; sell my coals and candles; reckon with my washerwoman; making her allow for old shirts, socks, dabbs, and markees, which she bought of me. *Mem.* I borrowed five guineas of my bookseller, and paid my landlady all to a shilling. Resolved to carry no books with me, but the History of the Civil Wars of England, into the country. Dined late with my landlady. Merry with mutton and double entendres. Retire. Consider the uncertain nature of human affairs. Write the following letter to Mr Oldsworth, one of the authors of the Examiner.

Sir,

Designing soon for the country, I desire that you will excuse me from supplying you with any more papers under the name of the Examiner. We have made the most of our cause, and no mortal affair has the privilege of being perpetually the same. Remember Horace's *Bene preparatum pectus.* If we can contrive it so as to be rogued by both sides, we shall do more justice to each than either expected from us, and have this pretence still left to the title of honest men. Give my service to his lordship; tell him that no man has strength enough to be proof against conviction; that I am ready to meet him on t'other side of the water; and will still ply at the labouring oar, to shew with how much respect and esteem I am his lordship's, &c. 'Tis no time to be incredulous. I depend upon your not being obstinate; and if you are silent for a while you will convince me of your being that man of great sense and observation which I always took you to be.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. S.

P. S. Remember, that when an army is routed, that some are killed, some wounded, some run away; but that deserters are always well treated. Six coaches of quality, and nine hacks, this day called at my lodgings.

Mem. To write a paper when I am in the country, to bring with me to town, and to publish at my first appearance, called Swift's Reasons, viz. for Ingratitude, for Irreligion, for Turning, for Re-turning, and to serve any Turn, to be bound up with the Tale of a Tub. Went incog. at eight this night to Child's, found the clergy alarmed at the queen's thoughts of displacing the T——r. Supped with Mrs O———, where we had no politics. *Mem.* I promised her a copy of verses upon a weak woman. Pay my way to my landlady in a bottle of Viana. Smoaked a pipe by myself. Concluded nothing certainly. Took a dram. Repeated the Collect for the third Sunday after Epiphany. Picked my teeth. Washed my face. Went to bed. Expences 5s.

Sunday.

Packed up some tea, paper, pens, ink, and tobacco; and before church was done, sent a note to give God thanks for one who had escaped a very great danger. Dined, and was sworn at Highgate. Travelled twenty-five miles this day. Thought upon nothing as often as I could on the road. Resolved to write the history of the Band-Box Plot; and to give a true account of the modern word called *Bite;* having concluded my *Journey* to be a *Bite*, Lord Harry a *Bite*, the *Earl* a *Bite*, and that prudence infallibly directed to fall in with them who would *bite* the *Biters*. Resolved also to write new explanatory notes on the Conduct of the Allies. By ten I came to my inn. Had quieted my mind. Supped, smoaked, went to bed. Expences 10s.

Monday.

Slept well. Rose early. Had pancakes for breakfast. Sung. Repeated verses. Laid schemes. Commended myself. Rode hard till noon. Alighted at a tory inn; converted many gentry and clergy of that principle, at a public meeting there, by letting them into the secret of my flight, and some other secrets which I knew. *Mem.* This day the whigs are indebted to me for a promise of Wh—sh members for this county and town, at next elections. Came to my country lodgings at nine, after an easy indolent afternoon's journey. Pleased with the privacy of the place. *Mem.* I forgot to take leave of Lord Somers and Sunderland. Resolved to write to D. S——le. Supped with my landlord, landlady, and their daughter. Found sufficient provisions of wine, brandy, sugar, and lemons. Hung up my cloaths. Placed pen, ink, paper, and history, on the table. Smoaked, sung, and went to bed.

Tuesday.

Dreamt of the devil and St Patrick last night. Said the Lord's prayer. Sat down to consider of my change of life. Tories, damn them; they will not be able to support me. Whigs, damn them; they will not trust me. Drank tea. Walked in the garden. Returned. Writ a satire on the Lord T——r. Writ another upon all the present ministry. Received a letter from Lewis the bookseller in Covent-garden, of great importance. By G—d, Steele has got the better of me. No good news from Ireland. Ad——n says I am gone to hang myself. Pope says I am gone to France. Nanny Rochfeaurt says I am gone to my de—y; and most people will say I am gone to the d—il; and so I will go to dinner, mutton and turnips. The Gods fled once into Egypt. I was very gay and diverting. Drank an hearty glass. Retired. Fell into this soliloquy: The Reverend Dr Swift, student in two universities, a member of the church of England, and a Christian too; left the college to turn chaplain, parson, poet; having served ambassadors, noblemen, governors; having writ for and against religion;

being rector, vicar, dean, author, translator, abridger, and publisher; droll, jest, and scribbler, and many other things; *Quorum si nomine quæris:* Having served and abused the late ministry, and done all that man could do for this; after enriching booksellers, and impoverishing myself, now transplanted, metamorphosed into a stock, or a tree; and either hurried away to some elysian grove, or, in short, downright mad. Here I fell asleep. Waked about six. Write to put my house in order in Dublin. Send my man to London, to know how things go. Eat no supper. Write a whim to divert the Earl of O——d. Resolve to adjourn all further considerations till to-morrow. Smoak. Take a dram. Go to bed. Domestic affairs not worth inserting.

Wednesday.

Had a very bad night last night. Rise early. Repeat the prayer for a person troubled in mind. Tumble over the history of the civil wars. Pop upon the words Obadiah and Titus. Shut the book. Take pen in hand. Write some oddnesses; lay it down again. Call for a glass of sack. Think of my friends. Receive an express, that the Earl of O——d is displaced. And is B———k, said I, and all the rest, continued? Can Lucifer fall without his angels? Write a meditation on a white rod. Grow faint. Smoak. Drink. Hang myself. Die.

The Meditation on a White Rod. Motto taken from the Doctor's Miscellanies.

The rod was honest English wood,
That, senseless, in a corner stood;
Till metamorphosed, by Bob's grasp,
It grew an all-devouring asp.

This single stick, which you now behold, ingloriously lying in that neglected corner, I once saw in a flourishing state, at the head of noblemen and peers; carried by the best hand, directed by the best head in the realm. Beauteous for whitest colour, admirable for shape and length; but now, vain is the busy art of man, which made it so conspicuous and remarkable; it is broken, it is sullied, and either thrown out of doors, or condemned to the last use, of kindling a fire. When I beheld this, I sighed, and said, within myself, Surely, mortal man is a white rod. Nature sent him into the world innocent and blanch, straight and upright; but he is become crooked and dark; and sometimes offensive, and sometimes useless; and after a shining, bustling figure, is often disgraced, shattered; ruined in this life; condemned to everlasting fire in the next. How does man (a tender twig) grow stubborn, incurvate, deformed, and worm-eaten; how does age reduce him to infancy again; till, from carrying a stick in his own hand, he is carried by other men's hands, and soon thrown away, and laid aside for ever. Vain man! (said I, upon this occasion) that often makest a rod for thine own b——, whereas too many others, alas! are daily laying them in piss for thee. Then pursuing the subject, I expostulated thus with myself. What an emblem is young Master's White Stick, when tinselled at May-fair, or adorned with Mather's gorgeous Top; what an emblem of him, who with a plain wand only, bridles, saddles, rides, spurs, galls, and jades a whole kingdom! O enigmatical rod, which, like the stick of a Lapland charmer, after an hasty, dirty, embarrassed journey, most ungraciously throws or destroys its rider. Oh! thou truly Mosaical rod, cried I, that devourest all about thee; inseparable from the contemplation of thee are the thoughts of the plagues of Egypt. O thou conjurer's wand, that hast raised that devil thou canst never lay: O thou geographical radius, that hast truly divided the kingdoms of the earth. Did Sid Hamed once discover golden mines? Thou hast dissipated them, and bewitched

us to go in search of them to another world, to distant, unknown southern seas. But, *Ah! Quisque suos patimur manes.* Thou hast risen to thy full growth; and thou art fallen to thy latest decay; thou mortal slip of timber, thou art withered, shrunk, and bec om a stranger to thy former virtues. For how has thy mercurial energy and power left thee, whereby, being thrice wafted o'er our happy isles, thou closedst the eyes, and lulledst the eye-lids of three powerful nations asleep. Mighty was thy force, O rod, O whitest rod, beyond the power of magic caduceus; able to force human bodies into, and out of local place, which makes me end my own imperfect meditations, in that excellent description of Sid Hamed's, my worthy friend.

This rod was slender, white, and tall,
Which oft he used to fish withal.
A place was fasten'd to the hook,
And many score of gudgeons took;
Yet still so happy was his fate,
He caught his fish, and saved his bait.

And I cannot but add,

Since waters now are troubled grown,
His fishing-rod he has laid down.

A Copy of Verses fastened to the Gate of St P——'s C—h D—r, on the Day of the I——t of a certain D——n.

I.

To-day this temple gets a D——n,
Of parts and fame uncommon;
Used both to pray, and to prophane,
To serve, or God, or Mammon.

II.

When W——n reign'd, a whig he was,
When Pem——e; that's dispute, sir;
In Ox——'s time, what O——d please,
Non-con, or Jack, or Neuter.

III.

This place he got by wit and rhime,
And many ways most odd;
And might a bishop be in time,
Did he believe in God.

IV.

For high-church-men, and policy,
He swears, he prays, most hearty;
But wou'd pray back again, wou'd be
A Dean of *any* party.

V.

Four lessons, Dean, all in one day!
Faith it is hard, that's certain;
'Twere better hear nown Peter say,
God d——n thee, Jack and Martyn!

VI.

Hard to be plagued with Bible still,
And Prayer book before thee;
Hadst thou not wit to think at will
On some diverting story?

VII.

Look down, St Patrick, look, we pray,
On thine own church and steeple;
Convert thy D——n on this great day,
Or else, God help the people!

VIII.

And now, whene'er his D—nsh—p dies,
Upon his stone be graven,
A man of God here buried lies,
Who never thought of Heaven.

The Life of Aristides the Athenian, who was decreed to be banished for his Justice. Translated from an Arabick Manuscript, supposed to be written originally in Greek, by Theophrastus.

Dublin, Printed in the Year 1714.

Thus where the rabble rule, the great th' inslave;
And Virtue's self's destructive to the brave,

Vide PLUT. *Lives*

The person here intimated under the name of Aristides, is Sir Constantine Phipps, lord chancellor of Ireland during Queen Anne's last administration. He was a keen tory, and accused of favouring the jacobite interest, insomuch, that when the Duke of Shrewsbury came over as lord lieutenant, he found it necessary to give encouragement and countenance to the whigs, in order to secure the safety of the protestant succession. Thus countenanced, the whigs soon obtained a preponderance in the House of Commons, and having contrived to place Allan Broderick in the speaker's chair, they resolved upon an address to the queen, for removal of Sir Constantine Phipps from the chancellorship. The reasons are expressed in the following resolutions:

1. "That for some years last past, there had been a design formed and carried on, to subvert the constitution, and also the government of the city of Dublin: 2. That to carry on that design, a corrupt and illegal attempt was made in 1711, to corrupt Alderman Ralph Gore, then lord mayor, by offering him a bribe of five hundred pounds, to name thirty-two persons, marked in a list, then delivered to him by Martin Tucker, Esq. sub-collector of the port of Dublin, to be common-

council-men for the said city. 3. That it appears, on examination of Martin Tucker, Esq., that he was sent to offer the said sum of five hundred pounds to Alderman Ralph Gore, while Sir Constantine Phipps, knight, lord high-chancellor of Ireland, and Lieutenant-General Ingolsby, were lord-justices. 4. That the city of Dublin had of late been, and still continued in great disorder and confusion, by reason of the frequent disapprobations of persons elected lord-mayors and sheriffs of the said city, all of them of known affection to her majesty's person and government, and to the constitution in church and state. 5. That Sir Constantine Phipps had been the chief cause and promoter of such frequent disapprobations, and thereby the occasion of the said disorder and confusion. 6. That since the making the new rules in 1672, until Sir Constantine Phipps arrived in that kingdom, no person, elected lord-mayor of the city of Dublin, had been disapproved, except in the government of the Earl of Tyrconnel. 7. That the council-board had not at this time, nor had not since the time (given them by the Act of Explanation) expired, any power to make rules or orders for regulating the election of magistrates in any corporation in that kingdom. 8. That the right of election of lord-mayor of Dublin is in the lord-mayor and aldermen of the said city; and that the aldermen are in no sort restrained, in the choice of the succeeding lord-mayor, to one of any three persons nominated or proposed, to be put in election by the lord-mayor."

The House of Lords passed an opposite address, which was chiefly carried through by the interest of the bishops, resolving that Lord Chancellor Phipps had in his several stations acquitted himself with honour and integrity.

Upon these events the author of this pamphlet has taken up his parable.

The Preface.

'Tis the fashion to write prefaces, both to our own works, and to other men's;[1] S——m and St[2] A——h have done the former, and the learned[3] Mr F——h the latter: And I see no reason, why I should not do it as well as they, except it be, that I am not in the number of the disaffected, and 'tis a thousand pities but I were; for surely I have now before me the happiest opportunity of railing at the government, and making rueful prognosticks, that ever true lover of liberty was blessed with.

We had (might I say)
We had delightful prospects ——
We had full hopes, that ——
We had hopes, that ——
We had not the least doubt but ——
Nay, we had even reckoned upon't as a sure blow, that ——

But now instead of all this,
We have not any hope ——
We have no hopes that ——
We have not the least prospect ——
Nay, we have not any expectation of ever living to see it otherwise. ——
Our enemies will tell the rest with pleasure.

But now to the merits of my author.—I need not tell the lettered world, that the learning of Greece was, in a great measure, translated into Italy; and that it suffered greatly there, in the common ruin, from the incursions of the Goths and Vandals; as the remains of it at Athens, and other learned cities, did afterwards, from the barbarous invasions of the Saracens. And as much of the Roman learning has been recovered from the Tramontane, and more northern nations of Europe, where the lumber

[1] Sarum. [2] Asaph. [3] French.—*Orig. Notes.*

was left, as the swarm returned, so the lost learning of Greece is chiefly to be expected from the East: Aristotle travelled thither long ago, and in all probability his scholar, Theophrastus, attended him; though he had not the same good fortune in returning: I don't doubt, therefore, but the world will now be exceedingly rejoiced at the recovery of even these small remains of that great man; and that I, the editor, will have the blessings of late posterity for my piety toward him. But, because 'tis perhaps no secret how I came by this precious piece, I don't care if I tell the world that I had it from a traveller who lately sojourned in this city, in his way to London. He was a man of middle age and ruddy complexion; he commonly appeared wrapt up in a grasier's coat, with a remarkable scar upon his nose, occasioned (as he said) by the plague, which broke out upon him in that part: By his own account he had lived fifteen years in Constantinople, where he met with this manuscript in the hands of a learned Cadi; who, contrary to the practice of his brethren of the bench, proposed Aristides as his pattern in all his judicial decisions; and, as a special mark of his favour, allowed our traveller, who was very well skilled in Arabick, (which, he says, is the learned language of the Turks) to take a copy of it: And he, as an acknowledgement of the humanity, with which I had the happiness to entertain him at his arrival in this city, made me a present of that copy; and what is more, enabled me to make a present to the world of it, by instructing me in that language, and helping me to render it into my own. And now the only remaining difficulty is, how to reconcile the criticks to the truth of this discovery. And, perhaps, the genius of this treatise will be a better argument of its being written by Theophrastus, than any thing I can say in proof of it; but, if this won't do, I here declare upon the honour of an editor, that I——ay, but, hold say they, Plutarch has written the Life of Aristides, and you have told us a thousand things here that Plutarch does not say one word of——And where's the wonder of that? say I. Theophrastus lived some hundreds of years nearer the truth than Plutarch, and 'tis a hard case if he could not know more of it——Well, but, say they, Plutarch quotes Theophrastus in the Life of Aristides; and yet he mentions none of these things.—Nay, nay, sirs, there I have you fast, for if Plutarch quotes Theophrastus, in relation to Aristides, why then Theophrastus wrote of Aristides. Therefore——And if you say, that Plutarch mentions none of these things, with humble submission I say you——for he mentions many of 'em; not all indeed, but who can help that? perhaps, though he quotes Theophrastus, it is not this part of his works he refers to; and if it be, perhaps he did not think it worth his while to relate the gross follies and absurdities of the little assembly of Eubæa: Or it may be, he thought 'em so monstrous and incredible, that posterity would never believe him, or, it may be, twenty other things.

Ay, but, say they, if Theophrastus had written this treatise, surely Suidas, or Diogenes Laertius, or——Why now, that I won't say one word to. My whole strength lies in something that belongs to that objection; and depend upon't, it shall never be discovered till I meet with an adversary worthy of my might. I throw this out as a bait to catch the critics: They think it a fair handle; but when they come to feel it, they'll find it a hook; and when I once get it into their gills, you shall see how I'll play 'em.

The first that I have in my eye, is my old friend M——w: He'll but just glimpse upon the title-page, then skip over the preface, and away to the body of the book; which he'll answer paragraph by paragraph, before ever he reads it through, or knows the design of it; (for that's his way) then, says he, ——

1st, I say and prove, that Aristides was ——
2dly, I say and prove, that Aristides was not ——
3dly, I say and prove, that Aristides lived ——

4thly, I say and prove, that Aristides did not live ——
5thly, I say and prove, that ——
6thly, I say and prove, that ——
7thly, I say and prove, that ——
8thly, I say and prove, that ——
9thly, I say and prove, that ——
10thly, I say and prove, that —— and so on.

Then again:
I am credibly informed, that the venerable Mr Plutarch, and Mr Suidas, do not consent to the account here given, that &c. ——

And, lastly,
If Aristides was —— why then Aristides was not:
But Aristides was not. —— Therefore ——

Again:
If Aristides lived —— then Aristides did not live.
But Aristides did not live. —— Therefore ——

'St! not a word: Let him go on till I have him fast; and then, you shall see how I'll souce him, and I will so pull him, and haul him, and tumble him, and touze him: I'll so up him, and down him, and dangle him, and dance him, that he'll wish himself at the bottom of the sea: I'll expose him more than ever he exposed himself, (and that's a bold word) nay I promise you, that I'll make him more ridiculous than he appeared at the Tholsel, or even at the bar of the House.

All my fear is, that when I bang him at my hook, and show him about for a gudgeon, then the wretch, when he finds his folly, (I beg pardon, that's impossible) I mean, when all the world laugh at him for an oaf, why then he'll publish a new edition of his Remarks, (for that's to be the title ——)some Remarks upon a late Book intituled, &c. with a Correction of one Error; and then the witty word *errata* at the head of it, as a sly implicit acknowledgement of all the blunders that went before: But if that won't do, then will he collogue some poor Sizer, upon the hopes of an exhibition, to take the nonsense upon himself; to the utter ruin of his reputation, and advancement in the world.

And yet, after all this, he'll have the assurance to say among his friends, that if he could see this manuscript, then he'd try whether it were truth: For you must know, the wretch is a great pretender to the Orientals, though he does not yet understand the punctuation of a Hebrew pronoun.

N. B. The rest of this preface is to be found at the end of the tract —— that's new.

The Life of Aristides.

Aristides the Athenian, the son of Lysimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochis and borough of Alopece; he had his education in the law; and from his youth up, applied himself with great diligence to publick pleadings; which was then reckoned the surest and most honourable method of arriving to the highest dignities of the state: In which, by his singular virtue, unwearied application, and great abilities, he quickly acquired so great a reputation for eloquence and integrity, that in the celebrated controversy bewixt the people and the thirty tyrants,[1] where the fate of Athens was

[1] Thirty tyrants, late ministry.—*Orig. Note.*

the prize) none were found throughout the whole state of so much courage and resolution as openly to oppose the insolence of their oppressors, besides Aristides, his familiar acquaintance Clesthenes, [1] and one or two more.[2]

His friends did all they could to dissuade him from so hazardous an undertaking: They represented it as desperate and impracticable, beseeching him with tears in their eyes not to engage in it: 'Twas impossible to save the state, and why should he pull down inevitable ruin upon himself and his house?

Aristides listened to their entreaties with great attention, yet not in the least moved from his purpose: He thanked them for their kind concern and friendly advice, but begged they would spare themselves any farther trouble upon that subject. For his part, he always apprehended, that a good citizen was born for his country; and that if he fell in the service of it, he had done his duty. He was not insensible of the danger that threatened him; but [3] Athens had engaged all his care, he could not fear for himself while that was at stake.

The history of that important controversy is so well known, that I need not repeat it; 'tis sufficient to say, the event was (beyond all expectation) answerable to the pious resolutions of those generous patriots that engaged in the defence of their religion and liberty; the tyrants were expelled, and government was again settled upon its antient basis.

From this time, Aristides was so well established in the affections of the people, and in the good esteem of the greatest and most eminent men of Athens, that he was thought worthy to be sent soon after into [4] Eubœa, under the two honourable characters of one of the chief governors, and first Archon of that large and fruitful island, situate in the Ægean sea; and divided from Attica by the narrow channel of the Euripus. The high priest [5] of the place, a man of eminent piety, of excellent knowledge, and great experience, was joined in commission with him.

Never was any government more happily administered; every thing was established up to the wishes of all good men; peace and truth flousished; religion was restored to its ancient purity and lustre; justice was admirably dispatched, and impartially administered; the rights of the people were preserved undiminished; and the injuries of former times were redressed as far as possible.

'Tis said of Aristides, that above all politicians, he imitated and admired Lycurgus, the celebrated law-giver of the Lacedemonians: He was a severe adorer of justice, and steadily adhered to the constitution of Athens, which was an aristocratical government. 'Twas his opinion that a good citizen ought to offer himself to the service of his country unmercenary, and without the reward, not only of riches, but even of glory itself; and therefore it was, that if at any time, the applause of his good actions did not rise up to the merit of the performance, he was perfectly unconcerned; for he said, "his business was not to pursue praise, but to perform laudable actions." This disinterested integrity was so very remarkable in him, that at the recital of these verses of Eschylus, in the theatre, relating to Amphiarias,

> He aims at being good, not seeming so;
> Profound of mind, the fruit thereof to show;
> Where sage advice, and prudent counsels grow,

the eyes of all the spectators were converted on Aristides as if this virtue did, in a more especial manner, appertain to him; for he was a most undaunted champion for justice, not only against friendship and favour, but against wrath and malice: And this was that, of all his virtues, with which the vulgar were most affected, because of its continual and common use: And this alone is sufficient to clear that aspersion,

[1] Sir Simon Harcourt. [2] The allusion is to the trial of Sacheverel, upon which memorable occasion Sir Constantine Phipps acted as his counsellor. [3] England. [4] Ireland. [5] Archbishop of Tuam.

which his enemies were so industrious to cast upon him, namely, that he was of a violent and tyrannick disposition; for as much as the divine appellation of *just*, is a title inconsistent with such a disposition, and such as no tyrant was ever yet possessed of, or sought after. Not to mention, that though *violence* was the general cha ge, by which they laboured to traduce him, yet when they conspired his ruin, the greatest, and almost the only accusation they brought against him was an act of [1] mercy.

Justice makes such as are in prosperity, power, and authority, to lead the life of a God; the contrary, that of a beast. Aristides, therefore, had at first the fortune to be loved and adored for his sirname, but at length to be envied and maligned. For when he first came into Eubæa, he was exceedingly caressed by all orders of men in that island; but most by those who cared least for him: They even contended who should pay him the greatest proofs of respect and veneration, and did him such honours as were never before heard of among any of his predecessors in those stations.

But, at length, when they found on all hands, that Aristides was not to be biassed by all the honours they could do him; that he proposed no other end but the welfare of Eubæa, they thought it vain to expect he would serve their private interest, who had himself no interest separate from the publick. When they found that favour and affection were of no force, they then applied themselves to his fears, in hopes to work that by terror, which they could not effect by kindness; But, alas! they never were so much mistaken as here: Fortitude and justice were inseparable in Aristides; he dreaded nothing but dishonesty, and therefore he felt no fear, because he knew no guilt.

Distracted and enraged at this disappointment, they conspired his utter destruction, and [2] Molo, a leading man amongst them, swore he would have his head.

Whilst things were in this condition at Eubæa, [3] Themistocles, a man of great power and interest at Athens, prevailed so far with the aristocracy that he had himself chosen sole governor of Eubæa, whither he arrived soon after. The enemies of Aristides took occasion from hence to raise their courage, and speak with confidence of their success against him; insomuch, that many who had before flattered him, now threw off the mask, and declared themselves openly. They spread abroad a report, I won't say how justly, (for falsehood was, at that time, arrived to the refinement and perfection of a very curious and subtle science, both at Eubæa and Athens) that Themistocles, the son of Neocles, was Aristides's certain adversary, in behalf of the populace. Some said, that being boys, and bred up together from their infancy, they were always at variance with each other, in all their words and actions, as well serious as divertive; and from this contention, they soon made discovery of their natural inclinations; the one being close, adventurous, and subtle, the other of a very open and frank disposition, yet always intent upon the exercise of justice, not admitting in any degree falsifying in language or deceit, no not so much as at play.

Others did not stick to contradict this with great confidence, affirming, that Themistocles and Aristides had not any acquaintance with one another, before that grand conquest betwixt the people and the tyrants abovementioned; and that then they were in one interest: And since the faction against Aristides were the known adherents of those tyrants, they did not doubt but they continued in the same interest still.

But here, to give a light into this part of the relation, it will be necessary to look back a little higher into the history of these countries, where we shall find, that towards the forty-first Olympiad, a desperate rebellion broke out at Athens, wherein the senate were for the most part murdered or expelled, the government was entirely overturned; all laws, human and divine, were violated after an unheard-of manner, and in the conclusion, the principal [4] rebel, Lewmorcos, established himself sole and absolute

[1] *Noli prosequi*, for Lloyd. [2] Molesworth. [3] Duke of Shrewsbury. [4] Oliver Cromwell.—*Orig. Notes.*

tyrant of Athens, and all the dominions belonging to it; who, knowing that his power could only be preserved by the same instruments by which it was first acquired, engaged all his associates to him by the strongest ties of affection and interest. He had greatly endeared himself to 'em by an open and kind conversation, and by exposing himself upon all occasions of danger and difficulty, equally with the meanest of his adherents; but, above all, by rewarding them with land, instead of money, he had bound them eternally to his service; because that their interest and his were from thenceforward inseparable: They were therefore obliged to support him, since if he fell, 'twas unavoidable but they must fall with him. 'Twas upon this policy that he deprived all those that had opposed him of their estates, and settled them upon those that followed his fortune, that they might still be obliged to adhere to it; and because the forfeitures of Attica were but few in comparison, he was obliged to settle great colonies of his followers in Eubæa, a great part of which was distributed among them.

And although, after the death of Lewmorcos, the government was again[1] restored to its ancient form, yet the states of Athens did not think it advisable to disturb their possession, hoping that this indulgence would engage their affections, and bring them to be well disposed towards the aristocracy, by whose favour they were allowed to enjoy what they had acquired by rebellion and usurpation: But, alas! they were mistaken in the temper of the men. There is a malignity in some dispositions which no kindness can conquer, and upon which indulgence never yet had any other effect, than to swell their vanity, and raise their insolence to new demands and farther expectations; like those proud excrescences in some sores, that baffle the virtue of gentle applications, and can never be brought to yield to any thing but causticks and incisions.

Most of the old rebels were now dead, but their posterity, for the most part, did with their fortunes inherit their principles likewise; though indeed it must be owned, that many of them detested and abhorred those principles, and by their ready submission, and sincere affection to the government that was over them, made the best atonement they could for the rebellion of their ancestors. And even those that were villains in their hearts, were yet so far discountenanced by the virtue and authority of Aristides, that they thought it their interest to conceal their malice the best they could, insomuch that the old leaven seemed to be now almost entirely worn out, till at the arrival of Themistocles, a few factious and malignant spirits set all again into a new ferment.

These were the men, who, under the government of Duplos,[2] the son of a rebel, were preferred to the highest honours in Eubæa; but after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, were again deposed, and reduced to a private condition.

One of these, named Ericos,[3] had been chief of the Ephetæ, and after he was displaced from that trust, for suffering (among other crimes) grievous treasons against the state to go unpunished, was chosen[4] president of the assembly of the people, in which station no man was ever better qualified to carry on his own private designs, under the pretext of the publick good. He was a very artful and popular man, of great seeming sincerity and real falsehood: 'Twas common with him to make the deepest protestations of his integrity,[5] "that he had nothing at heart but the welfare of his bleeding country; and if he could live to see that recovered from the distempers it groaned under, he would be contented to die the next moment." And 'twas observable, that always when he made these solemn asseverations to shew his sincerity, he laid his hand upon his heart, though it was well known, that nothing he ever said came from thence;

[1] The restoration of the royal family. [2] Lord Wharton. [3] Mr Brodrick, Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. [4] Speaker of the House of Commons. [5] This spoke by him the first day of the sitting, when he was chosen speaker.—*Orig. Notes.*

for he had the picture of envy in his face, a certain livid paleness of aspect which betrayed his inward thoughts, and contradicted every candid thing he said. With all his dissimulation, he had a very boisterous and precipitate eloquence, which he always employed upon all things alike, running out with as much eagerness and vehemence upon the meanest trifle as he did upon points of the highest importance: And indeed it was the perfection of his oratory to exaggerate every thing after an unaccountable manner, to raise a mole-hill to a mountain; to swell any little oversight or omission in the man he did not like into a crime of an enormous and gigantick size, and such as threatened nothing less than the very being of Eubæa. But it was quite otherwise when one of his own faction came before him; upon those occasions he was observed to be very deaf, and very short-sighted; you must speak perhaps ten times before he heard you; and when he did hear you, "'Tis true it was a rash action, or a giddy expression; indeed other people might see farther than he; but, for his part, he could not discern any great harm in't; and truly, if people must be barred the freedom of their actions, and must not be allowed to speak their thoughts, he could not but think the liberties of Eubæa were in a very miserable condition." When this would not do, and the crime was too flagrant to be glossed over at that rate, then a nice distinction, and a tender regard for the rights of the subject, was sure to do the work. One time a factious villain,[1] that had made himself very notorious for sowing sedition in the island, was brought before Ericos, where it was proved, beyond all possibility of doubt, that he had published and dispersed many treasonable writings, tending to raise a rebellion, and overturn the government. Ericos heard all this with great regret; and at length rising up, very gravely enquired, Whether it could be proved upon that offender, that he knew how to read? The audience were very much surprised at so strange a question, knowing that Ericos himself was acquainted with the man, and knew, as well as any man living, that he had his livelihood by an employment, which no man was ever known to undertake that was altogether illiterate: However, that doubt was easily got over; and when it was proved that he could read, why then, the question returned, Whether it could be proved that he had read that book for which he was accused? For if he could not, why then it could not be proved that he published it with an evil intention; and if he did not, surely no man ought to be punished for doing an ill thing, unless he did it with an ill design.

Another time[2] a fellow was brought before him, for crying up resistance against the government (though the laws had expressly forbid it) and swearing (without any manner of provocation, without any injury done him, or any likelihood of any) that if the [3] aristocracy should touch his property, he would cut their throats. This was thought a very heinous and intolerable offence; and, indeed, Ericos could not but own that it was so, if it was meant as people supposed: But after all, who knows what aristocracy he meant? Did he mention the aristocracy of Athens? or did he say the aristocracy? they answered, that he said only the aristocracy; and they thought he need say no more, because their discourse had been of no other aristocracy but that of Athens. That proves nothing, said Ericos; he might have meant the aristocracy of [4] Ionia for aught you know. And truly so he might, for the aristocracy of Athens was at that time the titular aristocracy of Ionia: But however it happened, nobody took notice of the quibble at that time; and so the offender escaped.

I thought this digression necessary, to give you a light into the character of Ericos, and to prepare you for all the extravagancies which the people run into under his presidency.

Ericos had a [5] son who was possessed of all his father's malice, but wanted his art to colour and conceal it. He resembled him not only in the envy of his aspect, but

[1] Patrick Campbell. [2] Trial at Ardmagh. [3] The queen. [4] France. [5] Young Brodrick.—*Orig. Notes.*

in the vehemence of his temper. He had all his fire, all his rage, and (because he was wholly devoid of prudence) more than all his violence in words and actions. In a word, he was heir to all the malignity of his nature, and inherited every thing of his father but his understanding.

To second and support young Ericos in every thing he said, there was [1] Hyptonides, sirnamed the Blunderer; [2] Amauros the Malicious, and [3] Palaiographes the Prancer: Three men of like parts, and passions, and principles; their tempers suited to a wonder, their understandings tallied to a hair, and their interests were always the same: The only difference was, that Palaiographes, being bred up in a greater scene of action, and to business of a more publick concern, had from thence (as well as from a certain insensibility of nature, which made him incapable of blushing) advanced himself to some considerable heights of assurance above his companions. Add to this, that by his education at the bar, (from a perverse imitation of eloquence) he had acquired a certain facility of speaking after a handsome unmeaning manner; insomuch, that many who heard him, observing the wisdom of his air, and the earnestness of his action, could not be persuaded but there was a great deal in what he said, though they could not comprehend it. The truth on't is, that though he wanted penetration to reach the force of a significant expression, yet he had memory enough to retain the sound of it: And by this means he had furnished himself with the rote of very important words; which he never failed to run over, every day of his life, with incredible unweariedness and very little variety. A merry writer of that age used to say of him, "that he never heard him speak, but he always put him in mind of the Bird and the Bells; he run the same round eternally, and never chimed more than six sounds in all his life." The difference was, that sometimes he began at one end, sometimes at another, and sometimes in the middle. At one time it was liberty, property, revolution, glorious, immortal memory; at another it was, memory, immortal, glorious, revolution, property, liberty. And then again it was, revolution, liberty, property, glorious, immortal, and so on. But what is the most surprising circumstance in his character is, that by repeating those words upon all occasions, and that in a most earnest and vehement manner, he had persuaded the people that there was an absolute necessity of repeating them; and that if they should fail to say them over, at least three times every day of their lives, the religion and liberties of Eubæa were from that moment lost for ever! Nay, he wrought so far upon the minds of the superstitious people, that he prevailed upon them to institute a solemn annual feast in memory of those words; seemingly in memory of those words, but in reality to support his own interest when he was in power; and when he was turned out, to spirit up a faction against the government; to sow the seed of discord in the hearts of the people, and to perpetuate sedition in the island: In hopes, by that means, at one time or other, to bring things into such a confusion, as might produce an alteration to his advantage: Because, that whilst they continued in the condition they were then in, he and his adherents could not have the least prospect of any preferment in the state.

I mentioned two others with Palaiographes, who have scarce any thing considerable in their characters, that is not implied in their names. However, it may be not altogether unworthy the reader's curiosity, to know that Amauros had acquired his sirname from the many malicious and ill-natured things which he was observed to speak in the assembly; though in reality they were none of his, they were only whispered through him: For whenever any one had any gall or malice in his heart, he immediately communicated it to Amauros. And he, without any more ado, delivered it to the assembly, as the oaks of Dodona delivered the oracles. But, however, it was very observable after some time, that the bitter things, which passed through him, had left a deep

[1] Col. Upton. [2] Mr Moore. [3] Recorder Forster.—*Orig. Notes.*

tincture behind 'em; and that after he had been some years speaking the malice of othe people, he now began, with new violence, to utter his own.

Besides these already mentioned, there was Momus, who, after Ericos, was the man of best understanding among the enemies of Aristides, who, though he was of abilities superior to Palaiographes, yet he was but second to him in the praise and esteem of his party, because his pride would not permit him to be popular: This vice was very discernible in every thing he did; but chiefly betrayed itself in two contrary instances; a most tyrannick insolence to all below him, and a servile and strange complaisance to all above him; he was insufferably insolent to create an awe and veneration of him in vulgar minds, but most affectedly humble to court those returns of respect from his superiors, which fed his vanity, and which it was the highest mortification to him to miss of. He had so many distinguishing ill qualities, that it was difficult to say which was predominant; but thus much is agreed on, on all hands, that they were all evil to so eminent a degree, that they could never be exceeded but by one another; for no man ever presumed to be more proud, more ambitious, or more ill-natured than Momus; and yet, 'tis said, his pride was exceeded by his ambition, and both by his ill-nature: He was ambitious and proud to a proverb, but he was ill-natured to a miracle. This had gained so entire an ascendant over him, that it gave a tincture to all his other vices, and entered even into his pleasures. For Momus[1] was not content to be dissolute at the common rate; he had no relish of a debauch that was not attended with the ruin of innocence and virtue, as if the gratification of his criminal appetites consisted rather in destruction than in enjoyment. I could mention under this head, instances of basest treachery, and most unparalleled barbarity in him, but that I would not add to the calamities of the unfortunate, by recording their infamy, at the same time that I would perpetuate his. 'Twas a happiness to the world that he had such an aspect, as raised a secret horror and detestation of him at first sight: Providence had so appointed, as it were on purpose, to guard innocent and undesigning persons from the delusion of his fair words, and the treachery of his mind. He had all Avernus in his looks; such a malignity as no art could alter, no industry conceal. When he laughed, 'twas as Homer expresses it, "he laughed hideously." For 'twas observed, that there was more malice in his smiles and best looks, than in the revenge and wrath of other men. He had lost a considerable employment at the departure of Duplos, which he would have kept at any rate, for Momus had no principle but his interest, nor regarded any party but in order to that, and therefore he could at any time easily sacrifice both to his ambition: And as he never could forgive his own folly, for not having endeavoured, by all imaginable methods, to preserve his employ, so it was not to be expected that he would ever forgive those that had deprived him of it: He therefore was a most inveterate and implacable enemy to Aristides, and all his friends: And the more, because he hoped to recover by his ruin, more than he had lost at his advancement.

The first thing that Momus proposed to the assembly was this: "He had learned (he said) from long observation, that contradictions were of a very perverse and obstinate nature, and that the parts of 'em were such sworn opposites, that they could never be in the same place together without quarrelling; and, therefore, he humbly proposed, that, for establishing peace and unanimity among the good people of Eubœa, these enemies might be reconciled, and made consistent with one another for the future; and that a decree of the people should pass for that purpose:" As for example: "Whereas these two propositions"——Such a one was elected citizen of such a place, on such a day, and was not elected citizen of that place on that day——"As things now stood, were most inveterate enemies, and sworn to destroy one another wherever they met;

[1] Whitelet.—*Orig. Note.*

they might henceforward be reconciled, and live together in perfect unity: And that if any one hereafter should dare be so impudent as to say they clashed or quarrelled with one another, he should incur the high displeasure of the people. And this, he assured 'em, would strengthen the honest interest of Eubæa, more than any thing they could think of."

The sober part of the assembly were amazed at the proposal, and looked upon Momus as stark mad; but were more amazed, when they observed the president approve of it as a very seasonable and wholesome advice; and immediately putting the question, it was carried by a great majority; but with this limitation, that no contradictions should be reconciled, but such as some of the honest part of the assembly should petition for, within a certain number of days from the date of the decree.

After this, it was proposed, "That whereas Solon had made a decree, that such as were convicted of any heinous crime, of impiety for example, or bribery, or prophaneness, or were deeply in debt, &c. should be utterly excluded from the consultations of the people; it being very improbable that persons of wicked lives, or desperate fortunes, should endeavour any thing conducive to the peace and prosperity of the state; but rather that they should design the confusion and ruin of it, that themselves might be enriched in the spoils of honest men." It was humbly conceived (with submission to the wisdom of that great man), that he was under some mistake in that point, or, at least, that he had proposed it in too general and uncertain terms; and therefore they humbly desired, that for the future, that the law might be understood with this distinction, "That whoever was guilty of those crimes, should not be admitted into the assembly of the people, unless he had committed them for the welfare of his country, and to qualify himself to fall in with the president's measures, and to promote his generous designs for the good of Eubæa, and was carried accordingly."

In the next place, Palaiographes proposed to the assembly, "That loyalty and submission to lawful authority were, to his certain knowledge, very troublesome and inconvenient virtues; very dangerous also, and utterly inconsistent with the liberties of a free people; and, therefore, he humbly desired leave to bring in an accusation against Aristides, in behalf of himself and seventeen more free citizens, his friends, for endeavouring (for near three years past continually) to oblige them to the practice of those duties; and that, with a malicious and seditious intention to destroy their liberties, and to introduce tyranny and arbitrary power."

Ericos told him, "That his request was very wise and reasonable; and that he did not doubt but it would be cordially agreed to, by that honourable assembly, as soon as things were ripe for that purpose; but at present, he feared, they were not enough disposed and prepared for so glorious a design: And therefore desired him to postpone it for a small space."

Palaiographes easily submitted to the superior wisdom of Ericos: However, he humbly moved, in the mean time, and preparatory to the grand design, "That the people, of their great wisdom, would take it into their serious consideration, to pass a decree, that those virtues might be utterly abolished for the future, as destructive of the rights and privileges of the subject; and that sedition, obstinacy, and rebellion, might from henceforward be substituted in their place, as the only sure guardians against superstition and slavery."

This proposal was received with prodigious applause; and as soon as it was agreed to, a worthy member rose up, and humbly moved, "That Palaiographes, and his seventeen friends, who had lately practised those new-created virtues, after a very extraordinary and unheard-of manner, should have the thanks of that honourable assembly for so doing:" Which was done accordingly in very full and ample terms.

Amauros observing what had passed, thought he had as good a title to the favour of the people as his companions; and therefore he humbly requested, "That as they had

been pleased to abolish some virtues, at the instance of Palaiographes, they would not think it unreasonable to alter one in favour of him." He said, "the sirname he was known by was a very invidious appellation; and though it contained in it something that was very convenient and necessary for their purpose, yet, (he knew not how it happened) he found that all good men abhorred and avoided him for it. Now, he had observed that justice, though it was a very nice and scrupulous virtue, (and entirely inconsistent with their designs,) yet it had a very agreeable sound; and though he did not care for the thing, yet he had a great veneration for the name: And therefore he humbly moved, that that honourable assembly would be pleased to pass a decree, That inveterate malice might from thenceforward assume the stile and title of strict justice. This," he said, "would not only be an inexpressible advantage to him, but likewise to the whole assembly; it would give a new gloss and sanction to all their resolutions; would establish their reputation, and strengthen their authority, beyond any thing they could devise."

Ericos, well observing the tendency of that wise proposal, begged likewise, in behalf of himself and his friends, "That for the future, envy also might alter its name, and be called Love of Liberty and Eubœa;" and Momus, with great earnestness, made the same request for pride and ambition, and ill-nature; and accordingly they were all carried in the same decree with great applause.

But in order to prepare the reader's belief for all the monstrous extravagances already related, as well as many other incredibilities to come, I should have told him, that the power of assemblies was at this time so arbitrary and unlimited, that it was an avowed and received maxim at Eubœa, That a decree of the people could effect any thing whatsoever to *full purpose*, excepting only the change of one sex into another.

When therefore the faction had, by the methods abovementioned, prepared, and purged, and modelled the assembly to their own liking, they then thought it high time to fall upon Aristides; for whose sake alone they had passed all those wise and wholesome decrees before spoken of. And the first occasion they laid hold of against him was as follows.

There was at Eubœa a garden,[1] and a pleasant park, belonging to the aristocracy of Athens, whither the people resorted, at certain seasons, to take the air, and divert themselves with several kinds of pastimes and entertainments. But one night Aristides and his colleague had intelligence, that some rogues designed to do a great deal of mischief, and create a dangerous disturbance in the garden; and therefore they ordered it to be shut up for that night: All honest and peaceable citizens were very well pleased with the prohibition; and thought their governors were the best judges when it ought to be opened, and when shut; but it seems Amauros's brother was not of that opinion; and therefore he and some more of his associates called out to the gardener, and swore they would cut his throat if he did not let them in: He told them, that if his life lay upon it, he could not do it; that it was as much as his place was worth, and, that if he lost that, he might starve; and therefore earnestly entreated they would not urge him to his ruin. The park, he said, was free for them, and they might indulge in all the diversions of it (which he assured them would be very agreeable) as much as they pleased; but as for the garden, he had express orders not to open it that night upon any account. They told him, they regarded neither him nor his orders; and if he would not open to them, they'd open to themselves: Upon this, without any more words, they immediately tore down the pales, forced their way into the garden, and trampled every thing under foot, after an unmerciful manner. Not

[1] This seems to allude to the proceedings of the Lord Chancellor, respecting an alledged riot at the theatre, occasioned by Dudley Moore's speaking the prologue to Tamerlane, in praise of King William.

content with this, Amauros's brother called out to the people, and swore, if they would follow him, he would go directly for Athens, and rob the aristocracy of those two precious jewels, upon which they so much valued themselves, to the people; and assumed a superiority over those who were otherwise their equals; though he was sure, that, by right, they belonged as much to the other citizens as to them; and that the aristocracy had cheated them of 'em.

Aristides, greatly incensed at this unheard-of insolence, called the magistrates of the place together; shewed them the pales that were broken, and the flowers that were trampled under foot: Told them, moreover, that the jewels were the undoubted property of the aristocracy, which they had been in possession of for immemorial ages; and which the worst of their enemies never disputed their right to: And, in the conclusion, hoped they would do the aristocracy as much justice as they would do any the the meanest of their citizens, in the like case; and he was sure they desired no more.

Palaiographes (who was an under officer to the chief magistrate) chanced to be by, when Aristides spoke these words; and though he could not discern any evil in them, yet he did not know but there might possibly be some made out of 'em, and therefore he immediately committed them to writing as well as his memory would serve him; and after he had conned them over for some three quarters of a year, and advised with all his friends about them, he at last began to believe, That there was a deep design in them, though he could not see to the bottom of it. He was sure, That liberty and property were struck at; and revolution and glorious memory too were meant, though they were not mentioned; nay, now he remembered, memory was certainly mentioned, and therefore the rest were meant. And, as to liberty and property, 'tis true, says he, there is no great harm, if the aristocracy had sometimes (though perhaps not in this case) as much justice done them, as a cobler or a corn-cutter of Eubæa; but then, why should Aristides desire it? Desiring is as much as to say, demanding; and that is liberty and property: For why should the people do any more justice than they please?

With these, and such like arguments, (when the assembly was met, and all things were ripe for the purpose) did Palaiographes inveigh, with great violence, against Aristides; and, in the conclusion, told them, That as he always believed and said, so now he was fully convinced, (and he hoped they were so too by this time) that Aristides designed to destroy all their liberties, and to introduce superstition and slavery upon their heads; but if all this did not satisfy them, he had one argument more, which he was sure was irrefragable, and might serve instead of a thousand, to prove, that Aristides's whole conduct tended to tyranny and oppression; and that was, that in the very case in hand, (namely, the controversy betwixt the aristocracy and Amauros's brother) he had taken upon him peremptorily to pronounce, that the garden pales were broke, before that the people, who were the proper judges, had declared that they were: And this he did with a very black and deep design, to influence the eyes of the people, and to make them see as he pleased, which surely must be of the last ill consequence to their lives, liberties, and fortunes.

He ended; and his irrefragable argument was succeeded by a loud hum of applause. The people were so much enraged at this dangerous encroachment upon their liberties, that they immediately made a decree, that for the future, Whoever should take upon him to call a spade, a spade; or a packsaddle, a packsaddle; or a broken pale, a broken pale; before the people, who were the proper judges, had pronounced them to be a spade, a packsaddle, or a broken pale, was guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours, and should be banished for ten years from Eubæa, as an open enemy to the lives, liberties, and fortunes of the people: And that whereas Aristides had already been guilty of those crimes, therefore he should immediately be banished their territories.

This decree was thought very extraordinary, and indeed very severe upon many accounts; for besides the flagrant iniquity of it, it bore hard upon many honest and plain-dealing people, that loved to speak out, and declare their thoughts without reserve: Particularly, it was thought to lay a very severe and hard restraint upon Themistocles's wife, a lady of very open and free conversation, that loved to call every thing by its own name, and was particularly remarkable for calling a spade, a spade.

The next occasion they took against Aristides, was this:[1] There was at Eubœa, a crazy, half-witted fellow, (whom yet some people believed to be more a knave than a madman) whose name was Manes. This fellow got up one day upon the house-top, and roared so loud, that (as the assembly afterwards declared) a hundred cities heard the sound, and shook from their foundations: Telling the people, that if they would give him a certain sum of money, he would tell them a story of a Cock and a Bull. Now you must know, that by the story of the Cock and the Bull, was meant a story of a huge giant on t'other side the Ægean, whom the King of Persia supported, in opposition to the aristocracy of Athens; and pretended, that he was one of the posterity of the Heraclidæ. Now, says Momus, notwithstanding this grievous offence, committed by Manes, whereby the friends of the giant were greatly encouraged, and his enemies scared out of their wits, yet Aristides, instead of breaking him upon a rack, or tearing him asunder with wild horses, or impaling him, or burning him alive, what do you think? Why, truly, he ordered a prosecution at law against him, no more, a feint prosecution at law for some three quarters of a year; and then obtained his pardon from the aristocracy. In answer to this, Aristides's friends told them, that it was true, Manes had published an intention of telling such a story; they could not say indeed, that an hundred cities heard him, but possibly an hundred men might, or somewhat more: But then, from the nature of the thing, it was evident to them, that those men were the enemies of the giant, and not his friends; but, supposing they were his friends, could they be encouraged by a story of him before they knew what it was? How did they know but he would tell them, that he was hanged or knocked on the head; or was an impostor, and a s— of a wh—? for his enemies indeed, they did not know but some of them might possibly have been affrighted at the sound of his name, because they knew it had been made a terrible bugbear for some years past: But, after all, they were satisfied many of them were men of much more courage than they pretended; nay, Philalethes told them, that he did not doubt but some of them were brave enough either to hear any story told of the giant, or even to tell it themselves; but, for his own part, he protested he never cared to hear his name mentioned as long as he lived; and was glad with all his heart that Manes had not told the story of him. A blessing on his heart (says he) that hindered him, whoever he was: Pray, gentlemen, who was he? Aristos answered, that to his certain knowledge, it was Aristides that hindered him; and that at a time, when all his enemies would have been glad with all their souls that he had let him told it out: That immediately, upon the first report of Manes's intention, Aristides and his colleague sent an officer to seize all his papers, and among the rest this story; by which he was prevented from telling it: That, not content with this, they immediately ordered him to be prosecuted with the utmost severity of the law: That he was prosecuted accordingly, till he was obliged to fly his country, and was well nigh ruined; and all this for an intention of a misdemeanor, for which, the Ephetæ declared, they could not by law fine him more than a few *oboli*: After this, upon Manes's humble petition to the high court

[1] One Lloyd had published advertisements of his intention to reprint a book called The Memoirs of the Chevalier de St George, in which the legitimacy of that person was maintained and vindicated, for which he was indicted; but, to the great scandal of the whigs, the proceedings against him were dropped, in consequence of the intercession of the Lord Chancellor Phipps with Ormond.

of Eliaia, when the synegori had declared their opinion, that a man's saying he would do a thing, did not, in the sense of the law, involve him in the guilt of doing it. The whole high court (and not Aristides alone, as they would unjustly insinuate) did, as well for that reason, as because Manes had before that time done the aristocracy some service, and was besides in very low circumstances, represent his condition, just as it was, to the aristocracy of Athens, and they, upon that representation, were graciously pleased to pardon him.

Now he would fain know whether any of them would say that the high court of the Eliaia had not, in this case, acted agreeably both to justice and mercy?

As for Aristides, he could not, he said, but think him in the most difficult circumstances imaginable: At one time, they accused him for acting up to the law; at another, for not going beyond it. In the case of Amauros's father, his crime was, that he had prosecuted him as far as justice would allow; in the present case his crime was, that he had not prosecuted him ten times farther; though, if it be a crime, you know 'tis not his alone, 'tis the crime of the whole court. Would you then censure the whole high court? or rather, is it the aristocracy you are angry with for exercising a power which nobody ever denied them? We all know that that power has lately been pretty much employed in favour of some of your own admired favourites and friends; nay, not very long since, (if I mistake not) in favour even of young Ericos, and that, not for an intention, but an act of treason; is it then at sometimes a very desirable and happy power, and only criminal when it is employed in favour of your enemies?

They answered, that they had nothing to do either with the aristocracy or the high court of the Eliaia; Aristides was their man, and he should answer for what was done. How! says Philalethes, shall Aristides alone answer for all the acts of the whole high court? No, says Momus, he shall only answer for those we don't like, and you may call this an act of the high court if you please, but it was Aristides that did it. Sir, says Philalethes, can one man do the act of many free and independent men? 'Tis a contradiction. And pray, sir, what if it be, says Momus, can't this honourable assembly reconcile it if they please? Do you think this is the only contradiction they have reconciled since their meeting? you know it is not, and, if you had opened your eyes, you might have seen from the beginning that all the contradictions that were reconciled, were only in order to reconcile this one. Besides, sir, perhaps 'tis not so much a contradiction as you make it; for, if twenty men do one act, then every one of the twenty does it; and therefore, though others did this thing of Manes's, yet Aristides did it too, and therefore this honourable assembly might justly charge it upon him; for, let me tell you, sir, that if we think ourselves obliged to tell truth, yet we are not obliged to tell the whole truth, and, in my humble opinion, we are not obliged to tell the truth at all; for in all matters that come before us, we only give our opinions, sir, and not our oaths, which is a plain proof that we are not obliged to determine any thing, but just as we please. Nay more, sir, we cannot be obliged, sir, for if we could, sir, if assemblies were tied down to truth, and confined within the narrow bounds of justice and equity, what would become of their freedom, sir? My friends, if we have not freedom, we are no assembly; and if we cannot do what we please, we have not freedom. Gentlemen, 'tis the freedom of assemblies which Momus contends for; 'tis the cause of liberty, gentlemen; 'tis that liberty which Aristides would take away from you; and therefore, while you have it, employ it against him. Liberty! liberty! liberty! the assembly echoed the sound, as it were with one voice, and nothing but liberty was heard in it for a considerable space. At length, when the cry was over, Belides rose up, and told them, that, truly he could not say but that Aristides was a good man, and an excellent Archon (for he had heard his greatest enemies in that assembly own as much) but then, on the other hand, it must not be denied, that though the man was innocent, yet his places were very criminal (for great places always were

so with those that wanted them;) and therefore, they were not fit for a man of plain and inartful simplicity of manners, because such a man could not do half so much good, either to his cause, or his friends, or his family, as a man that knew the world; and therefore, he humbly proposed, that at the same time they petitioned for the removal of Aristides, they would also petition that their worthy president might succeed him; for what should we make it any longer a secret to the assembly (says he) how we have determined to dispose of these, and many other employments; all Eubæa are already acquainted with our designs in this point, and why should we conceal them from one another? Ericos shall be Archon, Palaiographes chief of the Ephetæ, Daneios next him, Momus next him, and so on. The assembly did not seem to attend to what he said, but immediately proceeded to the ostracism, which was performed in this manner; every one taking the ostrakon, or shell, and writing upon it the citizen's name he would have banished, carried it to a certain part of the town, not far from a place that was surrounded with iron nails; first, the magistrates numbered all the shells in gross (for if there were less than three hundred the ostracism was imperfect) then laying every name by itself, they pronounced him whose name was written by the major part, banished for ten years.

As, therefore, they were inscribing their shells, 'tis reported that a very illiterate clownish fellow giving Aristides his shell, as to one of the assembly, entreated him to write Aristides upon it. But he being amazed, and asking, If Aristides had ever done him any injury? none at all, says he, neither know I the man, but I cannot bear to hear him so much spoken of every where as a just person. Aristides hearing this, is said to have made no reply, but returned the shell, with the inscription of his own name.

Now, besides the reasons already assigned for the banishment of Aristides, 'tis said that the spirits of the people were now grown high, and set upon great matters, by reason of their late victories, insomuch that they could not bear any persons of eminent fame and reputation; coming therefore together from all parts into the principal city, they decreed that Aristides should (with the consent of the aristocracy of Athens) be banished by ostracism; giving their envy to his reputation, the names of love, of liberty, and Eubæa, and fear of tyranny; for it was not the punishment of any flagitious act, but speciously termed, the depression and restraint of exceeding greatness and power; it was a gentle mitigation of envy, determining its malice, to work injuries in no intolerable thing, only a ten years banishment.

I should have told the reader two hours ago, that this volume contains only the first part of the life of Aristides; and that the next volume (that's great!) will give an account of the proceedings of the senate of Eubæa in relation to Aristides; and also some further decrees of the assembly against him. Of Ericos's conversation with Themistocles, upon the subject of Aristides's banishment; of the assembly's petition, and the answer they received from the aristocracy; with many other particulars, not less true than wonderful; all which will be published sooner or later, according as the world approve themselves worthy of this.

But now methinks I hear one of my smart readers take me up very handsomely in this place.——Hey-day, says he, what's here to do, a preface at the end of a book! Marry, that's new indeed! For my part, I always thought that a preface was something that was to go before; now for a thing to come after which goes before, to me, is —— Nay, nay, sir! pray speak out; I know what you'd be at very well; you mean, sir, 'tis a contradiction in terms: Alas, sir! I have been so familiar with these same contradictions of late, that I can't apprehend the least danger from them: I have seen so many of them reconciled to one another, that I begin to believe they are the most harmless, best-natured things in the world; and 'tis a thousand pities they should ever quarrel again: But besides, you must know, sir, that I am a great lover of regu-

larity; now, thinks I, since I design to divide this life into two parts, of necessity I must divide the preface into two parts too; for otherwise it would not be regular.—— Well, but say you, the second part of your preface might have been annexed to the second part of your life; whereas, now, here is a whole preface, and but half a life; and pray, sir, is that regular? I must confess it is not, sir; but then, if it were, it would not shew my design; writing half a book is like building half a house, and a preface at the end is like the stones and bricks that jet out, on that side the house, where the other half is to be added; 'tis true, they look a little awkward and irregular, but then they shew the builder's design; and when the house comes to be finished, they add both to the beauty and strength of it: So, sir, you shall see, that when the second part of this life is published, and bound up with the first; then, that which was at the end of the first volume, will be at the beginning of the second, and so will be, strictly and truly speaking, a preface to it.

But, abstracting from this reason, if I pleased, I could quote many and great authorities to support me in this practice; but (as Palaiographes says) I'll give you one instead of a thousand, and that shall be irrefragable; namely, the authority of the prince, and flower and cream of criticks, the renowned and ever celebrated Dr B——y in his Annotations upon the first Ode of Horace —— *Proœmii ut res ipsa indicat, &c.* (says he), That is (as it is translated for the benefit of the English reader:) This ode stands for a proem, or prologue: The thing shews itself plain, and was made the last in the book, and then added to the rest —— upon which, the ingenious author of the Notes upon Notes, who has a happy sagacity of sifting the doctor's mind, has made this curious remark: Whereas (says he) it may possibly enter into the heads of some paultry judges, that a proem, or prologue, (or preface, 'tis the same thing) may be such a sort of a creature, as that an author might think fit to compose it first, and affix it to the beginning of his book: These are to give notice, that a decree is now come forth from the great Bentivoglio, by which prologues are appointed to be made last, and immediately to precede.

A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet; together with a Proposal for the Encouragement of Poetry in this Kingdom.

Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
Carminibus venit —— Hor.

By J. Swift.

Dublin, Printed 1721. *Omitted in his Works.*

The following piece is so generally known, as forming one of the most remarkable of Swift's fugitive treatises, that but for preserving the integrity of this new edition of Somers's Tracts, the editor would not have reprinted it in the present collection.

Sir,

As I have always professed a friendship for you, and have therefore been more inquisitive into your conduct and studies than is usually agreeable to young men, so I

must own I am not a little pleased to find, by your last account, that you have entirely bent your thoughts to English poetry, with design to make it your profession and business. Two reasons incline me to encourage you in this study; one, the narrowness of your present circumstances; the other, the great use of poetry to mankind and society, and in every employment of life. Upon these views, I cannot but commend your wise resolution to withdraw so early from other unprofitable and severe studies, and betake yourself to that, which, if you have good luck, will advance your fortune, and make you an ornament to your friends and your country. It may be your justification, and farther encouragement, to consider that history, ancient or modern, cannot furnish you an instance of one person, eminent in any station, who was not in some measure versed in poetry, or at least a well-wisher to the professors of it; neither would I despair to prove, if legally called thereto, that it is impossible to be a good soldier, divine, or lawyer, or even so much as an eminent bell-man or ballad-singer, without some taste of poetry, and a competent skill in versification: But I say the less of this, because the renowned Sir P. Sidney has exhausted the subject before me, in his Defence of Poesie, on which I shall make no other remark but this, that he argues there as if he really believed himself.

For my own part, having never made one verse since I was at school, where I suffered too much for my blunders in poetry, to have any love to it ever since, I am not able, from any experience of my own, to give you those instructions you desire; neither will I declare (for I love to conceal my passions) how much I lament my neglect of poetry in those periods of my life, which were properest for improvements in that ornamental part of learning; besides, my age and infirmities might well excuse me to you, as being unqualified to be your writing-master, with spectacles on, and a shaking hand. However, that I may not be altogether wanting to you in an affair of so much importance to your credit and happiness, I shall here give you some scattered thoughts upon the subject, such as I have gathered by reading and observation.

There is a certain little instrument, the first of those in use with scholars, and the meanest, considering the materials of it, whether it be a joint of wheaten-straw (the old Arcadian pipe), or just three inches of slender wire, or a stript feather, or a corking-pin. Farthermore, this same diminutive tool, for the posture of it, usually reclines its head on the thumb of the right hand, sustains the foremost finger upon its breast, and is itself supported by the second. This is commonly known by the name of a *fescue*; I shall here therefore condescend to be this little elementary guide, and point out some particulars which may be of use to you in your horn-book of poetry.

In the first place, I am not yet convinced, that it is at all necessary for a modern poet to believe in God, or have any serious sense of religion; and in this article you must give me leave to suspect your capacities; because religion being what your mother taught you, you will hardly find it possible, at least not easy, all at once to get over those early prejudices, so far as to think it better to be a great wit than a good Christian, though herein the general practice is against you; so that if, upon enquiry, you find in yourself any such softnesses, owing to the nature of your education, my advice is, that you forthwith lay down your pen, as having no farther business with it in the way of poetry, unless you will be content to pass for an insipid, or will submit to be hooted at by your fraternity, or can disguise your religion, as well-bred men do their learning, in complaisance to company.

For poetry, as it has been managed for some years past, by such as make a business of it (and of such only I speak here, for I do not call him a poet that writes for his diversion, any more than that gentleman a fiddler who amuses himself with a violin); I say, our poetry of late has been altogether disengaged from the narrow notions of virtue and piety, because it has been found by experience of our professors, that the

smallest quantity of religion, like a single drop of malt-liquor in claret, will muddy and discompose the brightest poetical genius.

Religion supposes Heaven and Hell, the Word of God, and Sacraments, and twenty other circumstances, which, taken seriously, are a wonderful check to wit and humour, and such as a true poet cannot possibly give into with a saving to his poetical license; but yet it is necessary for him, that others should believe those things seriously, that his wit may be exercised on their wisdom, for so doing: For though a wit need not have religion, religion is necessary to a wit, as an instrument is to the hand that plays upon it: And for this the moderns plead the example of their great idol Lucretius, who had not been by half so eminent a poet (as he truly was), but that he stood tip-toe on religion, *Religio pedibus subjecta,* and by that rising ground had the advantage of all the poets of his own or following times, who were not mounted on the same pedestal.

Besides, it is farther to be observed, that Petronius, another of their favourites, speaking of the qualifications of a good poet, insists chiefly on the *liber spiritus;* by which I have been ignorant enough heretofore to suppose he meant, a good invention, or great compass of thought, or a sprightly imagination: But I have learned a better construction, from the opinion and practice of the moderns; and taking it literally for a free spirit, *i. e.* a spirit, or mind, free or disengaged from all prejudices concerning God, religion, and another world, it is to me a plain account why our present set of poets are, and hold themselves obliged to be, *free-thinkers.*

But although I cannot recommend religion upon the practice of some of our most eminent English poets, yet I can justly advise you, from their example, to be conversant in the scriptures, and, if possible, to make yourself entirely master of them: In which, however, I intend nothing less than imposing upon you a task of piety. Far be it from me to desire you to believe them, or lay any great stress upon their authority, (in that you may do as you think fit) but to read them as a piece of necessary furniture for a wit and a poet; which is a very different view from that of a Christian. For I have made it my observation, that the greatest wits have been the best textuaries: Our modern poets are, all to a man, almost as well read in the scriptures as some of our divines, and often abound more with the phrase. They have read them historically, critically, musically, comically, poetically, and every other way except religiously, and have found their account in doing so. For the scriptures are undoubtedly a fund of wit, and a subject for wit. You may, according to the modern practice, be witty upon them or out of them: And to speak the truth, but for them, I know not what our *play-wrights* would do for images, allusions, similitudes, examples, or even language itself. Shut up the sacred books, and I would be bound our wit would run down like an alarum, or fall as the stocks did, and ruin half the poets in these kingdoms. And if that were the case, how would most of that tribe, (all, I think, but the immortal Addison, who made a better use of his Bible, and a few more) who dealt so freely in that fund, rejoice that they had drawn out in time, and left the present generation of poets to be the bubbles?

But here I must enter one caution, and desire you to take notice, that in this advice of reading the scriptures, I had not the least thought concerning your qualifications that way for poetical orders; which I mention, because I find a notion of that kind advanced by one of our English poets, and is, I suppose, maintained by the rest. He says to Spencer, in a pretended vision,

> ——With hands laid on, ordains me fit
> For the great cure and ministry of wit,

which passage is, in my opinion, a notable allusion to the scriptures, and making (but reasonable) allowances for the small circumstance of profaneness, bordering close upon

blasphemy, is inimitably fine; besides some useful discoveries made in it, as, that there are bishops in poetry, that these bishops must ordain young poets, and with laying on hands; and that poetry is a cure of souls; and consequently speaking, those who have such cures ought to be poets, and too often are so: And indeed, as of old, poets and priests were one and the same function, the alliance of those ministerial offices is to this day happily maintained in the same persons; and this I take to be the only justifiable reason for that appellation which they so much affect, I mean the modest title of *Divine Poets*. However, having never been present at the ceremony of ordaining to the priesthood of poetry, I own I have no notion of the thing, and shall say the less of it here.

The scriptures then being generally both the fountain and subject of modern wit, I could do no less than give them the preference in your reading. After a thorough acquaintance with them, I would advise you to turn your thoughts to human literature, which yet I say more in compliance with vulgar opinions, than according to my own sentiments.

For, indeed, nothing has surprised me more, than to see the prejudices of mankind as to this matter of human learning, who have generally thought it is necessary to be a good scholar, in order to be a good poet, than which nothing is falser in fact, or more contrary to practice and experience. Neither will I dispute the matter, if any man will undertake to shew me one professed poet now in being, who is any thing of what may be justly called a scholar; or is the worse poet for that, but perhaps the better, for being so little encumbered with the pedantry of learning: 'Tis true, the contrary was the opinion of our forefathers, which we of this age have devotion enough to receive from them on their own terms, and unexamined, but not sense enough to perceive 'twas a gross mistake in them. So Horace has told us,

Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons,
Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere charta.

But to see the different casts of men's heads, some not inferior to that poet in understanding (if you will take their own word for it), do see no consequence in this rule, and are not ashamed to declare themselves of a contrary opinion. Do not many men write well in common account, who have nothing of that principle? Many are too wise to be poets, and others too much poets to be wise. Must a man, forsooth, be no less than a philosopher to be a poet, when it is plain, that some of the greatest idiots of the age are our prettiest performers that way? And for this, I appeal to the judgment and observation of mankind. Sir Ph. Sidney's notable remark upon this nation, may not be improper to mention here. He says, "in our neighbour country Ireland, where true learning goes very bare, yet are their poets held in devout reverence;" which shews, that learning is no way necessary either to the making a poet, or judging of him. And farther to see the fate of things, notwithstanding our learning here is as bare as ever, yet are our poets not held, as formerly, in devout reverence, but are, perhaps, the most contemptible race of mortals now in this kingdom, which is no less to be wondered at than lamented.

Some of the old philosophers were poets (as, according to the forementioned author, Socrates and Plato were; which, however, is what I did not know before) but that does not say that all poets are, or that any need be philosophers, otherwise than as those are so called who are a little out at the elbows. In which sense the great Shakespear might have been a philosopher; but was no scholar, yet was an excellent poet. Neither do I think a late most judicious critick so much mistaken, as others do, in advancing this opinion, that Shakespear had been a worse poet had he been a better scholar: And Sir W. Davenant is another instance in the same kind. Nor

must it be forgotten, that Plato was an avowed enemy to poets, which is, perhaps, the reason why poets have been always at enmity with his profession; and have rejected all learning and philosophy for the sake of that one philosopher. As I take the matter, neither philosophy, nor any part of learning, is more necessary to poetry, (which, if you will believe the same author, is the sum of all learning) than to know the theory of light, and the several proportions and diversifications of it in particular colours, is to a good painter.

Whereas, therefore, a certain author, called Petronius Arbiter, going upon the same mistake, has confidently declared, that one ingredient of a good poet is *Mens ingenti literarum flumine inundata;* I do, on the contrary, declare, that this his assertion (to speak of it in the softest terms) is no better than an invidious and unhandsome reflection on all the gentlemen-poets of these times; for, with his good leave, much less than a flood, or inundation, will serve the turn, and to my certain knowledge, some of our greatest wits, in your poetical way, have not as much real learning as would cover a sixpence in the bottom of a bason; nor do I think the worse of them.

For, to speak my private opinion, I am for every man's working upon his own materials, and producing only what he can find within himself, which is commonly a better stock than the owner knows it to be. I think flowers of wit ought to spring, as those in a garden do, from their own root and stem, without foreign assistance. I would have a man's wit rather like a fountain, that feeds itself invisibly, than a river, that is supplied by several streams from abroad.

Or if it be necessary, as the case is with some barren wits, to take in the thoughts of others, in order to draw forth their own, as dry pumps will not play till water is thrown into them; in that necessity, I would recommend some of the approved standard authors of antiquity for your perusal, as a poet and a wit; because maggots being what you look for, as monkeys do for vermin in their keepers heads, you will find they abound in good old authors, as in rich old cheese, not in the new; and for that reason you must have the classicks, especially the most worm-eaten of them, often in your hands.

But with this caution, that you are not to use those antients as unlucky lads do their old fathers, and make no conscience of picking their pockets and pillaging them. Your business is not to steal from them, but to improve upon them, and make their sentiments your own; which is an effect of great judgment; and though difficult, yet very possible, without the scurvy imputation of filching: For I humbly conceive, though I light my candle at my neighbour's fire, that does not alter the property, or make the wick, the wax, or the flame, or the whole candle, less my own.

Possibly you may think it a very severe task, to arrive at a competent knowledge of so many of the antients, as excel in their way; and indeed it would be really so, but for the short and easy method lately found out of abstracts, abridgments, summaries, &c. which are admirable expedients for being very learned with little or no reading; and have the same use with burning-glasses, to collect the diffused rays of wit and learning in authors, and make them point with warmth and quickness upon the reader's imagination. And to this is nearly related that other modern device of consulting indexes, which is to read books Hebraically, and begin where others usually end; and this is a compendious way of coming to an acquaintance with authors: For authors are to be used like lobsters, you must look for the best meat in the tails, and lay the bodies back again in the dish. Your cunningest thieves (and what else are readers who only read to borrow, *i. e.* to steal) use to cut off the portmanteau from behind, without staying to dive into the pockets of the owner. Lastly, you are taught thus much in the very elements of philosophy, for one of the first rules in logick is, *Finis est primus in intentione.*

The learned world is therefore most highly indebted to a late painful and judicious

editor of the classicks, who has laboured in that new way with exceeding felicity. Every author, by his management, sweats under himself, being over-loaded with his own index, and carries, like a north country pedlar, all his substance and furniture upon his back, and with as great variety of trifles. To him let all young students make their compliments for so much time and pains saved in the pursuit of useful knowledge; for whoever shortens a road is a benefactor to the publick, and to every particular person who has occasion to travel that way.

But to proceed. I have lamented nothing more in my time, than the disuse of some ingenious little plays, in fashion with young folks, when I was a boy, and to which the great facility of that age, above ours, in composing, was certainly owing; and if any thing has brought a damp upon the versification of these times, we have no farther than this to go for the cause of it. Now could these sports be happily revived, I am of opinion your wisest course would be to apply your thoughts to them, and never fail to make a party when you can, in those profitable diversions. For example, crambo is of extraordinary use to good rhiming, and rhiming is what I have ever accounted the very essential of a good poet: And in that notion I am not singular; for the aforesaid Sir P. Sidney has declared, That the chief life of modern versifying consisteth in the like sounding of words, which we call rhime; which is an authority, either without exception, or above any reply. Wherefore, you are ever to try a good poem as you would a sound pipkin, and if it rings well upon the knuckle, be sure there is no flaw in it. Verse without rhime is a body without a soul, (for the chief life consisteth in the rhime) or a bell without a clapper; which, in strictness, is no bell, as being neither of use nor delight. And the same ever-honoured knight, with so musical an ear, had that veneration for the tuneableness and chiming of verse, that he speaks of a poet as one that has the reverend title of a rhimer. Our celebrated Milton has done these nations great prejudice in this particular, having spoiled as many reverend rhimers by his example as he has made real poets.

For which reason, I am overjoyed to hear that a very ingenious youth of this town is now upon the useful design (for which he is never enough to be commended) of bestowing rhime upon Milton's Paradise Lost, which will make your poem, in that only defective, more heroick and sonorous than it has hitherto been. I wish the gentleman success in the performance, and, as it is a work in which a young man could not be more happily employed, or appear in with greater advantage to his character, so I am concerned that it did not fall out to be your province.

With much the same view, I would recommend to you the witty play of Pictures and Mottos, which will furnish your imagination with great store of images and suitable devices. We of these kingdoms have found our account in this diversion, as little as we consider or acknowledge it. For to this we owe our eminent felicity in posies of rings, mottos of snuff-boxes, the humours of sign-posts, with their elegant inscriptions, &c. in which kind of productions not any nation in the world, no, not the Dutch themselves, will presume to rival us.

For much the same reason it may be proper for you to have some insight into the play called What is it like? as of great use in common practice, to quicken slow capacities, and improve the quickest; butthe chief end of it is to supply the fancy with variety of similies for all subjects. It will teach you to bring things to a likeness which have not the least conformity in nature, which is properly creation, and the very business of a poet, as his name implies; and let me tell you, a good poet can no more be without a stock of similies by him than a shoe-maker without his lasts. He should have them sized, and ranged, and hung up in order in his shop, ready for all customers, and shaped to the feet of all sorts of verse; and here I could more fully (and I long to do it) insist upon the wonderful harmony and resemblance between a poet and a shoe-maker, in many circumstances common to both; such as the binding of their

temples, the stuff they work upon, and the paring-knife they use, &c. but that I would not digress, nor seem to trifle in so serious a matter.

Now I say, if you apply yourself to these diminutive sports (not to mention others of equal ingenuity, such as draw-gloves, cross-purposes, questions and commands, and the rest) it is not to be conceived what benefit (of nature) you will find by them, and how they will open the body of your invention. To these devote your spare hours, or rather spare all your hours to them, and then you will act as becomes a wise man, and make even diversions an improvement; like the inimitable management of the bee, which does the whole business of life at once, and at the same time both feeds, and works, and diverts itself.

Your own prudence will, I doubt not, direct you to take a place every evening amongst the ingenious, in the corner of a certain coffee-house in this town, where you will receive a turn equally right as to wit, religion, and politicks; as likewise to be as frequent at the play-house as you can afford, without selling your books. For in our chaste theatre, even Cato himself might sit to the falling of the curtain; besides, you will sometimes meet with tolerable conversation amongst the players; they are such a kind of men as may pass, upon the same sort of capacities, for wits off the stage, as they do for fine gentlemen upon it. Besides that, I have known a factor deal in as good ware, and sell as cheap, as the merchant himself that employs him.

Add to this the expediency of furnishing out your shelves with a choice collection of modern miscellanies, in the gayest edition; and of reading all sorts of plays, especially the new, and above all, those of our own growth, printed by subscription, in which article of Irish manufacture I readily agree to the late proposal, and am altogether for rejecting and renouncing every thing that comes from England; to what purpose should we go thither for coals or poetry when we have a vein within ourselves equally good and more convenient? Lastly,

A common-place-book is what a provident poet cannot subsist without for this proverbial reason, that great wits have short memories; and whereas on the other hand, poets being liars by profession, ought to have good memories; to reconcile these, a book of this sort is in the nature of a supplemental memory, or a record of what occurs remarkable in every day's reading or conversation; there you enter not only your own original thoughts, (which, a hundred to one, are few and insignificant) but such of other men as you think fit to make your own by entering them there. For take this for a rule, when an author is in your books, you have the same demand upon him for his wit as a merchant has for your money when you are in his.

By these few and easy prescriptions (with the help of a good genius) 'tis possible you may in a short time arrive at the accomplishments of a poet, and shine in that character. As for your manner of composing, and choice of subjects, I cannot take upon me to be your director, but I will venture to give you some short hints, which you may enlarge upon at your leisure. Let me entreat you then by no means to lay aside that notion peculiar to our modern refiners in poetry, which is, that a poet must never write or discourse as the ordinary part of mankind do, but in number and verse, as an oracle; which I mention the rather, because upon this principle I have known heroes brought into the pulpit, and a whole sermon composed and delivered in blank verse, to the vast credit of the preacher, no less than the real entertainment and great edification of the audience.

The secret of which I take to be this. When the matter of such discourses is but mere clay, or, as we usually call it, sad stuff, the preacher, who can afford no better, wisely moulds, and polishes, and drys, and washes this piece of earthen-ware, and then bakes it with poetic fire, after which it will ring like any pan-crock, and is a good dish to set before common guests, as every congregation is that comes so often for entertainment to one place.

There was a good old custom in use, which our ancestors had, of invoking the mu-

ses at the entrance of their poems, I suppose, by way of craving a blessing: This the graceless moderns have in a great measure laid aside, but are not to be followed in that poetical impiety; for although to nice ears such invocations may sound harsh and disagreeable (as tuning instruments is before a concert) they are equally necessary. Again, you must not fail to dress your muse in a forehead-cloth of Greek or Latin, I mean, you are always to make use of a quaint motto to all your compositions; for, besides that this artifice bespeaks the reader's opinion of the writer's learning, it is otherwise useful and commendable. A bright passage in the front of a poem is a good mark, like a star in a horse's face, and the piece will certainly go off the better for it. The *os magna sonaturum*, which, if I remember right, Horace makes one qualification of a good poet, may teach you not to gag your muse, or stint yourself in words and epithets (which cost you nothing) contrary to the practice of some few out-of-the-way writers, who use a natural and concise expression, and affect a style like unto a Shrewsbury-cake, short and sweet upon the palate; they will not afford you a word more than is necessary to make them intelligible, which is as poor and niggardly as it would be to set down no more meat than your company will be sure to eat up. Words are but lacquies to sense, and will dance attendance, without wages or compulsion; *Verba non invita sequentur*.

Farthermore, when you set about composing, it may be necessary, for your ease and better distillation of wit, to put on your worst cloaths, and the worse the better; for an author, like a limbick, will yield the better for having a rag about him: Besides that, I have observed a gardener cut the outward rind of a tree (which is the surtout of it), to make it bear well: And this is a natural account of the usual poverty of poets, and is an argument why wits, of all men living, ought to be ill clad. I have always a secret veneration for any one I observe to be a little out of repair in his person, as supposing him either a poet or a philosopher; because the richest minerals are ever found under the most ragged and withered surface of earth.

As for your choice of subjects, I have only to give you this caution, that as a handsome way of praising is certainly the most difficult point in writing or speaking, I would by no means advise any young man to make his first essay in panegyrick, besides the danger of it; for a particular encomium is ever attended with more ill-will than any general invective, for which I need give no reasons; wherefore, my counsel is, that you use the point of your pen, not the feather: Let your first attempt be a *coup d'eclat* in the way of libel, lampoon or satire. Knock down half a score reputations, and you will infallibly raise your own; and so it be with wit, no matter with how little justice, for fiction is your trade.

Every great genius seems to ride upon mankind, like Pyrrhus on his elephant; and the way to have the absolute ascendant of your resty nag, and to keep your seat, is, at your first mounting, to afford him the whip and spurs plentifully, after which, you may travel the rest of the day with great alacrity. Once kick the world, and the world and you will live together at a reasonable good understanding. You cannot but know, that these of your profession have been called *genus irritabile vatum*, and you will find it necessary to qualify yourself for that waspish society, by exerting your talent of satire upon the first occasion, and to abandon good-nature, only to prove yourself a true poet, which you will allow to be a valuable consideration: In a word, a young robber is usually entered by a murder: A young hound is blooded when he comes first into the field: A young bully begins with killing his man: And a young poet must shew his wit, as the other his courage, by cutting, and slashing, and laying about him, and banging mankind.

Lastly, it will be your wisdom to look out betimes for a good service for your muse, according to her skill and qualifications, whether in the nature of a dairy-maid, a cook, or chairwoman: I mean to hire out your pen to a party which will afford you both

pay and protection; and when you have to do with the press (as you will long to be there), take care to bespeak an importunate friend to extort your productions with an agreeable violence; and which, according to the cue between you, you must surrender *digito male pertinaci*: There is a decency in this, for it no more becomes an author in modesty to have a hand in publishing his own works, than a woman in labour to lay herself.

I would be very loth to give the least umbrage of offence by what I have here said, as I may do, if I should be thought to insinuate that these circumstances of good writing have been unknown to, or not observed by, the poets of this kingdom: I will do my countrymen the justice to say, they have written by the foregoing rules with great exactness, and so far, as hardly to come behind those of their profession in England, in perfection of low writing. The sublime, indeed, is not so common with us; but ample amends is made for that want, in great abundance of the admirable and amazing, which appears in all our compositions. Our very good friend (the knight aforesaid) speaking of the force of poetry, mentions rhiming to death, which (adds he) is said to be done in Ireland, and truly, to our honour be it spoken, that power, in a great measure, continues with us to this day.

I would now offer some poor thoughts of mine for the encouragement of poetry in this kingdom, if I could hope they would be agreeable. I have had many an aching heart for the ill plight of that noble profession here, and it has been my late and early study how to bring it into better circumstances. And surely, considering what monstrous wits in the poetick way do almost daily start up and surprize us in this town; what prodigious geniuses we have here (of which I could give instances without number) and withal of what great benefit it may be to our trade to encourage that science here, (for it is plain our linen manufacture is advanced by the great waste of paper made by our present set of poets, not to mention other necessary uses of the same to shop-keepers, especially grocers, apothecaries, and pastry-cooks; and I might add, but for our writers, the nation would in a little time be utterly destitute of bum-fodder, and must of necessity import the same from England and Holland, where they have it in great abundance, by the indefatigable labour of their own wits:) I say, these things considered, I am humbly of opinion, it would be worth the care of our governors to cherish gentlemen of the quill, and give them all proper encouragements here. And since I am upon the subject, I shall speak my mind very freely, and if I added, saucily, it is no more than my birth-right as a Briton.

Seriously then, I have many years lamented the want of a Grub-Street in this our large and polite city, unless the whole may be called one. And this I have accounted an unpardonable defect in our constitution, ever since I had any opinions I could call my own. Every one knows Grub-Street is a market for small-ware in wit, and as necessary, considering the usual purgings of the human brain, as the nose is upon a man's face: And for the same reasons we have here a court, a college, a play-house, and beautiful ladies, and fine gentlemen, and good claret, and abundance of pens, ink, and paper, (clear of taxes) and every other circumstance to provoke wit; and yet those whose province it is have not yet thought fit to appoint a place for evacuations of it, which is a very hard case, as may be judged by comparisons.

And truly this defect has been attended with unspeakable inconveniences; for, not to mention the prejudice done to the common-wealth of letters, I am of opinion we suffer in our health by it: I believe our corrupted air, and frequent thick fogs, are in a great measure owing to the common exposal of our wit, and that with good management our poetical vapours might be carried off in a common drain, and fall into one quarter of the town, without infecting the whole, as the case is at present, to the great offence of our nobility and gentry, and others of nice noses. When writers of all sizes, like freemen of the city, are at liberty to throw out their filth and excrementitious

productions in every street as they please, what can the consequence be, but that the town must be poisoned, and become such another jakes, as, by report of our great travellers, Edinburgh is at night, a thing well to be considered in these pestilential times.

I am not of the society for reformation of manners, but, without that pragmatical title, I would be glad to see some amendment in the matter before us: Wherefore I humbly bespeak the favour of the lord mayor, the court of aldermen and common council, together with the whole circle of arts in this town, and do recommend this affair to their most political consideration; and I persuade myself they will not be wanting in their best endeavours, when they can serve two such good ends at once, as both to keep the town sweet, and encourage poetry in it. Neither do I make any exceptions as to satirical poets and lampoon writers, in consideration of their office: For though indeed their business is to rake into kennels, and gather up the filth of streets and families, (in which respect they may be, for aught I know, as necessary to the town as scavengers or chimney-sweeps) yet I have observed they too have themselves at the same time very foul clothes, and, like dirty persons, leave more filth and hastiness than they sweep away.

In a word, what I would be at (for I love to be plain in matters of importance to my country) is, that some private street, or blind alley, of this town may be fitted up at the charge of the publick, as an apartment for the muses, (like those at Rome and Amsterdam, for their female relations) and be wholly consigned to the uses of our wits, furnished compleatly with all appurtenances, such as authors, supervisors, presses, printers, hawkers, shops, and warehouses, abundance of garrets, and every other implement and circumstance of wit; the benefit of which would obviously be this, viz. That we should then have a safe repository for our best productions, which at present are handed about in single sheets or manuscripts, and may be altogether lost, (which were a pity) or at the best are subject, in that loose dress, like handsome women, to great abuses.

Another point, that has cost me some melancholy reflections, is the present state of the play-house, the encouragement of which hath an immediate influence upon the poetry of the kingdom: As a good market improves the tillage of the neighbouring country, and enriches the ploughman. Neither do we of this town seem enough to know or consider the vast benefit of a play-house to our city and nation; that single house is the fountain of all our love, wit, dress, and gallantry. It is the school of wisdom, for there we learn to know what's what; which, however, I cannot say is always in that place sound knowledge. There our young folks drop their childish mistakes, and come first to perceive their mother's cheat of the parsely bed; there too they get rid of natural prejudices, especially those of religion and modesty, which are great restraints to a free people. The same is a remedy for the spleen and blushing, and several distempers occasioned by the stagnation of the blood. It is likewise a school of common swearing; my young master, who at first but minced an oath, is taught there to mouth it gracefully, and to swear as he reads French, *ore rotundo*. Prophaneness was before to him in the nature of his best suit, or holiday-cloathes; but upon frequenting the play-houses, swearing, cursing, and lying, become like his every-day coat, waistcoat, and breeches. Now I say, common swearing, a produce of this country as plentiful as our corn, thus cultivated by the play-house, might, with management, be of wonderful advantage to the nation, as a projector of the swearers bank has proved at large. Lastly, the stage in great measure supports the pulpit; for I know not what our divines could have to say there against the corruptions of the age, but for the play-house, which is the seminary of them. From which it is plain, the publick is a gainer by the play-house, and consequently ought to countenance it; and were I worthy to put in my word, or prescribe to my betters, I could say in what manner.

I have heard that a certain gentleman has great designs to serve the publick in the way of their diversions, with due encouragement; that is, if he can obtain some concordatum-money, or yearly salary, and handsome contributions: And well he deserves the favours of the nation; for, to do him justice, he has an uncommon skill in pastimes, having altogether applied his studies that way, and travelled full many a league, by sea and land, for this his profound knowledge. With that view alone he has visited all the courts and cities in Europe, and has been at more pains than I shall speak of to take an exact draught of the play-house at the Hague, as a model for a new one here.

But what can a private man do by himself in so publick an undertaking? It is not to be doubted, but by his care and industry vast improvements may be made, not only in our play-house, (which is his immediate province) but in our gaming ordinaries, groom-porters, lotteries, bowling-greens, nine-pin allies, bear-gardens, cock-pits, prizes, puppet and raree-shows, and whatever else concerns the elegant divertisements of this town. He is truly an original genius, and I felicitate this our capital city on his residence here, where I wish him long to live and flourish for the good of the commonwealth.

Once more: If any farther applications shall be made on t'other side, to obtain a charter for a bank here, I presume to make a request, that poetry may be a sharer in that privilege, being a fund as real, and to the full as well grounded, as our stocks; but I fear our neighbours, who envy our wit, as much as they do our wealth or trade, will give no encouragement to either. I believe also, it might be proper to erect a corporation of poets in this city. I have been idle enough in my time, to make a computation of wits here, and do find we have three hundred performing poets and upwords, in and about this town, reckoning six score to the hundred, and allowing for demi's, like pint bottles; including also the several denominations of imitators, translators, and familiar letter-writers, &c. One of these last has lately entertained the town with an original piece, and such a one as, I dare say, the late British Spectator, in his decline, would have called, An excellent specimen of the true sublime; or, a noble poem; or, a fine copy of verses, on a subject perfectly new, (the author himself) and had given it a place amongst his latest lucubrations.

But, as I was saying, so many poets, I am confident, are sufficient to furnish out a corporation in point of number. Then for the several degrees of subordinate members requisite to such a body, there can be no want; for although we have not one masterly poet, yet we abound with wardens and beadles, having a multitude of poetasters, poetito's, parcel-poets, poet-apes, and philo-poets, and many of inferior attainments in wit, but strong inclinations to it, which are by odds more than all the rest. Nor shall I ever be at ease, till this project of mine (for which I am heartily thankful to myself) shall be reduced to practice. I long to see the day, when our poets will be a regular and distinct body, and wait upon our lord-mayor on publick days, like other good citizens, in gowns turned up with green instead of laurels; and when I myself, who make this proposal, shall be free of their company.

To conclude, what if our government had a poet-laureat here, as in England? What if our university had a professor of poetry here as in England? What if our lord-mayor had a city bard here, as in England? And, to refine upon England, what if every corporation, parish, and ward in this town, had a poet in fee, as they have not in England? Lastly, What if every one so qualified were obliged to add one more than usual to the number of his domesticks, and besides a fool and a chaplain, (which are often united in one person) would retain a poet in his family; for, perhaps, a rhimer is as necessary amongst servants of a house, as a Dobbin with his bells, at the head of a team? But these things I leave to the wisdom of my superiors.

While I have been directing your pen, I should not forget to govern my own, which

has already exceeded the bounds of a letter: I must therefore take my leave abruptly, and desire you, without farther ceremony, to believe that I am, sir,

Your most humble servant.

Dec. 1, 1720.

Remarks upon the antient and present state of London, occasioned by some Roman Urns, Coins, and other Antiquities, lately discovered. 1723.

Quis est quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas?
Cic. de Divinat. Lib. 1.

This, as the prefatory advertisement bears, is a reprint of two letters written by the celebrated Dr Woodward, founder of the physiological lecture at Gresham College, to Sir Christopher Wren and Edmund Hearne. The first relates to some ruins dis overed near St Paul's church, indicating, in Dr Woodward's opinion, that it had been the site of a temple of Diana. From a passage in Wren's Parentalia, it appears that he did not believe in this hypothesis, for which incredulity the editor apologizes by informing us, that his grandfather had not seen the remains alluded to. There is a third edition of this Tract, with the title somewhat altered.

Advertisement of the Booksellers.

Though these letters were not wrote with design to be printed, yet, having got into the light, and two impressions sold all off, to oblige those who still desire it, we have prevailed with the author to let us set forth a third.

'Twas to have been wished he had had leisure to have published, together with these, a dissertation which he has wrote concerning an image of Diana digged up near St Paul's church. His account of the Roman antiquities, in his collection, found in several parts of England, but chiefly about London, as also his notes relating to the gold, the silver, the amber, the jet, the pearls, the purpura, and other things mentioned by the ancient Roman historians, as then found in Britain, will, when he shall have time to fit them for the press, be acceptable to the curious, and serve to explain and illustrate the ancient state of this city and nation.

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antient Britons. § 22. Of the Druids; and the state of science here in their times. § 23. The error of those who take the Roman for British bricks. § 24. Of the towns, the houses, and the temples of the Britons. § 25. The Romans, and other nations, as savage of old, and as much strangers to arts as the Britons. § 26. Of the gradual enlargement of the city antiently; and the progress of it to the east. § 27. A method to discover the antient bounds and extent of the city, by attending to the places where sepulchral urns are digged up. § 28. The Romans were wont to burn their dead. § 29. That custom fell into disuse as the Christian religion prevailed. § 30. Christianity very antient in Britain. § 31. Of the preservation of the bones of persons buried for so many ages. § 32. The means of discovering the situation of the several temples antiently in London. § 33. A temple of Diana formerly near the place where now St Paul's church is.

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To Sir Christopher Wren.

SIR,

Of the present flourishing state of London.

§ 1. I have, with great pleasure, more than once, discoursed with you concerning the condition of this city. As its situation is the most happy and commodious of any in the world besides, so 'tis, without dispute, the largest, the most extensive, and populous, as well as the most stately and magnificent. Of that magnificence, sir, you have been the chief contriver: And the director of more truly noble and regular buildings, than perhaps any one man from the creation to this day. They who view and admire its beauty and grandeur; who see so many thousand houses, of even private citizens, built in such a manner as to render them not only more convenient, better fitted for use, and for serving all the ends and offices of life and habitation, but even superior in design and architecture to the palaces of princes elsewhere, will be forward to enquire into its primitive state, and by what steps and degrees it arrived to so great height and glory.

No records of the original founders, or of the most antient state of this city.

§ 2. 'Tis with some dissatisfaction that I must at present take notice that there are no records of its original, and that we are left to mere conjecture to determine who were the projectors and builders of it. A writer of the first rank [1] hath, in his usual manner, with great appearance of reason, given the Romans here the honour of founding it. They were indeed a people of vast penetration, and very distinguished sense: And none likely sooner to find out the advantage of the place, and situation, in all respects. This is certain, Tacitus is the oldest author in whom we find mention [2] made of London. But it must have been built some time before, since it was then become so very considerable for the great number of merchants, and plenty of valuable commodities. After him, Ammianus Marcellinus speaks [3] of it, though as of a town that was antient, and called formerly *Lundinium*, but in his days *Augusta*. From that time downwards we have little account of it. Indeed, after the Romans had recalled their forces, and were gone, so frequent were the revolutions, and so unsettled the state of this nation, that scarcely any encouragement was given to science, or to history in particular, that it's the less to be wondered there is scarcely any thing extant relating to the state of this city, even till the time that the accurate and industrious Mr Stow began his survey of London.

That defect only to be supplied by means of remains of ancient works, and monuments.

§ 3. But there is one way by which may be retrieved something relating to its more early state, its site, its bounds, and other circumstances; I mean by the remains of

[1] Bishop Stillingfleet's Discourse of the true Antiquity of London, (in the second part of his Ecclesiastical Cases) p. 472. [2] Annalium, Lib. XIV. Cap. 33. Londinium copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre. [3] Rer. gest. lib. XXVIII. cap. 8. Lundinium vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit.

Orig. Notes.

Roman works that have been discovered in digging for laying the foundations of the new buildings since the late great fire.

§ 4. That fire was so very furious, and the devastation then made so near universal, that any, but the great spirit of the English, would have flagged and sunk under so dismal a calamity, and despaired of ever raising a new city out of such an heap of ashes and ruins. But here, quite contrary, all hands set instantly about that great work; all minds joined in a

The improvements of the city since the fire in 1666.

Surge, precor, veneranda parens, et certa secundis
Fide Deis, humilemque metum depone senectæ,
Urbs æquæva polo,[1]

and the world, looking on, stood amazed to see, in so short a time, such a number of noble piles finished, and a city built, not only surpassing the former, but all others upon earth. So that that fire, however disastrous it might be to the then inhabitants, has proved infinitely beneficial to their posterity; conducing vastly to the improvement and increase, as well of the riches and opulency, as of the splendour of this city. Then, (which I, and every body, must observe with great satisfaction) by means of the enlargements of the streets; of the great plenty of good water conveyed to all parts; of the common sewers, and other like contrivances, such provision is made for a free aecess and passage of the air for sweetness, for cleanness, and for salubrity, that it is not only the finest, but the most healthy city in the world. Insomuch that for the plague, and other dangerous distempers, with which it was formerly so frequently annoyed, and by which so great a number of the inhabitants were so cruelly taken off but the year before the fire, an experience of above forty years since hath shewn it so wholly free, that it's very probably now not near so obnoxious, or liable to be infested by those so fatal and pernicious maladies.

§ 5. As to the remains of Roman workmanship that were discovered upon occasion of rebuilding the city, no man had greater opportunity of making remarks upon them than you; nor, sir, has any man ever done it to better purpose. And, as you have long promised me an account of those observations, so I shall ever insist upon it, and not cease to challenge it, as a debt your generosity has made due to me, till you acquit yourself of the obligation.

Sir Christopher Wren's Observations of the Antiquities of London.

§ 6. I have now in my custody a considerable number and variety of Roman antiquities that have been digged up in and about this city. Several of them were collected by Mr Coniers, who was living at the time of the rebuilding it after the fire, and very indefatigable in his enquiries. 'Tis great pity he had not encouragement to set forth some relation of them; but he having only the returns of his profession to depend upon, and there being at that time so very few that were forward to contribute any thing to the support of such studies, however curious and useful, posterity has been deprived of the benefit of his. All that I am able to retrieve from the remains of his collection that I purchased, or the many other things that I have since procured, shall be most freely imparted, either to Mr Strype, (to whose diligence the learned world stands greatly indebted, and who is now actually engaged in setting forth a new edition of Stowe's Survey of London, with enlargements) or to any other person who has leisure and capacity to turn them to the pleasure and advantage of the publick, so soon, sir, as you shall please to communicate your observations, which will be of great use, and ought by no means to be any longer withheld and suppressed.

Mr Coniers's Collections and Observations.

§ 7. Mean while give me leave, sir, to send you a few reflections upon some things of this kind, now lately brought to light in the neighbourhood of this college. For

Antiquities lately discovered near Bishops-Gate.

[1] Claudian de Bello Get. v. 52.

the particulars we are indebted to the curiosity of Mr Miller, who, living just by the place, visited it daily, and took notice of all that occurred. He is a person, as of great application, so of no less candour and exactness, that his accounts may be securely relied on.

Particularly an ancient tessellated pavement.

§ 8. In April last, upon the pulling down some old houses, adjoining to Bishops-Gate, in Camomile-Street, in order to the building there anew, and digging to make cellars, about four feet under ground was discovered a pavement, consisting of diced bricks, the most red, but some few black, and others yellow, all nearly of a size, and very small, hardly any exceeding an inch in thickness. The extent of the pavement, in length, was uncertain, it running from Bishops-Gate, for sixty feet, quite under the foundation of some houses not yet pulled down. Its breadth was about ten feet, terminating on that side, at the distance of three feet and a half from the city wall.

As also several pulchral urns,

§ 9. Sinking downwards, under the pavement, only rubbish occurred for about two feet, and then the workmen came to a *stratum* of clay, in which, at the depth of two feet more, they found several urns. Some of them were become so tender and rotten that they easily crumbled and fell to pieces. As to those that had the fortune better to escape the injuries of time, and the strokes of the workmen that raised the earth, they were of different forms, but all of very handsome make and contrivance; as, indeed, most of the Roman vessels we find ever are. Which is but one of the many instances that are at this day extant of the art of that people; of the great exactness of their genius, and happiness of their fancy. These urns were of various sizes, the largest capable of holding full three gallons, the least, somewhat above a quart. All of these had in them ashes and cinders of burned bones.

and several other things.

§ 10. Along with the urns were found various other earthen vessels; as, a *simplum*, a *patera* of a very fine red earth, and a blueish glass viol, of that sort that is commonly called a *lacrymatory*. These were all broke by the carelessness of the workmen. There were likewise found several beads, one or two copper rings, a *fibula* of the same metal, but much impaired and decayed: As also a coin of Antoninus Pius, exhibiting, on one side, the head of that emperor, with a radiated crown on, and this inscription, *Antoninus Aug : : : : Imp. XVI.* On the reverse was the figure of a woman, sitting, and holding in her right-hand a *patera*, in her left, an *hasta pura*. The inscription on this side was wholly obliterated and gone.

An human skull and bones digged up in the same place.

§ 11. At about the same depth with the things before-mentioned, but nearer to the city-wall, and without the verge of the pavement, was digged up an human skull, with several bones that were whole, and had not passed the fire, as those in the urns had. [1] Mr Stow makes mention of bones found, in like manner, not far from this place, and likewise of urns, with ashes in them; as do also Mr Weever [2] after him, and Mr Cambden [3].

The fabrick of the antient Roman wall about London.

§ 12. The city-wall being, upon this occasion, to make way for these new buildings, broke up, and beat to pieces, from Bishops-Gate, onwards, S. E. so far as they extend, an opportunity was given of observing the fabrick and composition of it. From the foundation, which lay eight foot below the present surface, quite up to the top, which was, in all, near ten feet, it was compiled alternately of layers of broad flat bricks and of rag-stone. [4] The bricks lay in double ranges; and, each brick being but one inch $\frac{1}{4}$ in thickness, the whole layer, with the mortar interposed, exceeded not three inches. The layers of stone were not quite two feet thick, of our measure. 'Tis probable they were intended for two of the Roman, their rule being somewhat shorter than ours. To this height the workmanship was after the Roman manner; and these were the

[1] Survey of London, p. 177. [2] Antient Funeral Monuments, p. 515. [3] In Middlesex.

[4] Alternis choris parietes alligantur; et medii lateres, supra coagmenta collocati, et firmitatem et speciem faciunt utraque parte non invenustam. Vitruv. Architect. lib. II. cap. 3.—*Orig. Notes.*

remains of the antient wall, supposed to be built by Constantine the Great.[1] In this it was very observable, that the mortar was, as usually in the Roman works, so very firm and hard, that the stone itself as easily broke and gave way as that. 'Twas thus far, from the foundation upwards, nine feet in thickness.

That wall much ruined and demolished.

§ 13. And yet so vast a bulk and strength had not been able to secure it from being beat down in former ages, and near levelled with the ground. This rightly reflected upon, will alone be sufficient to give us an idea of the difference betwixt those times and ours; betwixt that state of things and the present.

The frequent viscissitudes of England antiently; and the difficulties under which it laboured.

§ 14. They best know how to set a just value upon the present happy settlement, who are versed in our history, and duly apprized what England suffered of old from the descent of the Romans, and afterwards of the Saxons and Danes; from the frequent wars of Scotland; and our own intestine divisions during the heptarchy, the barons, and the late civil wars.

The insults and dangers to which the city was formerly exposed.

§ 15. As London was ever sure to have its share in the common calamity, so better judgment may be made how great that frequently was, by the provision that was made against it. The citizens would never have put themselves to so vast an expence, for fence and guard without, had not the uncertainties of those times, and the dangers with which they were so frequently alarmed, made that requisite.

The advantage of the present British constitution and government.

§ 16. But such now for some time has been the fortunate condition of England, that she may safely confide in the hearts and hands of her subjects, and fix her whole strength and defence there. The union of the formerly greatly divided interests and affections of the inhabitants of the several parts of this nation, which we in our days have had the satisfaction to see successfully effected in the other too, and carried on even to the utmost bounds of the island; the excellence of our constitution, and of our laws; the steady execution of them; and the reciprocal good understanding between the prince and people, have rendered us effectually, as well safe at home, as great and powerful abroad.

And the great security of the city in our times.

§ 17. As the city partakes with the whole nation in this happy security; as it needs no other, and never can possibly have any greater; so we may now very well and safely raze our walls, and demolish our fortifications; they being not really of any longer use.

Of the antient Roman bricks; and occasionally of the standard of the Roman foot.

§ 18. The broad thin bricks, above-mentioned, were all of Roman make; and of the very sort which we learn from Pliny,[2] were in common use among the Romans; being in length a foot and half, of their standard, and in breadth a foot. Measuring some of these, very carefully, I found them 17 inches $\frac{4}{10}$ in length, 11 inches $\frac{6}{10}$ in breadth, and 1 inch $\frac{3}{10}$ in thickness, of our measure. This may afford some light towards the settling and adjusting the dimensions of the Roman foot; and shewing the proportion that it bears to the English; a thing of so great use, that one of the most accomplished and judicious writers[3] of the last century endeavoured to compass it with a great deal of travail and pains. Indeed it's very remarkable that the foot rule, followed by the makers of these bricks, was very nearly the same with that exhibited on the monument of Cossutius in the Colotian gardens at Rome, which that admirable mathematician has, with great reason, pitched upon as the true Roman foot.[4] Hence likewise appears, what indeed was very probable without this confirmation, that the standard foot at Rome was followed in the colonies and provinces to the very remotest parts of the empire: And that too quite down even to the time of Constantine; in case this was the wall that was built by his appointment.

[1] Confer. Camden's Britannia in Middlesex, p. 312, and Burton's Comment. on Antoninus's Itinerary, p. 165.

[2] Nat. Hist. Lib. XXXV. cap. 14. *Didoron*, quo utimur, longum sesquipede, latum pede. 'Tis very probable the standard assigned by Vitruvius, Architect. lib. II. cap. 3. is the same with this; but the passage being incorrect, I shall not alledge it.

[3] Mr Greaves, in his Disc. of the Roman Foot, 8vo.

[4] Mr Greaves, Loc. Cit. p. 32.—*Orig. Notes.*

The fabrick of the additional work built upon the ruins of the old wall.

§ 19. The old wall having been demolished, as has been intimated above, was afterwards repaired again, and carried up, of the same thickness, to eight or nine feet in height; or, if higher, there was no more of that work now standing. All this was apparently additional, and of a make later than the other part underneath. That was levelled at top, and brought to a plane, in order to the raising this new work upon it. The outside, or that towards the suburbs, was faced with a coarse sort of stone, not compiled with any great care or skill, nor disposed into a regular method. But on the inside there appeared more marks of workmanship and art. At the bottom were five layers, composed of squares of flint and of freestone. Though they were not so in all parts, yet in some the squares were near equal, about five inches in diameter, and ranged in a quincunx order. Over these was a layer of brick; then of hewn freestone; and so alternately brick and stone to the top. There were of the bricks, in all, six layers, each consisting only of a double course, except that which lay above all, in which there were four courses of bricks, where the layer was entire. These bricks were of the shape of those now in use, but much larger, being near eleven inches in length, five in breadth, and somewhat above two and a half in thickness. Of the stone there were five layers, and each of equal thickness in all parts for its whole length. The highest and the lowest of these were somewhat above a foot in thickness, the three middle layers each five inches, so that the whole height of this additional work was near nine feet. As to the interior parts, or the main bulk of the wall, 'twas made up of pieces of rubble-stone, with a few bricks of the same sort of those used in the inner facing of the wall, laid uncertainly as they happened to come to hand, and not in any stated method. There was not one of the broad thin Roman bricks, mentioned above, in all this part, nor was the mortar here near so hard as in that below; but, from the description, may easily be collected, that this part, when first made and entire, with so various and orderly a disposition of the materials, flint, stone, bricks, could not but carry a very elegant and handsome aspect. Whether this was done at the expence of the barons in the reign of King John, or of the citizens in the reign of King Henry III., or of King Richard II.,[1] or at what other time I cannot take upon me to ascertain from accounts so defective and obscure as are those which at this day remain of this affair.

The fabrick of the upper wall raised upon the additional work.

§ 20. Upon the additional work, now described, was raised a wall wholly of brick, only that it terminating in battlements, these are topped with copings of stone. 'Tis two feet four inches in thickness, and somewhat above eight feet in height. The bricks of this are of the same model and size with those of the part underneath. How long they had been in use is uncertain, but there can be no doubt but this is the wall that was built in the year 1477, in the reign of King Edward IV. Mr Stow[2] informs us, that that was compiled of bricks made of clay got in Moor-Fields, and mentions two coats of arms fixt in it near Moor-Gate, one of which is extant to this day, though the stone whereon it was engraved be somewhat worn and defaced. Bishops-Gate itself was built two years after this wall in the form it still retains.[3] The workmen lately employed there sunk considerably lower than the foundations of this gate, and by that means learned they lay not so deep as those of the old Roman wall by four or five feet.

London not built by the ancient Britons.

§ 21. Geofry of Monmouth[4] will have London to have been a British city, encompassed with walls, and fortified with innumerable towers. But the world is now well agreed in opinion how little regard is due to that monkish writer,[5] and they who read the accounts of Britain left us by Cæsar, Tacitus, and other authors of judgment and credit, will presently see his cannot be true.

[1] See Mr Stow's Survey of London, p. 7.
[2] Ibid, p. 7, 8.
[3] Ibid. p. 33.
[4] Hist. Brit. lib. III. cap. 20.
[5] Confer J. Balæi Illustr. Brit. Script. Cent. 2. p. 194. Ed. Bas.

§ 22. The Britons in those days were barbarous and wholly uncivilized.[1] Except some who had skins and hides of brutes cast over them[2] they went naked,[3] and painted[4] their bodies with the figures of various animals, after the manner of other savage nations. Their diet and method of life was very mean;[5] there was little or nothing that could claim the name of science among them. What they had was lodged with the Druids, who were the divines and philosophers of those times; and there are some who have entertained very lofty thoughts of that order of men. These gentlemen may be allowed to indulge their imaginations as far as they please; but if we rightly reflect upon what we find on record concerning the notions and practice of the Druids, 'twill not carry our ideas to any great height. They had nothing in greater veneration than misletoe, and the tree upon which it grew, especially if that happened to be an oak; nor would they perform any act of religion without a bough of this tree, to which they seem to have paid divine honours, Of the Druids, and the state of science here in their time.

———*Robora numinis instar.*[6]

They were wont to gather the misletoe with a mighty deal of devotion and ceremony. They thought it sent immediately from heaven, and a token that the tree whereon it grew was marked out and chosen by their god himself. They gave misletoe the name of All-Heal, ascribed to it a power of rendering prolific any creature that was barren, and thought it a remedy against all sorts of poisons; so much of the religion of the barbarous nations is placed chiefly in things really mean and trivial,[7] as Pliny, the author of this account, observes, very pertinently, upon the occasion. But further, the Druids taught the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul,[8] and they were wont to offer men in sacrifice.[9] They cut them up alive, in order to the making their divinations; and, by the manner of the fall of the poor unhappy wretch, by the convulsion of the parts and efflux of the blood, they formed their presages of future events.[10] Other methods they had likewise of sacrificing men; some they killed with arrows; others they crucified:[11] Nay they were sometimes wont to frame a huge colossus, with hay, twigs, and wood, in which having put several men alive, and brutes of all kinds, they set fire to it, and made an holocaust of them all at once.[12] This is the main of what antiquity hath transmitted down to us of the theology and philosophy of the Druids; and by this 'twill not be hard to frame a judgment of their science as to the stars, the world, nature, and the power of the gods,[13] of which we have not the particulars.

§ 23. As to the habitations and state of building among the ancient Britons, we have had of late some who, upon the authority of Geofry of Monmouth, and the heat of their own fancy, have talked of remains of temples and other noble structures of the Druids; whereas, in reality, the Romans at their descent here found nothing that carried the appearance of a building, no not one stone upon another, nor so much as a brick in all the whole island. And though some others may be easily passed over, I cannot but be somewhat surprised to find a gentleman of the great diligence and ingenuity of Mr Somner,[14] taking the Roman bricks that he observed in the walls of Can- The error of those who take Roman for British bricks.

[1] Herodian, lib. III. p. 83. Ed. H. Steph. Par. MDLXXXI. Pomp. Mela. lib. III. cap. 6. [2] Cæsar, lib. V. cap. 14. p. 116. Ed. Jungermanni. Franc. MDCVI. [3] Xiphilin, lib. XXI. pag. 866. Ed. Hanov. (typis Wechel.) MDCVI. [4] Cæsar, lib. V. p. 116. Plin. XXII. 1. Pomp. Mela. lib. III. cap. 6. Herodian. lib. III. p. 83. ut supra. [5] Strabo, lib. IV. p. 200. Ed. Casaub. Par. MDCXX. Diodor. Sic. lib. IV. p. 301. Ed. Rhodomanni. Hanov. (typis Wechel.) MDCIV. Xiphilin, lib. VI. p. 703. & lib. XXI. p. 866. [6] Claudian. in Cons. I. Stilichon, lib. I. v. 229. [7] Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est. Plin. N. H. lib. XVI. cap. 44. [8] Cæsar, lib. VI. cap. 14. p. 153. Ed. Jungerm. [9] Diodor. Sic. lib. V. p. 308. Cæsar, lib. VI. cap. 16. p. 156. Tacit. An. lib. XIV. cap. 30. Strabo, lib. IV. p. 198. Ed. Casaub. Pomp. Mela, lib. III. cap. 2. [10] Diodor. Sic. lib. V. p. 308. Strabo, lib. IV. p. 198. [11] Strabo, ibid. [12] Cæsar, lib. VI. p. 156. Strabo, lib. IV. p. 198. [13] Cæsar, lib. VI. p. 156. [14] Antiquities of Canterbury, p. 4.—*Orig. Notes.*

terbury for British bricks. But 'tis not easy, when once a man suffers himself to grow fond of a subject, not to be over far transported, and screw things to a pitch much too high for those who are only indifferent lookers-on, and not touched with the passion that such a writer may himself feel.

Of the towns, the houses, and the temples of the Britons.

§ 24. Xiphilin, to whom we owe a very considerable extract out of Dion Cassius concerning Britain, treating of the Mæatæ, or inhabitants of the now most northern countries of England, asserts, that they had neither walls nor cities,[1] what passed under the names of cities in Britain being, according to Strabo, no other than groves.[2] So likewise Cæsar, The Britons call it a town when they have surrounded and fenced about their thickest woods with a bank and a ditch.[3] As to their houses, a tree[4] served some for that purpose; others run up huts[5] in the woods for their own use, and hovels for their cattle;[6] both very slight, and not of any long continuance, serving only for some small shelter to them during the stress of weather in the depth of winter. Diodorus Siculus[7] is somewhat more particular as to their structure, informing us that they were only slight cabins, composed chiefly of reeds or sticks. Cæsar observes, that the houses of the Britons were pretty like those of the Gauls,[8] which he afterwards acquaints us were small cottages, thatched with straw.[9] As to the walls of them, we learn from Strabo they were made of stakes and watlings,[10] after the manner of hurdles. Then for the temples of the Druids, they were of a piece with the rest, and no other than groves and woods,[11] which the Romans cut down, because the Druids had dedicated them to so cruel superstitions, as the oblation of human blood and the sacrificing of men, which is likewise intimated by Lucan,[12]

Omnisque humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos;

And by Claudian,[13]

——Lucosque vetusta
Religione truces.——

Pliny[14] tells us, that the Druids made choice of groves of oaks, their sacrifices and their religious feasts being wont to be solemnized under that tree. The Britons, under the command of that brave and illustrious heroine Bunduica,[15] after they had taken and plundered two cities of the Romans, offered their sacrifices, and kept their festivals in a grove dedicated to Andate, the goddess of victory.[16] Indeed groves were wont to serve the Druids, not only for their temples, but for their dwellings,

——Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis[17]*——*

and in them, or in some cave, they were wont to deliver out their precepts and doctrines.[18]

[1] Μήτε τείχη, μήτε πόλεις, Xiph. lib. p. 806. [2] Πόλεις δ' αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ δρυμοὶ, Strabo, lib. IV. p. 200. [3] Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum sylva impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt. De Bello Gall. lib. V. cap. 21. p. 120. [4] Πᾶν δὲ δένδρον εἰκῇ, Xiph. lib. VI. p. 703. [5] Καλυβοποιεῖσθαι, Strabo, lib. IV. p. 200. [6] Κοσκινεῖα—ὑπὸ πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον, ibid. [7] Τὰς οἰκήσεις εὐτελεῖς ἔχουσιν, ἐκ τῶν καλάμων, ἢ ξύλων καλὰ τὸ πλῆθος συγκειμένας, lib. V. p. 301. [8] Ædificia vere Gallicis consimilia. De Bello Gall. lib. V. cap. 12. p. 115. [9] Casas, quæ, more Gallico, stramentis erant tectæ. Ibid. cap. 43. p. 133. [10] Ἐκ σανίδων καὶ γήρρων, Strabo, lib. IV. p. 197. [11] Lucos ac nemora consecrant. Tacit. de Mor. Ger. cap. 9. Excisique luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri. Nam cruore, &c. Annal. lib. XIV. cap. 30. [12] Pharsal. lib. III. v. 405. [13] In Stilichon. lib. 1. v. 225. [14] Druidæ—roborum eligunt lucos;—Sacrificiis epulisque rite sub arbore præparatis, &c. Nat. Hist. lib. XVI. cap. 44. [15] Bondicea. Tacit. Annal. Lib. XIV. cap. 31. [16] Θυούσι τε ἆθλα, καὶ ἐξιώμενοι—ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀνδάτης—ἄλσει, Xiphilin, lib. VI. p. 704. [17] Lucan, lib. I. v. 454. [18] Docent—in specu, aut in abditis saltibus. Pomp. Mela, lib. III. cap. 2.

§ 25. The truth is, the Britons had then amongst them very little that carried any appearance of art,[1] except a few slight things that probably they had either got of the Gauls and Phœnicians, with whom they had commerce,[2] or else made themselves, in imitation of them, as afterwards of the Romans, when they were once settled here. Whether their esseda were like those of the Gauls,[3] or the chariots used in war by the Phœnicians,[4] or of what form they were we have no account; but it's most certain their way of fighting with them was very wild and extravagant.[5] Nor will it be thought strange that our progenitors should be, in those early times, thus rude and uncivilized, when 'tis known that several other great nations were likewise so till lately; nay, that all mankind quite round the globe were once so, I mean at their first original, in the ages that ensued next after the Deluge. This the histories and accounts of the Assyrians, the Ægyptians, the Chinese, and all others, agree in. Even the Grecians, that became afterwards the most polite and refined people upon earth, were once barbarous.[6] They made as little scruple as the Britons of slaying men, and sacrificing them to the deities which they worshipped.[7] They lived upon leaves and herbs, or upon acorns, till Ceres and Triptolemus taught them to plough and to sow corn. They had no other clothing than only the skins of beasts. Some of them dwelt in caves, others in mean huts;[8] others run wild in the woods like so many brutes, till Pelasgus, Orpheus, Amphion, and some other great men, found out ways to tame them, and to deter and reclaim them from their rapine and ferocity.

The Romans, and other nations as savage, of old, and as much strangers to arts, as the Britons.

Sylvestres homines sacer, interpresque Deorum,
Cædibus, et victu fœdo, deterruit Orpheus;
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres, rabidosque leones.[9]

Nay the Romans themselves were, not many ages before their descent upon this island, wholly strangers to the politer arts.

Punico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu
Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.[10]

Julius Cæsar found the natives of Britain at his landing, not more rude than Evander found those of Italy. They had no houses, nor better habitations than in hollow trees, or in caves;[11] they offered up men in sacrifice.[12] There was amongst them very little show of humanity, of manners, or any useful accomplishment. They were ignorant of tillage, living only upon vegetables, or what they caught in hunting.

Hæc nemora indigenæ Fauni Nymphæque tenebant:
Gensque virum truncis, et duro robore nata;
Queis neque mos, neque cultus erat: Nec jungere tauros,
Aut componere opes norant, aut parcere parto:
Sed rami, atque asper victu venatus alebat.[13]

[1] Xiphil., lib. VI. p. 702, 703. [2] Diodor. Sic. lib. V. p. 299, 300. Cæsar, lib. V. cap. 12, &c. & lib. VI. cap. 13. Strabo, lib. III. p. 175. Conf. Bochart. part II. lib. I. cap. 39. [3] Strabo, lib IV. p. 200. [4] Jos. XVII. 16. 1 Sam. XIII. 5. [5] Cæsar, lib. IV. cap. 24. p. 99. [6] —Τὸ παλαιὸν Ελληνικὸν ὁμοιότροπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτᾶτο. Thucyd. lib. I. cap. 6. [7] Porphyr. de Abst. lib. II. [8] V. Plin. lib. VII. cap. 56. Pausan. lib. VIII. et alios. [9] Hor. de Arte Poet. v. 391. [10] Porcius Licinius ap. A. Gell. lib. XVII. cap. 21. [11] Ante factas domos, aut in cavis arboribus, aut in speluncis manebant. Serv. in Æneid. VIII. 315. [12] Dionys. Halic. lib. I. Xiphilin. lib. VI. p. 704. Plin. lib. XXX. cap. 1. Phorp. II. περὶ ἀποχῆς. Macrob. Sat. lib. I. Serv. in Æneid. lib. II. v. 116. [13] Æneid. lib. VIII. v. 314. et seqq. Conf. Dionys. Halic. lib. I.

Indeed they were no other than so many wild men, without laws, and without government,[1] which cannot by any means be said of the Britons. Nor had the Romans really made any considerable progress in civility, in arts or science, till after they had overcome Greece, and were cultivated and taught by that great and wise people.

Græcia capta, ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.[2]———

And as the Greeks were the greatest masters in the world, so the Romans soon shewed they were not less apt proficients and scholars. Nor will the Britons at this day be judged inferior to either.

Of the gradual enlargement of the city anciently; and the progress of it to the East.

§. 26 Whether the old wall, described above, was the first with which London was environed, 'tis not easy to determine for want of records and memorials. But Burton[3] fancies Suetonius Paulinus, who was sent over governor hither by Nero, found it walled about at that time. Though the account of that expedition which he follows, I mean that of Tacitus,[4] is so far from giving any countenance to his conjecture, that it imports that London was then a place of so little strength that the Roman general quitted it, as not capable of being held out or defended. Be that as it will, it is certain the wall now in being was run up wide, and at some distance from the former and ancient bounds of the city. If there was any wall before, it must have been nearer this way, and more to the west, because the urns I have here given an account of[5] were found in the inside of this wall; whereas it was the standing custom of the Romans, founded upon a law of the XII tables,[6] to bury only without the city. This affords us a proof that London did not formerly extend so far east; and that this wall must have been built since those urns were reposited there, which we may conjecture was about the time of Antoninus, from the coin of that emperor[7] buried amongst them.

A method to discover the antient bounds and extent of the city, by attending to the place where sepulchral urns are digged up.

§ 27. As from these urns here, so from those of late years brought to light in great numbers on the other sides of the town, some advances may be made towards ascertaining the old boundaries of it there, and by a careful collation of all, towards adjusting the form, and settling the extent of the whole, whenever one, who has leisure, and due information, shall engage in the undertaking.

The Romans were wont to burn their dead.

§ 28. Though the Romans committed not the body of Numa deceased to the fire, he himself having expressly forbidden it, as there was a tradition,[8] quite down to the time of Plutarch, the writer of the life of that prince: And there were likewise a few others exempted,[9] yet 'twas the common custom among them to burn their dead. But this fell into disuse as Christianity prevailed in the empire; and the professors of it brought the manner of burial, used by the Jews, and other oriental nations, again into practice. Thus they rendered back the body to the earth from whence 'twas originally derived, and[10] restored anew the ancient and better custom of interment,[11] detesting the funeral-piles of the pagans, and condemning the way of sepulture by fire.[12]

That custom fell into disuse as the Christian religion prevailed.

§ 29. But 'twill not be so easy certainly to determine, either at what time the Christians first began to bury, or when they quitted the *sepulchreta* of the heathens, pitched upon new ones and interred their dead apart. As 'tis beyond controversy that several of them kept on in the old way, and continued for some time to burn; those

[1] Genus hominum agreste, sine legibus sine imperio. Sallust. Bell. Catil. p. 4. Ed. Plant. MDCXII.
[2] Hor. Epist. lib. I. Ep. 1. v. 159. [3] Commen. on Antoninus his Itinerary, p. 161. [4] Annal. lib. XIV. cap. 33. [5] § 9. Supra. [6] Par. I. De Jure Sacro. Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito. [7] Cons. § 12. supra. [8] Περὶ μὲν οὖν ἔθαψαν τὸν νεκρὸν, αὐτὸς κωλύσαντα, ὡς λέγεται. Plut. in Numa, p. 74. Conf. Ciceron. de Legib. lib. II. [9] Plin. N. H. lib. VII. cap. 54. Cicero de Legib. lib. II. [10] Reddamus id terræ, unde ortum est. Lactant. de vero cultu, lib. VI. p. 545. Ed. Oxon. [11] Veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus. Minut. Fel. p. 327. [12] Exsecrantur rogos, et damnant ignium sepulturas. lib. p. 97.—*Orig. Notes.*

who chuse rather to bury, did it in common with their pagan neighbours; and reposited their dead in the same place.[1] Of this, without going further, we have proof from the bones found here lying along with the urns.[2] 'Tis very likely that for some time, at first, the pagans and Christians lived quietly and amicably together; and the latter burned, or buried, the deceased, each according to his own fancy. But as conversions were daily made, and the number of proselytes became considerable, the pagans began to take alarm, and think their paternal religion in danger. This gave rise to controversies and disputes; and, as these grew hot, feuds and animosities arose in course. Thereupon the parties began to distinguish themselves, and each recede from other as far as possible. The Christians, from the very beginning, were not content only to withdraw from the pagan temples and sacrifices, but declined joining in the publick processions, the lustrations, and other solemnities; and denied paying the usual salutations to the Hermæ, and statues,[3] that stood abroad in the streets and highways;[4] so far from it that they reproached and exposed those who did.[5] Nay afterwards, that they might separate and keep to as great distance as possible, they refused so much as to eat or drink with them,[6] or to comply with some of even the most innocent and indifferent of the common customs; and in particular that of the ordinary sepulture. As to the pagans, they were far from being so shy and scrupulous of their part; but were forward enough to fall into those practices of the Christians that they liked, and thought preferable to their own. This was the case of their sepulture; which therefore they did not stick readily to exchange for the Christian; and this had obtained universally in the time of Macrobius.[7] How much sooner is not easy to determine, for want of records and testimonies; this being the oldest extant. But learned men conjecture that burning fell into general disuse towards the latter end of the times of the Antonines.[8] To which conjecture the coin of Antoninus Pius, found in this burying-place,[9] may perhaps be thought to give some countenance. Without ever entering into that, the finding these bones, not only within the old city wall,[10] but reposited along with the urns,[11] carries the date of the sepulture up very high.

Christianity very antient in Britain.

§ 30. A late writer, to whose labours religion, and indeed good letters, stand deeply indebted, has produced several very surprising proofs that Christianity obtained very early here in Britain.[12] To this these observations give some further attestation; and also shew that the Christians were here as careful to distinguish themselves from the pagans, as at Rome, in Italy, and elsewhere.

Of the preservation of the bones of persons buried for so many ages.

§ 31. It will not be thought strange that these bones should be preserved, and remain entire so long, when 'tis considered that they were found in a clay so stiff and close that they might have lain safe there for many ages more, had they not been thus disturbed. From the shells and other marine bodies, that are remains of the Deluge,[13] and found at this day firm and sound in that sort of the clay, as well as other terrestrial matter, we have proof sufficient how far it is capable of preserving such bodies. Of the two, 'tis indeed much the more surprising that the cinders or burnt bones should be so little altered as we now find them. For these, being injured and preyed upon by the fire, were so much the more tender and liable to perish; and, since these are so safely transmitted down to our times, there cannot well be any difficulty as to the other.

[1] V. Dissert. sur le Culte des Saintes inconnus. par. P. Mabillion. p. 14. et seqq. [2] Conf. § 11. supra. [3] Dii Semitales. [4] Vid. Virgilii. Catal. de Sabino: et Not. Jos. Scalig. in loc. [5] Min. Felix, in Octavio. [6] Vid. Auctorem Recognitionem Clementinarum. lib. II. cap. 70. et seqq. [7] Urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro seculo nullus sit. Saturnal. lib. VII. cap. 7. [8] Quando cadavera cremari desierint—incertum est. Quanquam viri docti id sub extrema Antoninorum tempora factum conjiciant; quibus non repugnaverim. Oct. Ferrarii Dissert. de veterum. lucernis sepulchralib. p. 31. [9] Conf. § 10. supra. [10] Vid. § 11. supra. [11] Vid. § 9. supra. [12] Bp. Stillingfleet, Orig. Britain, chap. 1. [13] Vid. Nat. Hist of the Earth. Part 2.—*Orig. Notes.*

The means of discovering the situation of the several temples antiently in London.

§ 32. As from the urns, and places of sepulture, the walls, and bounds of the city, may be traced; so from the places where *paterœ, simpula, prœfericula*, and other vessels of sacrifice, have been turned forth of the earth and rubbish, judgment may be passed of the site of the temples of this city: And by the figures, and *insignia*, exhibited upon some of those vessels, of the deities that they were used in the worship of, and that those temples were dedicated unto.

A temple of Diana formerly near the place where now St Paul's church is.

§. 33. Of this we have a sample in the various things digged up near St Paul's church. In particular, as well the tusks of boars, horns of oxen, and of stags, as the representations of deer, and even of Diana herself, upon the sacrificing vessels; of all which there are instances in my collection. Nay I have likewise a small image of that goddess that was found not far off. These plainly enough import that there was thereabouts antiently a temple of Diana; as has been indeed the common tradition[1] and opinion. Nor assuredly would the very learned writer,[2] who has lately called this in question, ever have done that, had he known of these things: And that there was yet remaining such evidence there of the sacrifice of stags, which he allows to be the proper sacrifice to Diana.[3]

But, sir, I have, before I was aware, much exceeded the bounds that I, at first, proposed to myself; and I blush when I reflect how much of that time I have thus taken up with trifles, that you of all men living know how to employ so much better; for which reason I shall not detain you longer than while I assure you that I am, with the utmost regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Gresham College, 23d June, 1707. J. WOODWARD.

To Mr Thomas Hearne, at Edmund Hall, Oxford.

SIR,

The occasion of writing the foregoing account.

§ 1. ALONG with this I send, as you command me, the account of the urns, and other antiquities, digged up in this neighbourhood. 'Twas addressed, as you see, to Sir Christopher Wren; who returned it back, after a very short time, desiring it might be printed. That was the only thing in which I ever differed in opinion from him: And, though four years have passed since, I cannot but still retain my first sentiments, in which I'm confident you'll join me. 'Twas wrote during a few days that I was under an indisposition that suffered me to stir very little abroad. Those antiquities being then newly discovered, and at a juncture too when studies of greater application were not proper for the state in which I happened to be, I turned my thoughts upon those. I did that partly for my diversion, and to pass away the time; and partly to shew a gentleman, who visited me daily, and had otherwise a great deal of wit, but was wont to slight such things, that they were useless only to those who either wanted capacity, or attention, to reflect rightly upon them. The paper that Sir Christopher Wren sent back is either lost or mislaid: And this is copied from such scraps as I happened to keep by me. Only I have added the authorities and passages of the antients, which, I think, were not in that. One, who judges so well of things, and with the exactness that you always do, will soon discern a great number of faults in it; but by those you'll see 'tis genuine, and that I wrote it; which I flatter myself will entitle it to pardon with a gentleman that has the goodness to be so partial and favourable to me as you ever are.

[1] Burton's Com. on Antonin. p. 169. [2] Bp. Stillingfleet, Antiq. London, p. 471 & 542. [3] Bp. Stillingfleet. Antiq. London, p. 546.

———Namque tu solebas
Meas esse aliquid putare nugas.

And yet I fear you'll hardly forbear thinking me too lavish and profuse where I'm treating of this town, though, if you knew how great an admirer I am of it, you would rather wonder that I exceeded not even those bounds. The *basse-reliefe* upon the monument, in which Time [the god Cronus] is represented raising the city [the *Dea Londinia*] out of the ruins, brought to my mind the passage of Claudian. This probably Mr Cibber had likewise in view when he designed that work, which is much the finest of the kind in all the city.

As my health returned, matters of greater exigence pressing in, took me off from these pursuits, so that you'll be the less surprised to see so many marks of hurry and precipitance, as you will, towards the end. The two paragraphs, relating to the early times of the Christian religion, I was going to have retrenched. But I left them standing only as memorials for enquiry and further consideration; being far from intending to assert any thing positively in an affair that I had not time thoroughly to consider.

An antient Roman tower yet standing in London-wall.

§ 2. You'll find a pretty full and particular description of that part of London-wall that joined to Bishops-gate. It consisted of three different sorts of work, raised in three several ranges, one over another. Any one who has the curiosity to see a sample of the uppermost, yet standing, may do it on each side Moor-gate, for a considerable extent: As also of the middlemost; especially on the west side of that gate, at the distance of about 20 or 30 paces, where 'tis yet firm, and has suffered very little dilapidation. Of the lowest, or Roman work, there are considerable remains on the south side of Aldgate, in the place called the Vine-yard. And about the middle of Hounds-ditch, there's yet standing one of the towers of that wall pretty entire. 'Tis composed of stone, with layers of brick interposed, after the Roman manner; and is the most considerable remain of Roman workmanship yet extant in any part of England, that I know of, being 26 foot in height. By this, judgment may be formed of the original height of the Roman wall about London, which must have been vastly great; especially if the surface of the ground thereabouts has been raised in the same proportion that it hath in other parts of the city. For, in sinking, upon several occasions, the workmen, in some places, have passed through six, in others twelve, nay twenty foot of rubbish, before they came to the natural earth; which may serve as a further inforcement of what I have offered relating to the insults and havock that the city hath sustained in former times.

Of Dr Gale's Comment on Antonius's Itinerary.

§ 3. Since that letter was wrote, there's published a Commentary upon the Itinerary of Antoninus through Britain, wrote by a gentleman who carries a very high character with all that are judges of learning. There are a great number of things, very curious, and of real use, now first advanced in this work; and several relating to the antient state of London. But yet there are some to which, I'm persuaded, sir, you'll not so readily give assent: And in particular to that conjecture that London was first built on the south side of the Thames.[1] What induced him to this opinion was, first, that Ptolemy places London in Kent. Secondly, that the fields betwixt Lambeth and Southwark have been, from time immemorial, a royal domain. Thirdly, that three Roman high-ways meet there. Fourthly, that there was a *castrum* or Roman town there. This he collects partly from Southwark retaining still the name of the *Burrough*, which was the name given by the Saxons to those towns: And partly from Roman coins, tessellated pavements, and bricks, that were digged up in St George's fields.

[1] Dr Gale, Com. in Anton. Itin. Britann. p. 64, 65.—*Orig. Note.*

London not first built on the south side the Thames.

§ 4. As to Ptolemy, he lived at a great distance, and in a country that had no intercourse with Britain, so that 'tis the less strange that he should not have right information of things here; he has committed no small errors in his placing of towns in countries that were much nearer to him; of which I shall give some instances on another occasion, when I come to consider an opinion started not long ago, about a change in the latitude of places. [1] Tacitus had a most exact intelligence of the affairs of Britain, and was of the two somewhat the older writer; so that, if London had been first built in Kent, and standing there in the time of Ptolemy, it must needs have stood there in the time of Tacitus, but that it certainly did not. This is plain from his account of the march of Suetonius Paulinus; and the action of Boudicea at Camulodunum, her causing her army to fall upon London and Verulam at once, and involve both in the same ruin. [2] Or, if there were no other proof, what he observes of the sweetness of the place, [3] and happiness of the situation of London, suits rightly and well to this, but not by any means to that side of the river. This every one must admit at first view, besides that, in those times, things were there in much worse condition than in ours. The tract of land he mentions is flat and low; and a great part of it was then in the power of the Thames, and under water every high tide, till that river was, in after ages, restrained and kept to the channel, by banks cast up with an incredibly great labour and expense. Not but that there might be some part of St George's fields that was not overflowed: And there probably, at some time or other, was a Roman habitation, or *castrum*, whereof the pavements, bricks, and other antiquities, which that excellent writer mentions, might be remains. But there have been other like antiquities discovered from that place, onwards for some miles eastward, near the Lock, in the gardens along the south side of Deptford road, a little beyond Deptford on Black-Heath, &c. There's no doubt but, sir, you have observed the coin of Cunobelin, in the first table of Cambden, that exhibits an head with two faces, in manner of a Janus Bifrons. I have now in my custody the head of an ancient *Terminus*, likewise with two faces. This probably was only a piece of British imitation of Roman work. But there were found along with it large flat bricks, and other antiquities, that were unquestionably Roman. All these were retrieved about twenty years since, in digging in Mr Coles's gardens, by the road mentioned above. I have seen likewise a *simpulum* that was digged up near New Cross. And there were several years ago discovered two urns, and five or six of those vials that are usually called *lachrymatories*, a little beyond Deptford; nay there hath been, very lately, a great number of urns and other things discovered on Black-Heath. All which prove nothing more than that there were habitations, probably scattering and at intervals, all along that, which was doubtless a Roman road. Indeed the *Terminus* found just by adds some confirmation to this opinion. Besides, in several places, lying all nearly in a line, and particularly a little on this side Shooters-Hill, where the country is flat and low, I formerly [4] took notice of some remains of a raised or high way, like those cast up by the Romans, that I have observed in Somersetshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and other parts of England. The argument, that the fields between Lambeth and Southwark were a royal domain, proves quite contrary to what it's brought for, rather that those fields were gained from the Thames, than that London ever stood there. The Kings of England were, from our oldest notice of things, entitled by the laws to all such lands as lay betwixt high and low-water mark, and was gained from either the sea, or such rivers as ebbed and flowed; but none of our kings ever pretended any right or title to this, more than to every other city of the kingdom.

[1] Vid. Nat. Hist. of the Earth, Part 1.

[2] Eadem Clades. Annal. Lib. XIV. Cap. 33.

[3] Loci Dulcedo, ibid.

[4] That was four or five years ago: And being unwilling to rely upon my memory too far, I got Mr H. a very intelligent gentleman, to ride thither this morning, and take a review of this way. It is about four foot in height, and at least forty in breadth. He observed it for near ¾ of a mile in length. The place is called Green Common.—*Orig. Notes.*

Nor can any thing be inferred from that meeting of the three ways that this learned gentleman insists upon. Of which side of the river soever London stood, there can be no doubt but there would be ways [1] to it from all parts of Britain; it being at that time a town so large and populous, so much famed for traffic, and plenty of provisions; [2] which, rightly reflected upon, is indeed alone enough to evince that it did not then stand on that side the water.

I have some other things to offer to your consideration, but, very happily for your quiet and respite, I'm interrupted, and can only further have the pleasure of subscribing myself, what I truly am, with great esteem,

Sir,

Your very faithful humble servant,

Gresham College, 30th Nov. 1711. J. WOODWARD.

An Account of the Original of Writing and Paper, out of a Book, intituled, La Libraria Vaticana, *written by Mutio Panso, Keeper of the said Library. Printed at Rome.*

1st. Of the Use of Books, and Invention of Letters.

DISCOURSE I.

THAT the use of books and libraries is very ancient appears by many authors, both Christian and heathen, from whom it may in some measure be gathered, that they have been in use ever since the world began; for we read, that Jude the apostle, in one of his epistles, quotes the book of Enoch, which was before the Flood. (The words of the epistle are, "And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these," &c. So that here is a prophecy, but nothing expressly of a book of his writing, whence a debate may arise, whether this prophecy was not left by oral tradition, without more positive proof; but to return to our author.) And though authors differ very much concerning the invention of letters, of which afterwards books were composed, yet we take it for granted, that they were invented by Adam, his sons, and grandsons, in the first age of the world, before the Flood, and were after preserved by Noah and his progeny, till they came to Abraham, and so to Moses; and of this opinion was St Augustin, lib. xv. *de Civitate Dei,* and Josephus, a Jewish writer of great credit, who, in the first book of his Antiquities, writes, "That Adam's grandsons, the sons of Seth, erected two pillars, the one of stone, and the other of brick, on which they left written and engraved all the arts discovered by them," and he affirms he saw one of these pillars in Syria; from the which, I am of opinion, the Egyptians afterwards learnt the way of writing, and expressing their mysteries with those characters called hieroglyphicks, on several obelisks, wherein Egypt formerly so much abounded, that some of them are still to be seen in Rome, whither they were transported by the first emperors. This is

[1] The author of the Itinerary, usually ascribed to Antoninus, hath traced the several ways to London, as well those on the Southwark as those on this side the Thames. [2] Tacit. ibid. —*Orig. Notes.*

the more credible, because we read, that Adam was by God created in so great a state of perfection, of knowledge, and of wisdom, that he gave names to all things, according to their nature and qualities; and that none ever so well understood the revolutions of the heavens, the motions of the stars and planets, and so thoroughly knew the nature of herbs, plants, animals, and all other things in the world, as he did. It is therefore to be believed, that he found out the method for preserving the memory hereof to posterity. Pliny, in his Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. ult. confirms this opinion; for there, after delivering the sentiments of many concerning the invention of letters, as that some pretend they were invented in Syria by the Assyrians, and others in Egypt by Mercury; that they were brought into Italy by the Pelasgi, and into Greece by the Phœnicians, and Cadmus their leader; that Palamedes, during the Trojan war, added four more; he concludes it is his opinion, that letters were eternal, which is almost the same as to say, they began with the world. Hence it follows, that their opinion is vain, who say the Egyptians were the inventors of letters and arts, as Diodorus Siculus holds, lib. 1. where he says, that Mercury found them out in Egypt; though, in his fourth book, he writes, that others think the Æthiopians had letters before, and the Egyptians from them. Hence we may further infer, that Moses was not the first inventor of letters, as some Jews and Christians affirm, because he was ancienter than any one of those by whom they are said to have been first found; as Cadmus, who lived in the days when Othoniel governed Israel, which was forty-seven years after the written law was given to Moses; and therefore the Egyptians learnt the letters of him, and they communicated them to the Phœnicians, whence Cadmus carried them into Greece. True it is, that Attabanus and Eupolemus, heathen authors, say, that Moses was by the Egyptians called Mercury, and the same that taught them letters. Thus we see the invention of letters was ancienter than Philo the Jew believes it, who says, that Abraham first found them; for, as has been said, they were in being even in the days of Adam and his children, and afterwards preserved by Noah, who was a man of learning and letters; and it is to be believed, that he saved them with him in the ark, though, after the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel, most nations might lose the letters, and the knowledge of them might only remain in the family of Heber, from whom the Hebrews afterwards descended, who lost not their first language, as St Augustin, Eusebius, and most learned men of our time, affirm. Philo and the rest, who thought that Moses had been the inventor of letters, were the more easily deceived, because it is manifest, that the books and history writ by Moses are the ancientest in the world, or than the wisdom of the Egyptians, or the philosophy of the Greeks, as is made out by St Augustin and Josephus, writing against Appian the grammarian, as also by Eusebius and Justin Martyr: And that there were letters before Moses is visible, because we find it written, that he learnt in Egypt unto Pharaoh the arts and wisdom of the Egyptians; nor do I know how this could be, unless they had letters before, though, it is true, we know they had some characters called hieroglyphicks, by which they taught most of their sciences. Howsoever it was, the invention of letters is certainly divine, as being those that preserve and secure all other inventions, for without them none can subsist; and they are of such worth, that they make men immortal, rendering those things present which happened a thousand years ago, and joining those which are distant, communicating them as if they were not asunder. By them are known and learnt all sorts of sciences, teaching those in being all that past ages knew, and preserving for posterity all that those now living found out. In short, the benefit of them is almost infinite and inexpressible, and therefore their invention may deservedly be called rather divine than human. What order was observed in the characters of ancient times, methinks is not to be sought after, as depending on the will and pleasure of the inventor; as we daily see is done by those who frame cyphers or characters, and other sorts of common letters, who observe no order. It is true, they were in process

of time, for the more distinction, put into that order we now see them: And, because many afterwards successively added other letters, or made new characters, therefore many were thought the inventors of them, of whom we shall speak to the purpose hereafter, when we come to discourse of the pictures in the Vatican library, among which are those of all such as were famous in the world for the invention of letters, or for adding any to them.

Of the Paper of the Ancients, of the Papyrus of the Romans, of the several Sorts of it, and of the Paper of our Times.

DISCOURSE II.

Having hitherto discoursed of the letters, it will now be convenient to say something of paper, as the matter on which they are made; and, to speak the truth, it is no small difficulty to decide what they writ on in former ages, because we have no account in history what they did write on before the Flood, but what we said before, that Adam's grand-children, the sons of Seth, writ an account of arts on those two pillars above-mentioned. After the Flood, all authors agree, that men had no paper, but writ on the leaves of palm trees, whence to this day those of books are called leaves. Next they write on the fine bark of trees, and particularly on that sort which slips off easiest; such as the elder, the plane, the ash, and the elm; and these were the inward films, which grow between the bark and the wood, which, being curiously taken off, were joined together, and books made of them; and, because this film in Latin is called *Liber*, thence the same name was given to a book, though now they are not made of that substance. The wit of man, which still improved, after this found out a way of writing on the thinnest sheets of lead, of which private people made books and pillars. Next, the ancients found the way of writing on linen-cloths slicked and waxed, on which they writ, not with a pen, but with a small cane or reed, as some write to this day. And, as Pliny tells us, we find in Homer, that these waxed cloths were used before the time of the Trojans; and Mutianus, who, as he writes himself, was thrice consul, that, when he was president in Lycia, he read there, in a temple, a letter writ on one of these cloths by Sarpedon, King of Lycia, then at Troy, where he assisted Priam in his war against the Greeks, and was at last killed by Patroclus. In process of time, the method was found out of writing on parchment made of sheep-skins, mentioned by Herodotus, lib. vii. the invention whereof Varro assigns to the people of Pergamus, a city in Asia, on the banks of the river Caicus, whereof Eumenes was king, and from that city it was called Pergamenum, which we have corrupted to parchment. Pliny says, this Eumenes first sent it to Rome; but Elianus says it was Attalus, king of the same country, who first sent it. Josephus, the Jew, makes the writing on parchment ancienter, and says, the books of the Jews, so much ancienter than Eumenes, and the rest of that sort, were writ upon skins; and relates, that when Eleazer, the high priest, sent the books of the holy scripture to Ptolemy by the Septuagint, to be translated out of Hebrew into Greek, King Ptolemy Philadelphus was much amazed at the fineness of those skins of parchment; so that writing on them was easier and more lasting than the ancienter use of barks and leaves of trees; and it is to be believed, this invention was not yet in Egypt, since Ptolemy wondered at it. After this, there was found a sort of paper made of a rush, or plant, called *papyrus*, growing in the marshes about the river Nile, though Pliny says there are some of them in Syria, near the river Euphrates. These rushes bear small leaves betwixt the outward rhind and the pith, which, being neatly opened with the point of a needle, and then prepared with fine flower and other ingredients, served to write

on and made paper, the innermost part making the finest, and according to the several sorts it had several names, and was put to sundry uses; being from this rush called *papyrus*, which name has continued to our days, and is given to our paper, though made of rags, because this serves for the same uses as that did. I saw one of these rushes at Rome, which was shewed me by that worthy gentleman Castor Durante, of happy memory, my master in the college, who told me it came from Egypt; and he had it from Padua, sent him by Signior Cortuso, a man excellently learned in simples, of whom he had got other more strange and rare things, as I have several times seen myself, and particularly a sheet of this papyrus, or paper, made of that rush.

The first invention of making paper of this rush, Varro affirms, was in the days of Alexander the Great, when Alexandria was founded; but Pliny proves it was ancienter, by the books which Gn. Tarentinus found in his vineyard in a marble chest on the hill Janiculus, in which were also the bones of Numa Pompilius. These books were of the papyrus; and it is certain, that Numa Pompilius was long before Alexander. The Romans had several sorts of this paper; one of them was called *hieratica*, as Pliny writes, and only dedicated to religious books, which afterwards, through flattery, took Augustus's name, and was called *Augustana*, as the second sort, from his wife Livia, was called *Liviana*, as among us there is now imperial and royal paper. There was another sort called *amphitheatrica*, from the place where it was made, being about the amphitheatre; and the first that began to make this paper in Rome was one Fannius, who brought it to such fineness, that, whereas before it was for common use, it became equal with the best, and took his name, being called *Fanniana*, whereas that which was not so curiously prepared kept its own name of *amphitheatrica*; and these were the best sorts of paper in those days. Afterwards came the *Saitica*, so named from a city where it was made, where there was great abundance of the papyrus, and this was made of the worst part of it. There was still another sort made of the outward part next the rhind, and called *Teniotica*, from the place where it was made, which was sold rather by weight than by choice. Lastly, there was the *emporetica*, answerable to our brown or wrapping-paper, unfit for writing, and only used to make covers for the other paper, and to wrap up goods, therefore called shop-paper. All these sorts of paper were very different from one another; for the best was thirteen inches broad, the hieratica two inches less, the fanniana of ten, and the amphitheatrica two narrower; the saitica still less, and the coarse emporetica not above six. Besides, Augustus's paper was in great esteem for its whiteness as well as its smoothness, but was so thin, it would scarce bear the pen; besides that, it sunk, and the letters appeared through it; and therefore, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, it lost the first place, and another sort was made, from him called *Claudia*, which was preferred before all the others, and the *Augusta* was reserved for writing of imperial letters. The Livian paper kept its rank, having nothing of the first, but, in all respects, like the second. The sort of paper, made of papyrus, the Romans used a long time, on which many books were writ; and, as Pliny informs us, there were, in his times, abundance of volumes of Caius, and Tiberius Gracchus, of Cicero, of Augustus, and of Virgil.

That this paper was good and lasting, appears by what was said above of Numa's books, found in the consulship of P. Cornelius, L. F. Cethegus, M. Balbius, and Q. F. Pamphilius; and, from the reign of Numa till their time, we find there passed five hundred and thirty-five years, it being wonderful they should last so long without rotting, especially having been all that while buried under ground. Authors differ very much about the number of these books; for some, as Livy, say they were two, and found by Lucius Petilius; of which opinion are Lactantius and Plutarch, in the life of Numa. Others say, they were fourteen, seven of the pontifical laws, and the other seven of the precepts of the Pythagorean philosophy; others say, they were twelve, as Varro in his Book of Antiquities. Tuditanus, lib. ii. writes, they were thirteen of

Numa's decretals, yet Antia affirms, there were two Latin, one of the pontifical rites, and as many Greek of Pythagorean philosophy, and were therefore burnt by Q. Petulius the prætor. Certain it is, that the invention of paper, made of the rush papyrus, continued long among the Romans, and very many books were writ on it by several authors, as has been said above.

In the last place was found out the paper of our days, a most noble invention, which has afforded the opportunity of writing and publishing a vast quantity of books. It is made of linen rags beaten to atoms, and it is wonderful that so mean a thing should perpetuate and immortalize the memorable actions of men. It is made in all parts of the world, and of several sorts great and small, and so white and curious that nothing can exceed it. On this, as the most perfect, are printed so many volumes as are daily seen, laying aside the papyrus, the parchment, and all others which gave occasion to the finding out of this in our forefathers days.

A short Narrative of the Life and Death of John Rhinholdt, Count Patkul, a Nobleman of Livonia, who was broke alive upon the Wheel in Great Poland, Anno 1707. *Together with the Manner of his Execution; written by the Lutheran Minister who assisted him in his last Hours. Faithfully translated out of High-Dutch Manuscript, and now published for the Information of Count Gyllenborg's English Friends. By Lord Molesworth. Printed in the Year* 1717.

Robert Molesworth, created Viscount Molesworth of Swordes in Ireland, with the same detestation of tyranny and arbitrary power which distinguished his celebrated account of Denmark, has in this Tract recorded the cruelty which the iron-hearted Charles XII. of Sweden exercised towards Patkul, the unfortunate Livonian patriot.

April 8, 1717.

To the Bookseller.

Mr Goodwin,

You tell me you are importuned every day by persons of distinction to publish some account of the life and death of Count Patkul, and you have importuned me in your turn, to furnish you with such memoirs as I had by me, relating to Sweden, wherein that unfortunate gentleman has been mentioned, that you might, in some measure, satisfy the impatient curiosity of your friends. I have yielded to your repeated desires, with too much haste for a performance of this kind, wherein it was necessary to add a few reflections naturally arising from the subject; but knowing how great the expectations were of some very ill-minded men among us, and how great the apprehensions of many good ones, from this King of Sweden and his designed expedition, I would not delay it. Gentlemen of both these sorts may from hence learn what they are to fear or hope for from a magnanimity so wrong turned, and an utter ignorance of all laws and liberties; with an impatience of contradiction, beyond what has appeared in the world these five hundred years past. If your profit may be joined with

other people's pleasure and instruction, by this my compliance with your earnest request, I have my ends, and I hope you have yours.

I am,

Your affectionate friend and servant.

THE ruining of all the old nobility and gentry of Sweden by the reduction, resumption, or re-union of the crown lands, (for it had all these names) caused there such an odd kind of universal misery and desolation, that the like was never before known in any part of Europe. It fell heaviest upon the most noble and wealthy of that kingdom, whose families, from the greatest affluence, were immediately reduced to the utmost degree of poverty; and such numbers of gentlemen were oppressed by this project, that the clamours in all the provinces and towns of persons of the best quality perishing for want of bread, was enough to have moved the most obdurate hearts to pity and compassion.

One might have seen those of the first quality, who but a few months before had lived in the highest splendour, in well-furnished palaces, attended by numerous domesticks, provided of large and magnificent services of plate, now (in a manner) begging with their wives and children, with scarce sufficient clothes to cover them. Several of the poor noblemen and gentlemen wandered through the neighbouring countries in this sad condition, imploring the commiseration and assistance of all good people, and sending up their frequent looks and groans to heaven; while others were forced to undergo the weight of their calamities at home, if that can be properly called home where the miserable have neither means nor dwelling.

And the most grievous circumstance, among many bad ones, was this; for that persons thus treated were for the most part such whose families had merited best from the crown, and had spent their blood and fortunes in its service.

This destruction of all the better sort drew along with it that of those who depended on them; such as their creditors, their relations and friends who were bound for them; of infinite numbers of manufacturers, merchants, and traders employed by them, and, in short, exceeded, in most men's opinion, any of those hitherto esteemed the severest of God's judgments, war, pestilence, and famine.

The parliaments of Sweden, (named there the estates,) were made subservient to the execution of this inhuman design, which, in their several sessions between the years 1680 and 1687, they brought to the perfection 'twas then in; and did withal so thoroughly rivet the work of their own enslaving, that all future meetings of parliament were rendered unnecessary. There is not henceforth any occasion to make them so much as the covers for tyrannical proceedings, or screens between the king and the people,—a fatal document, how the very best institutions, when perverted, are most capable of being employed to the accomplishment of the worst ends and the greatest mischiefs.

It will be needless to enlarge upon the particulars, and the methods taken in this reduction, all the books which have given any late accounts of Sweden being full of them; only in short, that after the war, King Charles XI., father of the present king, imputed the ill state the kingdom was then in, viz. in the year 1680, to the foregoing evil counsels of the prime noblemen, senators, and ministers; and caused a select committee out of each of the three estates, to meet and search the registers, wherein every senator sets his hand to the advice he gives, and to compute the damage proceeding, or supposed to proceed from every advice, according to which they taxed each senator in proportion towards making it good; which the whole fortunes, that were hereupon taken from them, were found insufficient to make satisfaction for, there being no rebate for any sums which the crown owed to them.

After some time, a college of reductions was instituted, wherein all donations of the crown, for several past generations, were resumed without any further enquiry.

And all crown-lands, though purchased from the crown, which lay within six miles of any of the king's castles.

As also all other crown-lands which were judged to have been sold at an under-value; and this rated according to the present improvement, not what they were first bought at. In this case indeed the king allowed *5l.* per cent. to him that had paid down ready money; but if the income had exceeded that interest, as it commonly did after so long a tract of time, *8l.* per cent. was exacted for the interest of the overplus from the day of the purchase, which eat the whole estate, and so the lands infallibly returned to the crown. Nay, it was a great favour if the crown accepted of the estate for the supposed debt, without charging any other estate the purchaser was possessed of, to make good the deficiency.

At first, about 700 guilders per ann. was allowed to such poor purchasers, as a maintenance to them and their families; but this was presently, in another session of parliament, taken from them, and given to the crown.

Nothing but the most arbitrary government (supported by the farce of a parliament and a real army in time of a profound peace) could have subsisted after such an exorbitant seizure of the subjects property. But the entire subversion of laws has now (after 36 years) silenced the clamours of the persons concerned. Most of them are in their graves, and their children have forgot their ancestors were ever freemen. And if some of them remember it 'tis to little or no purpose; for these re-united crown-lands are now applied to the maintenance of this constant standing army, wherein both officers and soldiers live upon the resumed farms, and their income passes not through the hands of cheating agents or treasurers; so that their subsistence comes in due time to them net, and without any deductions, which makes amends for the smallness of it, and keeps the officers at home.

At the time when this resumption and re-union began in Old Sweden, Livonia was involved in the like calamity, with the addition of many other intolerable oppressions and exactions heaped upon the inhabitants. Here not only the nobility and gentry were reduced to beggary, in order to put all the opulent subjects upon the same foot, but all degrees of people were oppressed without distinction.

Livonia is a large and fertile province, on Germany side of the Baltick; 'tis an acquisition of Sweden at several times, partly by compact, and partly by conquest (within somewhat more than the compass of this last century) from the Poles and Muscovites: These took it from the knights of Jerusalem, who had long been possessors of it, but, after those knights were extirpated, could not keep it from the Swedes, who promised the inhabitants better usage than they had from their former masters,—a promise seldom kept with any conquered country, and never after the mother nation hast lost its own privileges.

The Livonian nobility and gentry had more to say for themselves than the Swedes; that province being not bound by a Swedish parliament, but having a parliament of its own; and therefore (in hopes of some ease and relief) they sent a deputation of select members of their own body, to make their remonstrances to the Swedish court. These carried a pathetick memorial with them, setting forth the very great hardships they laboured under; not without some oblique reflections on what had been done, even in Old Sweden: Which memorial was so strongly worded, and contained so many severe truths, that it gave great offence to the projectors at Stockholm, and induced them to persuade the king to oblige those principal persons who had signed it, either to make good the allegations, or to answer for the calumnies contained in it. The first of these was easy enough, had there been equal judges to hear the cause.

One of the chief of these remonstrators was John Reynouldt Count Patkul, a young

gentleman of an ancient, noble, and rich family: He had a graceful person, ready wit, fine address, and great parts, improved by good learning and knowledge of the world; but, above all, was remarkable for being a true lover of his country's liberties. This gentleman (together with some other counsellors of state) was employed by the Livonian nobility to draw up their memorial; and the wording of it (which was as much approved by the Livonians as condemned by the court of Sweden) was supposed to have been the peculiar work of his brains and pen. He therefore (together with several others of the chief persons concerned) went to Stockholm [1] by order, where he demeaned himself so extraordinarily handsome, and withal courageously, that King Charles the XIth, (though he disliked his cause) was very much pleased with his behaviour. He was very familiar with the king, who took so much delight in his manner of pleading for distressed Livonia, that when some of the king's ministers argued against Patkul with more warmth, perhaps, than truth, the king gently clapped him on the shoulder, saying, "Courage, Patkul; behave thyself like a brave and honest man in thy country's cause." More than one attempt was made to gain him to the court party; but when they found he was inflexible, and that the affection he had for his country's liberties was predominant to all other considerations, the ministers began, in good earnest, to study his ruin; and this good disposition of the king's was soon cooled by the representations of the projectors; who told his majesty their scheme must be supported whatever it cost, else he must want both power and money: That the principal opposers of it must be oppressed in the severest manner, to the end the subjects might be convinced, no remonstrances should avail them in the least, and thereby be discouraged from any attempts of the like nature for the future.

Patkul being a man of great foresight, was early aware of these practices against him; and finding that the courtiers were resolved to proceed to the utmost extremity, and that he was likely to be charged with sedition, upon pretence that he and his companions could not fully justify, upon the spot, all the particulars contained in the memorial, when perhaps he had but too well justified it for the king's and ministers ends, he prudently and secretly withdrew, not waiting for the execution of the sentence of death, and confiscation of goods, which was pronounced against him, and two or three of his associates; for one of them, whose name was Schlippenback, was absolved, because he recanted his part in the memorial; that is, he deserted his brethren and the cause of his country.

The king, though far from being in his own temper a merciful man, was yet convinced in his conscience that he was egregiously in the wrong, and would not put to death those two or three which were in his power, only doomed them to perpetual imprisonment. At the time of his death, [2] which happened about two years and a half after, his confessor put him in mind of these worthy sufferers, and laid it home to him that he ought to pardon them; upon which he signed an instrument for their release. He had been inexorable all his life-time, not only to the cries of his miserable abused subjects, but to the continued prayers and tears of his incomparable queen, who often on her knees, 'tis said, entreated him to shew mercy to his poor people, and to restore them to their estates and privileges; the like request she made upon her death-bed to her son, the present King of Sweden, but with equal ill success.

As to Count Patkul, 'tis confidently affirmed and believed by the Swedes, that King Charles the XIth himself gave him warning to retire in time, together with his consent that he might go and serve any other prince he pleased, principally recommending to him the Czar of Muscovy; so glad was the king to be rid of so great an obstacle to his arbitrary proceedings, and yet so loth to destroy unjustly a person of so rare abilities and honesty.

[1] 1694 and 1695. [2] April 1697.—*Orig. Notes.*

Being thus forced to quit Sweden, and Livonia his native country, where he was master of a very great estate, (most of the revenues of which he found means to receive abroad) he was exceedingly esteemed and caressed in all the foreign courts where he took shelter; and employed by the several princes in their wars and negociations, for both which he was very well qualified. But the greatest use he made of his interest was to engage those sovereigns to intercede for his pardon, and his being restored to the favour of the court of Sweden; (for the present King Charles the XIIth. upon his accession to the crown, had pardoned most of the other Livonian noble prisoners in a general amnesty he published, yet excepted out of it Count Patkul, because he had fled;) but all they could do was to no purpose, the king remained obdurate as to Patkul. Some say that Count Piper, his first minister, was afraid of the great genius and abilities of Patkul, and inspired the king with these cruel sentiments and resolutions, in relation to him; as fearing that Patkul, if he were once pardoned, would soon become chief favourite. The young king having one day in discourse commended Patkul's great abilities, and said, "What a pity 'tis that Patkul is not an honest man? If he were, he would make a servant fit for the greatest prince in the world:" These words, which the king had let fall in Piper's hearing, alarmed that jealous minister so much, that he took care to represent Patkul's actions always in the worst light he could, and kept up the resentment of a passionate young king to the height, hindering the effect of the intercessions of the emperor, and of almost all the princes of Christendom in his behalf, both before and after he came into King Charles's power.

Patkul hereupon transferred his allegiance, and took service with King Augustus, and the Czar of Muscovy, whose ambassador he was to the King of Poland, at the time when he was seized, and put in prison by the latter. This seizure had been desired and consented to, during the extravagant mirth at an entertainment in Poland, given to both kings in the time of an interview, upon insinuation that he had made mischief between them. For Patkul's honesty and integrity never left him; he could not endure to see, (much less to be an actor in) any thing he thought mean and dishonourable, and often found fault with what was amiss in their dealings and œconomy; and spoke his mind so freely to these princes, as to their little regard to the faith of treaties, that he vexed them both. They neither of them liked his free temper, though they had often made use of his person and money; and thus at last were the occasion of his ruin and death, which they neither of them intended. For when the heat of their passion was over, they were convinced they themselves were in fault, not he; and the esteem they had for his parts and probity took its own place again with them; but they repented when it was too late. King Charles's march into Saxony was sudden, and altogether unexpected; and when he came thither, he soon became absolute master of every thing. He found Patkul in a prison, where King Augustus had put him, rather with an intent to humble him a little, than to ruin him; but this king's measures of every kind were broken to pieces.

Patkul had served as a major-general, and a lieutenant-general, in all those wars; but always desiring and endeavouring at a reconciliation with Sweden, not by betraying any trust reposed in him, but openly and honourably. This, as has been said before, could by no means be effected. The King of Sweden and his ministers were most obstinately bent against him; no prayers, no money, no humiliations, no intercessions of the greatest potentates in Europe, could prevail over the interested views of his enemies, and the high spirit and harsh temper of the king.

Though he had been excepted out of the first general pardon, yet, upon the breaking out of the war, when the king published his *avocatoria*, for all his subjects to return out of foreign service, Patkul's enemies, in order to enhance his crime, caused him to be summoned by name in these *avocatoria*, though at that time apparently none of the King of Sweden's subject, and the Swedish ministers knew he durst

not, if he had ever so great an inclination, return to Sweden, being already a condemned person, who would have been executed as a traitor, had he obeyed the *avocatoria*; but they were resolved to make sure work with him, and upon his not appearing, got him a second time condemned to death for his contumacy.

What could a gentleman of honour do otherwise than Count Patkul did in his circumstances? He used all lawful means to preserve his own and his country's just liberties; he joined in dutiful remonstrances, he pleaded in person for them; and when he saw these methods were considered as capital crimes, and that he was doomed to die for them, by the advice of his king he withdrew into a place of safety. He entered indeed into the service of foreign princes, who before that time had been at war with Sweden, and had promised him to restore Livonia to its antient freedom, though they could not accomplish it. But upon the present King of Sweden's accession to the crown, he had used all endeavours, even by the consent of those princes, to be reconciled, though upon the hard condition of acquiescing in what had been done against his country. He and all the world thought he had a right to transfer his allegiance, when his first master would not afford him a protection which he had not forfeited. Notwithstanding which, so great was his inclination to be restored to the King of Sweden's favour and service, that he valued no riches or preferments elsewhere in comparison. He was fortunate to the last degree; for he might have come out of the prison wherein he was confined, if he would; but he scorned to do it before he had a reparation of honour. In the mean time the King of Sweden came, and nothing would serve this irritated monarch, but poor Patkul's life: The delivering of him up was made one of the articles of the treaty, though much contested by King Augustus, who alledged that it was a violation of the laws of nations, Patkul being then the Czar's plenipotentiary and ambassador.

But King Charles protested he would not leave Saxony without him; and accordingly he was put into the King of Sweden's power, on the 7th of April, 1707. From that time to Michaelmas following he was kept in custody of several reigments, during the long march of that gallant army, which the King of Sweden had gathered together in Saxony; and then the king being advanced as far as Casimir in Great Poland, was resolved to make him a horrid example of his cruelty, (falsely called his justice) and had him executed in a small village upon the march, to the great disgust of the army, which could not forbear shewing its dislike at so unusual and terrible a spectacle. But you shall have a more particular relation of the manner of his death, from the chaplain who then assisted him, after I have taken notice of what our newspapers, and the Swedish partizans themselves, have said of this affair.

In a book called The State of Europe, [March 1707, p. 135,] you will find the following accounts:

"King Augustus has been obliged, by a lawless necessity, to deliver up General Patkul to the Swedes, though he is very sensible that the laws of nations have been violated in this case. That gentleman was envoy extraordinary of the Czar, and in that respect his person ought to have been sacred. But few men are capable of containing themselves within bounds during their prosperity: The Swedes act as if they were persuaded that fortune will be always at their command. But as all sublunary things are liable to changes and vicissitudes, it may very well happen that they will repent, some time or other, the ill precedent they have made at this time; and, if I should live till then, I could not but bless the Divine Providence for it. Princes are, after all, but creeping worms before the Almighty, and no less subject to the rules of justice than the rest of mortals. But some think those rules were not made for them; and their passion and interest are the only guides of their actions.

"Letters from Poland tell us, that Lieutenant-General Patkul was broke alive upon

the wheel, and afterwards beheaded and quartered, as a rebel to his sovereign, and the chief promoter of this war, &c.[1]

"The late General Patkul has made so much noise in the world, and his death is so remarkable, that it will not be amiss to give some account of that unfortunate man.[2]

"We could wish it had been written by an impartial hand: For one who appears so entirely in the interest of Sweden may have disguised the truth in several respects. Whatever it be, 'tis certain that Patkul was born a subject to the King of Sweden, and that he was put to death as a rebel; but we do not design to examine here, how far it is lawful for a man to transfer his allegiance, nor whether or no the practice of most nations in the world, as to that point, has any reasonable grounds; but I make bold to say, that whosoever will enquire into the original cause of societies and politick government, will be tempted to believe, that the severity used in this case is hardly to be justified before the tribunal of sound reason and natural equity. The Roman orator had a better idea of the liberty of mankind, than our modern politicians; and affirms, "That no man ought to be constrained against his will to remain in a society, nor to quit it unless he pleases."

But let us see what the Swedes themselves say of Patkul.

"John Rheynouldt Patkul was born in Livonia, of a noble and honourable family: His parents took a great deal of care to give him a good education, to which nature contributed very much; so that he learned the sciences with a great deal of ease. He was very virtuous during his youth, and was blameable only for his avarice. He travelled much into foreign countries, and applied himself to acquire the languages, and a considerable knowledge in the affairs of state; in which he succeeded very well. He was very pleasant in conversation, and knew perfectly to give an appearance of truth to the greatest falsities; but was impatient of contradiction. He began to raise his fortune in Livonia, and was made first a captain in 1695. He and three other Livonians, as counsellors of state, sent a memorial to King Charles the XIth, concerning the state of the country, which was found to be of dangerous consequence. Upon this they were sent for to Stockholm, to declare themselves more expressly upon it. But Patkul perceiving, that he could not justify what was writ, and that he was likely to be charged with sedition, retired privately, without staying for the execution of the sentence, by which he and his two friends were condemned to death and confiscation; but the third, called Schlippenbach, was absolved, because he did not approve the above-mentioned memorial, and was afterwards a major-general in the Swedish service. Charles the XIth, mixing clemency with justice, did not execute the sentence to the rigour, and designed only to have kept them in perpetual prison.

"When Charles the XIIth, the present king, came to the throne in 1697, he pardoned the rest at his coronation, but excepted Patkul because he had fled; and having carried himself in such a manner, as he durst not return to his country, he went from one court to another to solicit a war against his native country, and sought all occasions to annoy it. At last he came to King Augustus's court in Poland, where he found most credit, and by his smooth tongue made him believe that it was easy to reduce Livonia under the dominion of Poland; and so much the more, that there was no troops to defend it, and that the inhabitants were so disaffected, that they wanted only an opportunity to shake off the Swedish yoke. He added, that the King of Sweden had no troops on foot, except a few regiments in the country, [or militia] which being undisciplined, were not in a condition to do any service; that his revenues were so much exhausted, as made the king unable to bring armies into the field, and much more to equip a sufficient fleet to transport troops into Livonia. By these and such

[1] Idem, p. 454. Oct. 1707.

[2] Id. p. 31, 32, 33, 34. vol. 19. Jan. 1708.—*Orig. Notes.*

like arguments, he imposed upon King Augustus, who (as he has since declared) could never have believed the King of Sweden to have had so many, or so well-disciplined troops; or that his subjects had been so loyal, or his revenues so considerable, as to carry on the war in such a manner as he since found he did.

"Patkul's representations prevailed so far as to kindle a war between King Augustus and Sweden; and that prince following Patkul's advice sent some thousands of Saxons into Swedish Courland, on pretence of keeping those people in obedience; but his true design was to make himself master of Livonia. Patkul followed this detachment, and was their counsellor and leader. A little after the beginning of 1700, when all was peace, and the Swedes expected no such thing, the Saxons fell into Livonia, and took the forts of Dunamund and Cobrots; after which Patkul attacked Riga, the capital town of the country, and its chief defence; but miscarrying in his design, he satisfied himself to ravage the country with his Saxon troops, and advised those of Livonia to submit to King Augustus; alledging it was impossible for them to receive any relief at that season of the year, promised them a mild government under his administration, and assured them of King Augustus's protection; and several other things of that nature. He wrote also to his mother, who lived further up the country. Sent for her to come to him, and pretended he had taken arms for her defence; but she abhorred him so much, that she would not own him.

"At the beginning of this war, the King of Sweden published his *avocatoria*, by which he ordered all his subjects in King Augustus's service (and Patkul by name) to return to Sweden, on pain of death;" [Mark, that he had before at his accession to the crown excepted him out of the general pardon, though his father, King Charles the XIth, had given him leave to quit Sweden.] "but he continuing in his rebellion and disobedience, was a second time condemned to die. This made no impression on him, so that he continued his practices against his country; and instead of endeavouring to recover his prince's favour, he persuaded King Augustus to besiege Riga the beginning of that year; but he was obliged to raise the siege again in a few weeks after he had begun it.

"Denmark began at the same time to raise some troubles in Holstein, which were soon after appeased. 'Tis needless to mention the reasons of those troubles, nor how they began, since these things are well enough known, but only that Patkul continually endeavoured to add fuel to the flames.

"The Czar being persuaded by General Patkul to enter into a war against Sweden, raised a formidable army to that end, and pushed on the war with vigour, in conjunction with King Augustus; and Patkul not only commanded the Saxon troops, as major-general, in the actions which passed in Poland, but went journeys for the Czar, and King Augustus, to advance their military preparations; having a perfect knowledge of the state of the King of Sweden's forces, so that all enterprizes he judged necessary were approved, and put in execution against his country, as far as possible. When any treaty of accommodation with Sweden was set on foot, he constantly opposed the same, and was the cause that the war in the north continued so long. In Saxony he dispersed several injurious libels against his own country. In 1702, he entered into the Czar's service, because his ambition and avarice were insatiable; and the Czar granting him better terms, he left the court of Saxony, with which he could not agree.

"Being very fit for negociations, the Czar sent him to several courts of Germany to negociate his affairs; and there furnished his army with foreign officers, and other necessaries. After this he returned to Russia, to give the Czar an account of his success, and in a little time the Czar sent him as his plenipotentiary to King Augustus, where he also commanded the auxiliary troops which were sent to that prince. In 1704, he was detached with some thousands of men to besiege Posen, but was obliged

by the Swedes to break up that siege, and retired into Saxony, where he lost his credit more and more, and embroiled himself with that court, by endeavouring to create a disunion betwixt King Augustus and the Czar, and by upbraiding the Saxons with not observing their treaties faithfully, nor pushing on the war with vigour against Sweden; so that at last he entered into a treaty with the emperor, and put the Muscovite auxiliaries into his service. Matters being thus, King Augustus went to meet the Czar in Lithuania, and being dissatisfied with Patkul, obtained the Czar's consent to put him in prison. Accordingly, he was sent to the castle of Sonnesteyn; towards which a certain paper contributed very much, which Patkul had writ, about the affairs and government of Saxony, and reflected much upon King Augustus and his ministry. His treacherous temper appeared yet further, by the following instance. While he was prisoner in the castle of Sonnesteyn, he prevailed with the governor to suffer him to make his escape, on condition of paying him a certain sum, which the governor agreed to: But Patkul, instead of making his escape, gave an account to the court at Dresden of the governor's treachery, though he had always been civil to him; upon which the governor lost his head.

"A little after, King Augustus ordered Patkul to be released, but he would not come out of prison without a full satisfaction for the affront he pretended to have received; and there he continued through his pride, which was his predominant passion, the chief cause of all his misfortunes, and of his ruin at last, though he was otherwise capable of every thing, being well versed in the affairs of state and war. After this he was transported to the castle of Conmgstein, and the Swedes entering Saxony, which brought on a treaty between the King of Sweden and King Augustus, one of the articles was, that Patkul should be delivered to the King of Sweden. King Augustus, however, let some months pass before he would deliver him up; alledging for excuse, that he was in the Czar's service: But the King of Sweden insisted upon it; he was at last put into the hands of General Meyerfeldt, whose regiment of Swedes lay nearest, and was carried into Poland with the army, where he was always kept a prisoner. The day appointed for his execution approaching, he was sent to the regiment of dragoons of Hielm, and a priest was ordered to tell him in the evening that he must prepare for death. This surprised him at first, and occasioned him to utter some incoherent discourse, but the priest talked to him so, that he immediately laid aside all thoughts of the world, and next morning sent for the priest, and receiving the communion from him, said, he was well satisfied to die; and that he expected his last hour with impatience. He slept very well the night following, and better, as was observed, than he had done at any time after he had received his sentence." [He received no sentence till the minute he was broke alive.] "Next day he was carried to the place of execution, and endured with great firmness of mind the punishments which were inflicted upon him. Thus he was broke alive upon the wheel, and his head being cut off, was fixed on a pole; his body was quartered, and laid upon wheels on the 20th, [it should be the 10th] of October last, N. S. in a village of Upper Poland, betwixt Stupea and Casimir. During his imprisonment, he confessed he had done many things against his country, and that he had very little hopes of escaping punishment. He made a considerable present to the priest who attended him to the place of execution, he gave money to the executioner that he might do his office with all possible speed, and not suffer him to languish long under his pain."

Thus far the Swedish narration, which in many places is notoriously false, in others very short, leaving out all the cruel circumstances of his death; and by the whole tenor of it, 'tis apparent, that the writer was put to all the shifts imaginable, to justify in some measure the King of Sweden's procedure with him. You may see, however, that Patkul's great and good qualities were so many, that he is forced to own them all along in his whole narration; here you may believe him, whatever you do in any

thing else: The whole drift of his paper being to dispraise him, and make him appear as black and unworthy as possible, that he might thereby alleviate that load of infamy which lay upon the King of Sweden, even in the opinion of his own army and subjects, for treating him in the manner he did.

In a late book, called The History of the Wars of Charles the XIIth King of Sweden, written, as 'tis pretended, by a Scotch gentleman in that king's army, very partially, with design to asperse the guarantees of the treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, and to extol the actions of the King of Sweden at any rate, in order to recommend him to the people of Great Britain, you will find what follows.

"There was at that time in the King of Poland's troops [1] a Livonian gentleman, a subject of the King of Sweden, but who, upon former discontents, had quitted the Swedish interest, and was entertained by the King of Poland in the quality of a major-general. It was said, this gentleman had liberty given him from the late King of Sweden, Charles the XIth, to enter into the service of the Czar of Muscovy, as a kind of banishment for some offence he had given the crown of Sweden, in opposing the king at the time when the act for re-assumption of crown lands was put in execution by that prince.

"I confess that all the while I lived in Sweden I could never learn the true history of General Patkul's quitting the service of Sweden; perhaps it was generally concealed, because they would not seem to say that the king had not sufficient provocation to the severity which he used afterwards with this gentleman when he fell into his hands.

"Be it as it will, it was generally believed in Sweden that this gentleman was a great instrument, I do not say in first stirring up the King of Poland to the design of breaking with Sweden, for it was apparent that had other causes and springs, but in giving that king encouragement to the particular invasion of Livonia, and that he persuaded the king to believe that the nobility of Livonia, having been miserably spoiled of their estates, and impoverished by the said re-assumption of crown lands, were generally malcontents like himself, and would revolt to the Poles, as soon as they saw an army sufficient to defend them. This, I say, was generally reported and believed; certain it is, that General Patkul accompanied the Saxon General Fleming in the first expedition against Riga, and was sent out with a detachment of 1400 horse and dragoons, to range over the open country, and give the Livonian nobility an occasion to revolt if they were so inclined, and no doubt was diligent to persuade them to do so, though without effect.

"King of Sweden's demands of King of Poland at Alt-Ranstadt.[2]

"All deserters and traitors of the King of Sweden's subjects, [3] and particularly Reinholdt Count Patkul, shall be delivered to the King of Sweden.

"It must be confessed, some of these conditions were very grievous upon King Augustus, [4] and such as nothing but the miseries of his Saxon dominions could have extorted; but, above all, the delivering up Count Patkul, which (it is owned) to a man of honour was very severe.

"The King of Sweden,[5] who has as much generosity in his temper as fire in his resolution, yielded in some points to King Augustus; but as to the affair of Count Patkul, the King of Sweden would abate nothing, declaring he would never quit Saxony without him; nor could the intercession of any of the Saxon court, or of some princes who concerned themselves for that unfortunate gentleman, prevail with the king to desist from the demand, or to spare him when he had him in custody. He was accordingly delivered to the King of Sweden the 7th of April, 1707.

"We were now entered into Poland,[6] and the first thing of moment that happened

[1] Pag. 20. [2] Pag. 245. [3] Art. 5. [4] Pag. 246. [5] Pag. 251, 252.
[6] Pag. 275.—*Orig. Notes.*

in our army was the execution of General Count Patkul. The king had so highly resented his conduct in the beginning of the war, looking upon him to have been the principal mover of the invasion of Livonia by King Augustus, that no intercession could obtain his pardon; and being his Swedish majesty's subject, the king thought it proper to show that severity to him, to let all those who, being subjects of Sweden, should fight against their master, know what they might depend upon. He was broke upon the wheel at Casimir in Great Poland, the 10th of October, N. S. 1707. I need not enter farther into the story; the justice of provoked kings is not always to be censured or examined into. Much might be said on both sides.——I acknowledge, many honest gentlemen in the king's army would have been very glad if his majesty would have been pleased to have extended his mercy to that unfortunate gentleman, but it could not be obtained, and we had no more to do but to submit. I observed the army was very melancholy during this execution. Nobody took pleasure in it; nor can I say that we had the usual chearfulness among us for some time afterwards; but the king had great provocations; and by how much the genius and capacities of this person were extraordinary, and that these had carried him an unusual length (for he was supposed to have been the great manager in forming the first alliances against the king), by so much greater was his offence; which his majesty thought obliged him to the highest resentment, and that he ought to be treated as a rebel to his natural prince, and as a traitor to his country," &c.

This is all this author speaks of Patkul. And as much as he is bent to make the panegyrick of the King of Sweden, one may perceive in it the force of truth, which bursts out in his narration, and that even he, as well as the whole Swedish army, could not endure or palliate the excessive cruelty of this hero. 'Twas a pity that brave army, which thus openly shewed a dislike of their implacable absolute monarch's proceedings, notwithstanding the just dread they had of him, should from this time forward suffer for the enormous iniquity of their king; for that brave army was soon after totally destroyed at the battle at Pültowa; the very remains of it that escaped with the king into Turkey, being since that time, one way or other, extirpated; as if God Almighty had a mind to shew the world, that the very bearing with the cruelty of their king was a sin not to be expiated but by their bodily punishment: And as to their king, I am persuaded his life was continued to him rather as a judgment, in being forced to receive so many sensible mortifications, than as a blessing, since from that day to this he has never prospered, and he does not yet make use of the time allotted him for repentance, but hardens his heart, like Pharaoh, the more, for every affliction which falls upon him.

A true Relation of the Death and Manner of Execution of the famous John Rheinholdt Count Patkul.

In the year 1707, the 28th of Sept. O. S. about night-fall, Patkul was brought to the regiment of dragoons commanded by Colonel Nicholas Hiems (then in Great Poland upon the march) under the guard of thirty men of Meyerfeldt's regiment, wherein he had continued a prisoner during several months before. The day following, being Michaelmas-day, my colonel told me privately (as soon as our devotions in the church were over,) That Patkul was to die next day, and therefore desired I would go and acquaint the prisoner with this news, that he might prepare himself for death. Accordingly I went to him about three o'clock that afternoon, and having made my compliments to Mr Patkul, whom I found a-bed, I begged his excuse for my visit, because I supposed that an afflicted spirit, like his, had great need of some consolation drawn from the word of God. To which he answered, I am extremely glad,

Mr Le Pasteur, that you come to see me, and thank you with all my heart; for at present the visits of divines are most proper and agreeable to me. Pray what news? I replied, that I desired to speak a few words with him in private. As soon as he heard that, he got up, and made a compliment to the officer who guarded him in his chamber, and with a gentle nod of the head desired his absence; which I also seconded, by whispering the said officer in the ear, and acquainting him with the colonel's orders that I should be alone with the prisoner. As soon as the officer had left the room, Patkul took me by the hand, and with a very melancholy tone of voice, Alas, said he, my dear Monsieur Le Pasteur, what have you to say to me? Sir, replied I, I am commanded to bring you the same tidings which the prophet Isaiah formerly carried to King Hezekiah, "Set thy house in order, for thou must die, and not outlive to-morrow." At these words he flung himself upon the bed, and burst into tears, which ran plentifully down his cheeks. I began then to comfort him, by telling him, that I doubted not a person so wise and so learned as he was, being withal so well instructed in the Christian religion, would, upon those accounts, now look upon the end of his days in this world with the greater courage and constancy. Alas! says he, I know very well the common lot of all mankind is to die; but the manner of my death will be too severe, and too hard for me to endure: And upon this he began again to weep bitterly. I replied, That I was altogether unacquainted with the manner of his death; but did firmly believe that it would be happy, and much more salutary to the soul, than terrible to the body. At this he rose, and joining his hands, he said, "Grant, O Lord Jesus, that my end may be happy!" After having leaned against the wall awhile, he went on, "O, Augustus! Augustus! How wilt thou answer this at the great day? Alas, the revolution in Sweden and Livonia has been the source of my misfortune." I begged of him then not to apply himself so much to worldly affairs, but to think upon eternity, during the small time which remained for him to live. My dear Monsieur La Pasteur, replied he, suffer me to vent what lies next my heart; for this heart of mine cannot be cured, except all the filth it is so full of be purged away. The reducing of the estates, which has been the undoing of multitudes of poor people, has been the occasion of the only crime which is imputed to me. The deceased King of Sweden clapped me upon the shoulder, and said to me, "Patkul, defend the rights of thy country, like a brave and honest man:" How then could I do otherwise? But wicked men have had the shuffling of my cards. God forgive Hastoer, who has contributed so much to my misfortunes: At first he instigated me, afterwards he deceived me, and at last he persecuted me. Well! well! I shall meet him shortly, with many more of my adversaries, before the tribunal of Jesus Christ. Bergenhielm has also been very much my enemy, but he had orders to do what he has done. O Sweden! Sweden! God Almighty knows, that I did not quit thy territories with a glad heart: Whither could I fly? It was not possible for me to hide myself under ground: I could not resolve to throw myself into a convent, because of my being a protestant; and I could not remain in safety with any of the allies. They say, that because I took sanctuary among the king's enemies, therefore I was the occasion of this bloody war: But how can they draw that consequence? I was there in the condition of a poor persecuted man, and not at all a giver of advice; nobody judged me at that time capable of doing it, and in truth I was not. For before I came among the Saxons, every thing was already concerted with Denmark: The treaties with the Muscovites were signed, and I had not in the least any authority or reputation. Then I desired him to remember, that he plunged himself too deep in discourses which regarded only temporal affairs. But he taking me by the hand, said,—Allow me a little time before I quite abandon worldly things; after that, I assure you I will not speak one word more of them. What countryman are you, Monsieur Le Pasteur? I am a Swede, born at Stockholm, replied I. Well then (said he) you please me better for being so, because

I am glad that a Swede may give a report of me hereafter. I also have a Swedish heart, and Swedish inclinations; and although people will not believe it, God Almighty knows it's true, and you will be convinced of it by what I am going to say to you. The miserable condition wherein you now see me shall not hinder me from assuring you, that the elector of Brandenburg is obliged to me for the crown of Prussia. I am sure he is in his conscience convinced of this: And indeed he offered me a very great sum of money, as a recompence; but I made answer to him, that the greatest recompence he could bestow upon me for all my services, would be for his majesty to grant me his intercession, that I might be reinstated in the favour of his Swedish majesty; which he also promised me, and Count Dohna spoke in my favour at Stockholm as much as he could; but the court of Sweden was deaf to all the representations of that envoy, which any way regarded me. Some time after (I may tell you without vanity) I had an opportunity of doing the late emperor a signal piece of service, in relation to Spanish affairs, such as no other could have done for him; and he gave me, by way of recompence, a bill for fifty thousand crowns; but I took it and laid it at his imperial majesty's feet, thanking him with the most profound devotion, and requesting another kind of paper from him. The emperor thought I had not been content with the sum. But I told him, that I desired nothing but his recommendation to the court of Sweden. You shall have it, replied the emperor; and indeed I know that he both writ, and sent such a letter of recommendation; but in vain; there was no grace or pardon to be had for me.

That no occasion might be let slip to set me right with the court of Sweden, I went to Muscovy when your envoys were there; without doubt you have heard of it. Yes, sir, I replied, I had the honour to be the chaplain to that embassy, and remember to have seen you there at that time. Are you the same person who was there? (said he.) I thought indeed at first I had seen you somewhere; I was there at that time seeking the Czar's mediation to be restored to favour, but as soon as I understood that your envoys had orders to demand the delivery of my person up to them, I was obliged to retire, and to live *incognito*. Ever since it has been given out that I stirred up the Czar, and incited him to that war; but it was Carlowitz, a creature of King Augustus, that did that piece of work; and for my part, I was always an adviser of peace, and I had contrived matters so, during the first years of that war, that the King of Sweden should have for his satisfaction Courland, Polish Livonia, and a part of Samogitia, in case he would make peace. It was generally thought the Czar would never consent to these terms; but when I made him the proposal, he was satisfied with it, and embracing me, gave me thanks for my good advice; but the King of Sweden would not comply with those offers. Moreover, all the poor Swedish prisoners, (whereof there are great numbers in Muscovy,) will, I dare say, give this testimony of me, that I have done them a great many kindnesses, and distributed among them in charity, several thousands of ducats. I can safely aver, I have given away about a hundred thousand ducats, in order to regain the King of Sweden's favour: Would to God I had been as solicitous to procure for myself the Divine favour! Having said these words, he began again to weep, and I did my best to comfort him, by assuring him that the gate of Divine Mercy was still open for him; that he had yet time enough left to secure for himself an entrance there, but that time was precious, and not to be flung away. That is my only consolation, says he; but what troubles me most is, that I have more diligently served men than my God. Particularly, I have reason to curse the time wherein I applied myself to King Augustus's service. God Almighty convert him, he is neither faithful to God nor man. As soon as the peace with Sweden was concluded, he writ me a letter, dated the 16th of February, desiring me to acquaint the Czar, that the Swedes had distributed their arms up and down into workmen's hands, in order to get them mended; and that their officers were most of them sent broad, partly to raise recruits, and partly for other affairs; therefore that the Czar

would do well to come immediately with all his forces, and break the necks of his enemies; and to this end he would give orders to all the gunsmiths and workmen, not to finish any pieces of work the Swedes should employ them in.

In my answer to this letter, I told him, I would have nothing to do in an affair of this nature, nor any more with him; and that he ought to keep better the faith he had so lately given. This he took very ill from me; notwithstanding which, he has several times solicited me to concur in his wicked designs; but I always disapproved them. One day I received a letter, wherein was communicated to me a project of a very extraordinary nature; which letter ended with these words,—— "In this manner, one may say, that Augustus has gained more in one night, than Charles has by so many bloody battles," &c. 'Tis with horror that I call to mind these villainous tricks; and I heartily thank God that he has protected the King of Sweden, who, I can assure you, has very often been in extraordinary great dangers. Great God! said I, interrupting him, has King Augustus no more regard to his word? Alas! replied he to me, he is a professed atheist, a man without piety, who values neither his faith nor his honour. One day the late emperor writ me a letter, desiring me to do my endeavour, after the handsomest way that I could, to persuade that king to amend his life. I showed him that letter, but the answer he gave me, laughing, was this; "That old fellow had better employ his thoughts upon purgatory, for he will come to that place before me." Her highness, the electress dowager, often spoke to me to the like effect; and indeed, I employed my best skill to that purpose; but I thereby always drew disgraces upon myself; he has threatened me long since, that he would be even with me one day. He was in a great streight at Warsaw for want of money, at the time when the King of Sweden came thither from Lemborg; several of his troops being about to desert him for that reason: Hearing this, I gave him four hundred thousand crowns; but next day I perceived that he had laid it out in magnificent presents to certain great ladies, and had bought 150,000 crowns worth of jewels to make a hat-band of. Being heartily vexed to see him employ his money to so bad purposes, I made my remonstrances to him upon that head, and obliged him to restore those jewels to the Jews, and to take back his money. For a little while he hid his spite against me for doing this; but swore to be revenged on me, and has made good his oath too well, for my misfortune. Would to God he had as punctually kept the good promises he has made, and his faith and honour! God Almighty will judge him. *Potentes potenter punientur.* But, Monsieur Le Pasteur, continued he, you have, I believe, something else to do at present, and not to hear these disagreeable discourses. Sir, said I, I will return to you about a short hour hence. Do so, says he, and if you can prevail with the colonel to suffer me to be alone, that I might not be interrupted in my devotions, he will do me a singular kindness. I promised him to do my best, and so took my leave. About seven o'clock at night I returned; and as soon as the officer was gone out of the chamber, Welcome, said he, Mr Le Pasteur, with a smiling countenance, which denoted somewhat of contentment; I look upon you as an angel of God. God be praised, I find my conscience very much eased, and methinks it is as if a great and heavy stone were removed from off my breast. I am very glad to die, for it is better to die than to remain long in prison. Alas! that my death may be such as may be tolerable! Know you not, continued he, what kind of death I am to suffer? It is what I am altogether ignorant of, replied I; all that I know is, that it will be done without much noise and stir, for nobody has as yet seen the sentence. Must I then suffer death, said he, without being so much as heard, and without a sentence? The sentence is without doubt ready at hand, replied I, but perhaps it is sealed up, and sent with orders not to open it, till such time as it comes to be executed. That may be, said he, but pray God they may not torment me a long time. I comforted him in the best manner I could, and he cheered up himself, repeating, among many other

passages of the Holy Scripture (whereof he had great knowledge) these two texts, in Greek, Acts 14. 22. "Through great tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God." And Romans, chap. 8. ver. 18. "For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not to be put in balance with the glory which shall be revealed in us." After this he asked me, whether he might have paper and ink; and when I told him yes, he desired me to write a few words for him, and dictated to me that which follows. "The last will and testament of me the underwritten, after what manner I intend to dispose of what I may leave behind me after my death. I desire that King Augustus would consult his own conscience, and restore to my two cousins, who are now in the service of Sweden, those sums of money which he owes to me, and which amount to fifty thousand crowns; and I desire that his Swedish majesty would most graciously grant his assistance towards the execution of this my will——." Let us leave off this business at present, says he; I shall soon recollect some other things to add to it; but in the mean time let us return to our devotions; which we did, and as soon as prayers were over, Thank God, said he, I find myself grow better and better. Oh! If they would not make me suffer long torments, I would willingly satisfy with my blood for the faults which I may have committed. Pray tell me, is the king a merciful prince? Yes, replied I, the good God has favoured us with a very gracious and pious king. That is the principal thing, says he; piety is the fountain of all other vritues, and, as the prophet says, is "the beginning of wisdom." And what think you of Count Piper, the first minister, continued he, is he a nobleman fearing God? I affirmed that he was, and that his excellency had already given a thousand proofs of his probity. Well then, said he, God be praised, they will then do nothing to me but what is just. Happy is that kingdom which is governed by piety and justice. After this he asked me several questions concerning Sweden, of our universities, of our learned men and divines; particularly concerning Doctor Meyer, also of the professor Frank, and Dr Brecthault at Halle; asking me at the same time, what my opinion was of the Pietists, and where I had made my studies? And at last concluded, (venting two or three deep sighs) Yes, yes! I have some friends here and there, who will lament me and weep for my death. What will the good old electress say to it? And Mademoiselle Lewold, who is in her service? And principally my poor betrothed spouse? With what sad affliction must she needs receive the news of my death! My dear Pasteur, continued he, pressing my hand, may I still desire a kindness of you? Any thing that is within the compass of my power for your service, I will do with all my heart, sir, replied I. Be so good then as to write a few lines to my dear spouse, Madam Einsideln, when I shall be no more in this world; and tell her, in presenting her with my last compliments, that although the end of my life was ignominious, in respect of my bodily punishment, yet it was very happy in respect to my soul, as I verily hope and trust in my God. This will comfort her, at least in some small measure; especially when she shall see this consolation comes from the person who assisted me in the last moments of my life: She will be henceforth free and at liberty to dispose of herself, and I own myself to have been infinately obliged to her even to my death———. After this he drew out his purse, and took out a sum of money, which he put into three different papers, and saying, To-morrow, if it please God, I will think no more of worldly things, he presented me with one of those papers, which contained a hundred ducats, desiring me to accept of it. And upon my making a difficulty to take a thing which I had never deserved, My dear Pasteur, says he, I have often given a thousand ducats for very small services; but the friendship you have shewn me, and the good you have done me, cannot be recompenced by all the treasures in the world. Would to God I had it in my power to shew you more effectually the sense I have of the kindness you have done me! But I have yet one present to make you, that I esteem above all other riches,

and that is my New Testament in Greek, with the version of Arius Montanus, which has been my faithful companion in my misery. Major Groothuysen, who has it now in his possession, will give it you, when you ask it of him in my name. I returned him my thanks, promising to keep that treasure very carefully. Afterwards he prayed me to salute Monsieur de Groothuysen in his name, and to thank him a thousand times for the great civilities he had shewn him during his last calamity; after this he drew out of his pocket another small book: This book, Mr Le Pasteur, says he, is one that I have written with my own hand, pray accept of it also, as a remembrance of me, and a proof of my Christianity; I should be very glad this little book, which in itself is of no great value, were shown to the king; his majesty would at least find by it that I was no atheist. I hope, replied I, that what you desire may be accomplished, for I will put it into my colonel's hand, who may find a proper opportunity to lay it before his majesty. That would be very well, said he, and I wish that my book may be more happy than its author; I may say to it what Ovid did in his exile, to his book de Tristibus, when he sent it to Augustus, "Go thy ways, little book, and procure that favour which I have not been able to obtain for myself:" Pray read it, Monsieur le Pasteur; which I presently set about doing, and I observed in my reading it, that he had it all by heart: Afterwards he made me read some prayers, and several devout hymns of death, and from thence he took occasion to discourse of the vanity of this world. Alas! said he, God is my witness, that in the midst of all worldly pleasures my heart has been always sad. And at this time, though I know I must die to-morrow, I find myself much more content than I have formerly been at the most magnificent entertainment. *Munde, munde, vale!* World, world, farewell! assure yourself, Mr le Pasteur, that very often, and principally in the latter years of my life, I have endeavoured entirely to put off this world; but I found it impossible for me to execute this design. Thanks to Jesus, who has at length torn in pieces for me the nets of Satan, my chains are broken, and my soul is at liberty. The hand of the great Charles has contributed much to my enlargement. God be praised! 'Tis a great truth what St Paul says in his 8th to the Romans, "We know that all things work together for good to those who love God." And now, it beginning to grow late, Monsieur le Pasteur, says he, I keep you here too long with me; I beg of you not to be tired of me. As soon as I had assured him of the contrary, we went again to prayers; and when we had done, What counsel, says he, do you give me? Ought I to take a little rest? 'Tis long since I have slept, and I find myself very weary and weak; for besides that, I have not eat nor drank to-day except a little water. And I could not do otherwise than approve of such a resolution; perhaps by doing so, continued he, my spirits may revive a little; for it will be very necessary that I should be well disposed to-morrow morning, because then I hope to comfort my poor soul by receiving the holy communion. When we had pitched upon an hour for this holy design, he went to bed, and I returned to my quarters. The 30th of September, at four o'clock in the morning, I returned to him; and as soon as he heard me salute him, as I entered his chamber, he rose out of bed, and gave thanks to God for having afforded him so good a night; saying, that he had not of a long time rested so quietly; presently we went to prayers, and I must needs own the fervour of his devotion was extraordinary. About six o'clock he said, We will, in the name of Jesus, now execute our holy design, before the noise which they are making without doors increases; and as I approved of his intention, he fell upon his knees, and made his confession in most devout words, the beginning whereof was remarkable: "*What shall I say, O God, my Lord? How shall I speak, or presume to justify myself before thee? God has found out the iniquity of his servant. Pardon! pardon it, O Lord God,*" &c. After having received the holy sacrament, he heartily returned thanks to God in several pious hymns, which we recited together. At the rising of the sun, he looked out of the window, and said, *Salve festa dies,* thou art my wedding-day. I once thought, that

about this season I should be celebrating another sort of wedding-day. But this is the more happy of the two, for this day my soul shall be introduced into heaven by our Lord Jesus Christ. Then he asked me once again, whether I did not know what sort of death was appointed him to die. And when I had answered him in the same manner as I had done the day before, he begged of me not to abandon him at his death, let it be as cruel as it can be. Only, said he, pronounce aloud to me always the name of Jesus Christ; that will sweeten all my pains and all my torments; then looking out of the window, Alas! says he, Monsieur Le Pasteur, they are putting the horses to the chariot; God be praised for it: I only desire that they should make haste, for my life already seems too long to me. Presently he cast his eyes upon the paper, where he had begun to write his will: This paper, says he, will not be compleat. And when I asked him, whether he would not be pleased to set his name to it as it was, No, said he, sighing, I will no more write this hateful name of mine, my cousins will find another sufficient estate which I have left to them. After this he continued in his devotions till the lieutenant of his guard came to carry him away. Here, sir, said I, is the confirmation of those sad news I first brought you. Come then, let us be gone, said he, taking his cloak, I hope at least, Mr Le Pasteur, you will accompany me. Oh! do not abandon me! And when I had promised that I would not, he went up into the chariot, and obliged me to take the upper end. Thus we went on a very great pace, guarded by 100 horse; and during all the way he embraced and kissed me, begging me not to forget to pay his last compliments for him to his dear mistress his spouse, and thanking me for my company. Soon after, we arrived at the place of execution, which was surrounded by about 300 foot soldiers. As soon as he had observed the posts or pales, and the wheels which were erected there, he was extremely frighted at them: And embracing me very straitly, Alas! Monsieur Le Pasteur, said he, pray to God for me, that he may not suffer me to fall into despair. I comforted him in the best manner I was able, desiring him continually to fix his thoughts upon Christ crucified. After this they took him out of the chariot, and whilst they were taking off his chains, he prayed most ardently. As soon as he was come to the spot where he was to be executed, the captain of the regiment, who that day officiated as major, proclaimed with a loud voice, "His majesty, our most gracious king, has expressly commanded, most rigorously, that this man, who is a traitor, should be first broke upon the wheel, and afterwards quartered; as well for his just punishment, as to serve for an example to others, that every one may hereafter serve his king faithfully." At the word traitor, Patkul shrugged up his shoulders, and looked up to heaven; and afterwards asked, Where will you have me to go? And as soon as the executioner had shewn him the place, Do your office, friend, says he, and at the same time gave him a paper full of money, then laid himself flat; and whilst they were taking off his cloathes, he cried out to me, Oh, pray to God that it may please him to fortify me in this dismal hour: Whereupon addressing myself to the spectators, Beloved children, said I, let us pray with fervour and attention for this poor man. Alas! Yes! said he, pray all for me, which we did unanimously, and with abundance of devotion. And at that time, the hangman giving him the first stroke, he cried out aloud, O Jesu! Jesu! have mercy upon me! After this he received fourteen or fifteen strokes, and because the hangman was but indifferently skilled in his cruel trade, he was indeed most terribly tormented, and cried out most piteously, pronouncing without ceasing, the holy Jesus; Lord Jesus, I commit and resign my soul into thy hands, &c. After having received two blows more upon the breast, he left off crying aloud, only speaking in a few low and interrupted words, Cut off my head, cut off my head: And as he found that the hangman made not sufficient haste to do it, he crept upon all four himself as far as to the pale, and laid his neck over it; where, after four blows, he was at last beheaded, and his body was put on the wheels there to remain.

Such was the end of the famous Patkul; Lord Jesus, who art come into the world to save all sinners, have mercy upon his poor soul!

Whoever is acquainted with the dexterity of the common executioners in Germany, and in all those northern countries, which indeed is very surprising, and knows that one sound blow on the breast, called the *coup de grace*, presently dispatches a criminal that is broke upon the wheel, will easily be convinced that the cruel treatment poor Patkul met with, as well in the breaking his body, as afterwards in cutting off his head, was inflicted by particular order. The officer who proclaimed his sentence just before his death seems to own it, and to make a sort of excuse for it, as being the king's "most rigorous" command. And indeed, an executioner is so detestable a creature in Sweden, Denmark, and all those northern parts of the world, that it requires an extraordinary dexterity in that hateful trade, and an immediate imperceptible withdrawing, to save him from the unreasonable rage of the spectators on these occasions. And the parson who assisted at his execution, and appears all along to have been a good Levite, does insinuate the same thing, as far as he dare; for you must consider him to have been a native Swede, and chaplain to one of the king's regiments. But——so let him die, (said one of the most cruel of the Roman tyrants) *ut se sentiat mori:* And if ever man felt himself die by degrees, in the most exquisite torments, it was poor Patkul. He was all along apprehensive of this, as you plainly see by this priest's relation, knowing too well the temper of the King of Sweden not to dread a remarkable instance of it in his own case. And indeed, we find the miserable man was not at all deceived in his expectation.

How would an English crowd of spectators, which now can hardly bear the quartering of a dead human body, behave itself on the occasion of such an execution as this? At first indeed it would alarm and terribly shock it; but after a little time, I doubt, cruelty as well as slavery would become so habitual, as to become indifferent, if not a pastime, as it now is in those countries where bigotry reigns, and where the Inquisition frequently triumphs over the state, in a solemn act of faith, (*auto da fe*) by which name the ecclesiasticks, who preside at those detestable religious murders, have sanctified the most horrid and causeless cruelties that ever were invented by mankind.

Tantum religio potuit.
When will the world recover its wits?

Thus died Patkul, universally lamented. He was, as to his person, rather tall than otherwise, somewhat inclining to be gross and fat; of a middle age at the time of his death; of a fair complexion, but no very promising countenance, which seemed heavy and dull. Those who conversed with him, soon found how much his outward appearance had imposed upon their judgment: For his natural and acquired parts were extraordinary; especially his eloquence was so great, that it was almost impossible to resist the force of his arguments. He was master of a healthful body, and an indefatigable diligence to employ it; of unbounded generosity; better skilled in negotiations, than in military commands as a general; yet in the main, acknowledged even by his enemies to have been one of the greatest men this latter age has produced, and worthy of a much better fate.

He is often mistaken, occasioned by the likeness of the names, for Peikul, another Livonian nobleman, a prisoner at Stockholm, and put to death by the King of Sweden's order, for crimes much of the same nature with Patkul's. Some circumstances of his death being pretty extraordinary, it will not be amiss to give a very short account of them, as related by persons of undoubted credit.

After King Charles had entirely got the better of King Augustus, and the latter was forced to comply with every thing required of him, Augustus, in order to put

the best face he could upon a bad matter, made great entertainments for the King of Sweden, at a very fine pleasure house not far distant from Dresden: Peikul's poor lady and children had taken a great journey from Sweden, on purpose to solicit for her husband's pardon; and King Augustus, with his courtiers, as well as several of the King of Sweden's officers, had promised her to make use of the utmost of their interest in her behalf; and had contrived the matter so, that after the usual jollity and good humour, caused by a great feast, she, with her children, should unexpectedly come into the dining-room, and fall at the King of Sweden's feet, imploring his mercy for her husband; to which King Augustus, with all the other noble guests, were to join their intercession. So far matters were well concerted, but the King of Sweden having by some means or other got an inkling of this design, after he was come to the place appointed for the feast, and being resolved that nothing should prevent his intention, desired leave to retire for a few minutes before dinner, into a private closet, where he called for pen, ink, and paper, and wrote and signed an order, which he sent by express for Peikul's immediate execution upon sight of it. After this he came out to dinner, which being ended, the poor woman and her children came in and flung herself at King Charles's feet, as it had been forecasted, in the midst of the mirth: King Augustus, with all the company, mixing their intercessions with her tears: The King of Sweden, after some seeming struggle, granted the pardon which was desired, and signed an instrument to that purpose, which by Peikul's friends was presently dispatched away. But the king's courier arrived first at Stockholm, and poor Peikul was beheaded about four hours before the second got thither.

'Tis necessary that the reader should be informed, that Peikul had a lawsuit with an uncle of his for a considerable estate; which went through all the usual forms and courts in Livonia, and at last, according to the laws of those countries, was brought to the king for decision; for to him is the last appeal in all civil causes. The king gave judgment against Peikul for this only reason, because he was an alien, and not his natural-born subject; taking the advantage of Peikul's being dropt by his mother, by some accident or other, in a village within the territories of Poland, about three miles distant from the borders of Livonia. This was thought a very hard decision of the king's, it being notorious that Peikul's family and estate were always esteemed Livonian.

However, this determination, unjust as it was, afterwards was brought as a good argument for Peikul against the king, when his majesty condemned him as a natural-born subject of Sweden. But it seems, though his being born out of the king's dominions proved a good reason for depriving him of his estate, it proved ineffectual to the saving of his life.

This is that king; a bigot too: And a bigot (in any religion) who has power, is a ravenous beast of prey, how much more meeting with such a disposition.

This is he whom some malicious wretches, that call themselves Englishmen, are grown so fond of; whom they have chosen to be the preserver of our religion, properties, and liberties. Not that they are ignorant, that as soon as he has them in his power, he would destroy them all: For what man in his senses can expect he should use our country better than his own? But because, like him, they are so full of revenge, they would sacrifice their own well-being to their implacable hatred of the royal family, and the present government. I should not wonder, if some ecclesiasticks, and university monks, who are proud and cruel by institution, and have professedly banished all charity, gave into this, or any other damnable project, whereby they might hope to bring in their Pretender, and contributed sums towards the accomplishment of it.

These have made their bad bargain, and foolishly depend upon its being kept. But that laymen of quality and fortune, who have, or would be thought to have, some remains of humanity in their breasts, who know somewhat of the world, and mankind;

who have forgotten their university education, and bettered their lives and principles, by conversing even with debauched persons out of those societies, who have not quite sold themselves to priestcraft: That such as these, I say, should be capable of contriving the undoing themselves, and their posterity, for the short pleasure of revenge, is most amazing. After-ages will be astonished at their choice, but will conclude, that such a king could be only fit for such a people. And would to God they could have him entirely to themselves, and that honest men, who are of a peaceable disposition, were well rid of them all. I know several who would heartily contribute their share of the charges for transplanting them and their effects to Sweden, where these gentlemen might fully enjoy their invincible hero, and in a short time have the additional blessings of feeding upon bread made of the bark of birch and fir trees, instead of that silly top of a weed, as the eastern Tartars despisingly call our wheat. But far be it from any sober man's thoughts to encourage the entrance of such a fierce spirit here among us; in comparison of whom, the very Pretender himself would prove mild and gentle.

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